

PAKIAH AND SADAKAH: **The Phenomenon of *Mamakiah* Tradition in Padang Pariaman**

Novizal Wendry, Sri Chalida

Fakultas Ushuluddin UIN Imam Bonjol
Jl. Mahmud Yunus, Lubuk Lintah Padang, Sumatera Barat, 25151
e-mail: novizal_wendry@yahoo.com, srichalida@gmail.com

Abstrak: *Pakiah dan Sadakah: Fenomena Tradisi Mamakiah di Padang Pariaman.* Artikel ini mengungkap fenomena *mamakiah* pada komunitas *pakiah*, santri pesantren tradisional Padang Pariaman. Niimma mengklaim *sadakah* yang diperoleh oleh *pakiah* pada beberapa pesantren, diserahkan kepada *buya*. Penulis menelusuri latarbelakang historis kapan *mamakiah* terbentuk, faktor-faktor apa yang memotivasi munculnya, serta bagaimana sikap dan respon masyarakat. Melalui pendekatan fenomenologi ditemukan bahwa *mamakiah* telah eksis semenjak Islam masuk di Ulakan Sumatera Barat sekitar abad kelimabelas. Penulis berargumen bahwa *pakiah* disuport oleh masyarakat dan institusi. Selanjutnya menurut penulis *Pakiah* melakukan aktivitas *mamakiah* untuk memenuhi kebutuhan dasar mereka selama proses belajar di surau. Dua motif lainnya adalah kultural dan pemahaman keagamaan. Penulis menyimpulkan bahwa selain motif di atas, *pakiah* memiliki modal kultural.

Abstract: This article reveals the phenomenon of *mamakiah* in *pakiah* community, students of traditional Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) Padang Pariaman. Niimma claims that *sadakah* obtained by *pakiah* in some pesantren, submitted to *buya*. The author traces the historical background to when *mamakiah* is formed, what factors motivate the emergence, and how the attitude and response of the community. Through the phenomenological approach it is found that *mamakiah* have existed since Islam entered Ulakan Sumatera Barat around the fifteenth century. The author argues that *pakiah* is supported by society and institutions. Furthermore, according to the author *pakiah* perform *mamakiah* activities to meet their basic needs during the learning process in *surau* (a simple form of mosque). Two other motifs are cultural and religious understanding. The writer believes that in addition to these motives, *pakiah* has also a cultural capital.

Keywords: *pakiah, buya, sadakah, mamakiah* tradition

Introduction

An Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) is a unique and phenomenal institution. The uniqueness of the *pesantren* can be seen, among others, from social interaction of its elements such as *kyai*, students (*santri*), mosque or *surau*. Dhofier emphasizes the strong relationship of kinship system of the *kyais* in Javanese *pesantren*. The kinship system is so strong that it can be categorized as a closed group for they have a principle of *endogamous* marriage amongst their families.¹ It is also applied when a son or grandson of *kyai* and their nearest relatives have a greater opportunity to become *kyai*. In addition to these is the relation between the *kyai* and the students. When a *kyai* dies, for example, the students continue to show their respect by staying in touch with the descendants of the *kyai*, especially the one who becomes *kyai* replacing the deceased father.² The social relation between *kyai* and his students is described by Torkil as patron-client relationship manifested in social, scholarly and economic activities organizations.³

A similar phenomenon can be found in traditional *surau* (*pesantren* in Java) of Padang Pariaman. In daily life, *kyai* is called *buya* or *syaikh* and the student is called *urang siak* or *pakiah*.⁴ The educational institution is traditionally called *surau*. However, in line with modernization of education, some *surau*s has changed its name into a *pesantren* while some continue to use the name *surau*. One interesting habit of *pakiah* is *mamakiah* undertaken during days off from *mangaji*. *Mamakiah* is going out of the *surau*, walking around the surrounding village bringing *buntia* (sack of flour) and asking for *sadakah* (charity) from houses or shops along the ways.⁵ *Mamakiah* activity can only be found amongst traditional boarding school students in Padang Pariaman.

¹Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai," in *Indonesia*, No. 29, (Apr. 1980), p. 51, see also *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenal Masa Depan Indonesia*, Revised Edition (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), p. 108.

²Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 125.

³Torkil Saxebol, "The Madurese Ulama as Patrons, a Case Study of Power and Relations in an Indonesian Community" (Disertation, University of Oslo, 2002), p. 104.

⁴The term *pakiah* is identified with people who study Islam in *surau* (mosques) with traditional systems. This term is narrowed in meaning to the people who come to houses to ask for donations or contributions from door to door. Azra asserts that the term of *pakiah* has a negative connotation, namely those who hold strict Islamic traditions and educated at *surau*. He considers that socio-historically, the terms *Faqih -pakiah-*, *urang siak*, and *Faqir* are used instead of words students or *santri* who study in the mosque when the slogan "return to Shari'a" is encouraged. See Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Substantif: Agar Umat tidak Menjadi Buih* (Bandung: Mizan, 2010), p. 115, see also Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi* (Jakarta: Logos, 2003), p. 90 and 96, Silfia Hanani, et al., "Surau Minangkabau, Mengembalikan Pendidikan Agama Islam Berbasis Lokal," in *Istiqrâ': Jurnal Penelitian Islam Indonesia*, Vol. III, No. 01, 2004, p. 176.

⁵Niimmasubhani, "Tradisi *Mamakiah* dan Dampaknya terhadap Internal dan Eksternal Kelembagaan Pondok Pesantren Nurul Yaqin Ringan-Ringan Pakandangan Kabupaten Padang Pariaman" (Thesis, Pascasarjana IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang, 2010), p. 99.

According to Azra, *mamakiah* is initially performed by *pakiah* to support their basic needs during their study in the *surau*. The education of *pakiah* in the *surau* is absolutely free of charge, no tuition fee nor accommodation fee or other fees.⁶ On the other hand, the greater part of the community thinks religious learning in the *surau* does not need special financial attention, for their sustenance will be guaranteed by God. Gradually, *mamakiah* becomes a form of culture inherited from generation to generation. Because *mamakiah* is associated with *sadakah*, the *pakiah* makes all efforts in order to have a sufficient amount of *sadakah*. Ade Dasrial for example, tells how he intentionally starts *mamakiah* very early so that the location where he aims to do *mamakiah* is not visited upon by other *pakiahs*. When he accidentally passes the same direction with another *pakiah*, he rushes to overtake him so that he could earn more *sadakah*.⁷

Buya, on the other hand, does not ask the *pakiah* to do *mamakiah* except in emergencies, to meet their basic needs to ensure the sustainability of their education. However, the content of religious messages conveyed to the public from the *surau* and mosques around villages emphasize the importance of giving *sadakah*, especially to those who are in the ways of Allah (*fī sabīlillāh*). Including in these groups—perhaps even most importantly—is *pakiah*.

There are some community leaders who do not like the *mamakiah* activity because it is considered as insulting and degrading to Islam.⁸ However, it cannot be denied that there are many people who look forward to the arrival of *pakiah* because they want to give *sadakah*, especially at harvest time and *balai* day (weekly market day).⁹ Apart from different public responses above, *mamakiah* has already been passed down from generation to generation. *Mamakiah*, which initially occurs around Islamic boarding schools in the area of Padang Pariaman, now has spread up to Padang.

In her research, Niimma claims that *sadakah* obtained by *pakiah* in Padang Pariaman is given to *buya* or the leader of the *pesantren*. The same things happen in the Pesantren of Nurul Yaqin Ringan-ringang which is the object of her research. Niimma, however, suggest that her research left some other lines of studies such as the factors that support the continuity of *mamakiah* in Padang Pariaman until now, the real motives of *pakiah* in doing *mamakiah*, and the public responses to the *pakiah* and *sadakah*. Due to the large number of *pesantren* in Padang Pariaman, the scope of this research is limited to Madinatul Ilmi Islamiyyah Sungai Sarik and Nurul Yaqin Ringan-Ringan assuming that both are large *surau*s, according to Verkerk Pistorious categorization.¹⁰

⁶Azra, *Surau*, p. 96.

⁷Ade Dasrial, former *pakiah*, interview in Pariaman, April 6, 2016.

⁸Joni Kamal, a community leader in Sikabu Lubuk Alung, a former *pakiah*, interview in Sikabu Lubuk Alung, April 2, 2016.

⁹Azwirman, a community leader in Limpato Sungai Sariak, interview in Limpato Sungai Sariak, April 2, 2016.

¹⁰Verkerk Pistorious, a Dutch official who has been to West Sumatra, dividing *surau* into

Mamakiah involves elements such as *pakiah* or students, *buya*, and people who give *sadakah*. The result expected from this activity is *sadakah* which would be used by *pakiah*. The existence of *mamakiah* cannot be separated by social domain, where there is a “struggle” for limited access.¹¹ Each *pakiah* is an agent of individual and the *pesantren* institution who tries to maintain its position in the acquisition and accumulation of capital; cultural, symbolic, and economic capital. In the context of *pakiah*, such cultural capital, as mentioned by Bourdieu, produces or reproduces a product.¹² *Pakiah* does not move in a vacuum but involves situations and social relations. With the cultural capital, the existence of *pakiah* in the society is a need.

The study of the *pesantren* community (*surau*) which is associated with both *kiai* (*buya*) and students (*pakiah*) has been done by previous researchers. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, for example, describes the role of *kyai* in maintaining and developing networks of *pesantren* in Java. He also points out to the fact that Islamic understanding of Java *pesantren* is generated from scholars of *fiqh*, *hadîth*, *tafsîr*, theology and sufism of the seventh to twelfth centuries.¹³ In one of the articles, Zamakhsyari also touches on *endagamous* marriage system amongst families of *kyais*.¹⁴ Endang Turmudi reveals three types of *kyai* in Jombang; *kyai* of *pesantren*, *kyai* of *tarekat* (sufism), *kyai* of politics. He argues that the charisma of *kyai* is limited to religious authority and not on political matters.¹⁵ Dawam Rahardjo describes the life of students of Pondok Pabelan Muntilan Magelang, which adopts the system of Pondok Modern Gontor.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Florian conducts an ethnographic research in the *Pesantren* of al-Muayyad Windan Solo with plural and multicultural character. Florian refuses the notion that the Islamic boarding school is a source of radicalism that spawned militant Muslims as released by the International Crisis Group.¹⁷

In a study, Linda S. Walbridge maps four typologies of curriculum in three *pesantren* in Central Java. The first is *sorogan* in which students sit listening to a briefing of *kyai* without a formal curriculum. The second is *pesantren* which implements a classical system. The

three categories; a small *surau* which has a capacity of 20 *pakiahs*, a middle size *surau* with capacity of 80 *pakiahs*, and a large *surau* that can accommodate 100 to 1000 *pakiahs*. Azra, *Surau*, p. 88.

¹¹Richard Jenkins, *Membaca Pikiran Pierre Bourdieu*, trans. Nurhadi, Editon 6 (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2013), p. 124.

¹²Pierrie Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (New York: Routledge, 2006), P. 127. See also Randal Johnson, “Pengantar Pierre Bourdieu tentang Seni, Sastra dan Budaya,” in *Arena Produksi Kultural, Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*, trans. Yudi Santosa, Editon 3 (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2015), p. xix.

¹³Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*.

¹⁴Dhofier, “Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai,” p. 51

¹⁵Endang Turmudi, *Struggling for the Ummah* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2006), p. xvii.

¹⁶Dawam Rahardjo, “The Life of Santri Youth: A View from Pesantren Window at Pabelan,” in *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 1986), p. 43-44.

¹⁷Florian Pohl, “Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia”, in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (August 2006), p. 389-409.

third is *pesantren* which implements the curriculum of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.¹⁸ Walbridge illustrates further the everyday life of female students and *kyai* focusing on the orientation of the *santris*. The female *santris* apparently have a rather simple objective, that is, to accuire the right guidance from the *kyai*. No one wants to set up a *pesantren* for girls. The vast majority of them want to be the wife of *kyai* and becomes a *nyai*. A *nyai* plays a role as a guide for female students in the *pesantren*. For Walbridge, Islamic boarding school provides an opportunity for women to be active in politics even though they are obedient to the *kyai* during their education in the *pesantren*.¹⁹

One of researches in relation to contestation in *pesantren* is done by Torkil Saxebøl for his doctoral research at Oslo University with the object of Islamic scholars in Madura. Torkil concludes that in the context of Madura *pesantrens*, the relation between *kyai* and the students takes the form of patron-client. This relationship is manifested in the form of well-being in which the *kyai* becomes superior with the power or authority he has. *Kyai* exercises the power and authority in the form of obedience a pupil to the teacher. With the slogan *ati'û wa-sma'û*, students are unconsciously “forced” to serve the *kyai* in daily life. Thus, this relation is not colonizing but taking advantages.²⁰ Torkil agrees with van Dijk who presumes that the patron and client relationship in the case of *kyai* in Madura is also experienced by all Islamic scholars in Indonesia.²¹ The conclusions of van Dijk and Torkil, however, need to be scrutinized further. The present study attempts to contribute on this.

With regard to the practice of *sadakah*, there have been some researches done in certain cases in other areas of Indonesia, for example a research by Furqan Syarif Hidayatullah and Ichmi Yani Arinda R. Furqan who glance at the portrait of the implementation of *sedekah bumi* (sedekah for the earth) in Cisampih, Kutabima, Cilacap in the Islamic perspective. According to Furqan, *sedekah bumi* in Cisampih is an act of gratitude of the community to the Creator who has been giving sustenance to them through the earth they live so that cultivation and other activities that they do could produce good harvests and bring success. Furqan does not deny the incompatibility of the tradition in some part with Islamic teachings because it is an acculturation between pre-Islamic traditions (Hindu-Buddhist) and Islam.²² A similar research on the tradition of *sedekah bumi* (*nyadran*) is done by Ichmi Yani Arinda R. in the community of Sratujejo, Bojonegoro. In addition to an act of gratitude to the Creator, Ichmi also finds that by this tradition the people feel closer to the Creator, away from disasters

¹⁸Linda S. Walbridge, The “Santri-Wati” of Indonesia’s “Pesantren”: Orientations of Students of Three Girls Religious Schools,” in *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter 1988).

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 327-328.

²⁰Torkil, “The Madurese Ulama as Patrons.”

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 11.

²²Furqan Syarief Hidayatulloh, “Sedekah Bumi Dusun Cisampih Cilacap,” in *el Harakah*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2013. p. 1-17.

and obtain a better crop yields.²³ Although the discussions on *sedekah* by Furqan and Ichmi are related to the study done by the author, basically, they are different from this study in terms of location and the formal object of research.

Specifically, with respect to the object of this study, it has been reviewed by Niimmasubhani in her research for a master degree. Niima focuses more on the impact of *mamakiah* tradition on the institution of Pondok Pesantren Nurul Yaqin. According to Niimma, *mamakiah* is a custom performed by students every Thursday and Friday morning for the continuation of their education at the *surau*. She notes that among positive impacts of *mamakiah* are: practicing patience, preaching, helping with the education fee, and increasing gratitude. However, the negative impacts of *mamakiah* are that it could weaken *santri's* motivation as well as reduce their learning and break times. *Mamakiah* is also instrumental in socializing and promoting the *pesantren*.²⁴ In one of her statement, Niima claims that there are differences in utilization of the results of *mamakiah* or *sadakah* between what is going on in the *Pesantren* of Nurul Yaqin and in other traditional *pesantrens*. In Nurul Yaqin, *sedekah* is not given to the *kiai* of the *pesantren*, while in other traditional *pesantren*, *pakiah* gives some of the *sedekah* to the teachers to help them as they have provided meritorious services nurturing them while they are studying in the *pesantren* or as an expression of gratitude to the teachers.²⁵ Seen from the material objects of discussion, Niimma focuses only on the case of *Pesantren* Nurul Yaqin without comparing it to other *pesantren* like *Madinatul Ilmi Islamiyyah*. Her study is also limited to the impact of the *mamakiah* activity on the *pesantren* without highlighting other aspects such as competition amongst *pakiahs* that may occur.

Research Method

This descriptive and qualitative research falls in the category of field research. Data is obtained from observations and interviews with *pakiah*, former *pakiah*, *buya* (*pesantren* leaders), and members of the community. Data collected through observation and in-depth interviews are divided into three stages; the first is preliminary observation which is needed to explore the initial data. The second observation is done simultaneously when the researcher is working in the field, at the location where *pakiahs* do *mamakiah* activity as well as in the *pesantren* where the *pakiahs* live and study. The third observation is carried out for the purpose of sharpening and validating data. In this case, the researcher conducts Focus Group Discussion involving *pakiahs* of two sample *pesantrens*. This study applies unstructured interview in order to obtain data more freely from the *pakiah*, *buya*, and the society at large. The research

²³Ichmi Yani Arinda R. "Sedekah Bumi (Nyadran) sebagai Konvensi Tradisi Jawa dan Islam Masyarakat Sratujejo Bojonegoro," in *el Harakah*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2014. p. 100-110.

²⁴Niimmasubhani, "Tradisi *Mamakiah* dan Dampaknya terhadap Internal dan Eksternal Kelembagaan Pondok Pesantren Nurul Yaqin Ringan-ringan Pakandangan Kabupaten Padang Pariaman," (Master Thesis IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang, 2010), p. 99-100.

²⁵Niimmasubhani, "Tradisi *Mamakiah*," p. 90.

is conducted in the district of Padang Pariaman, West Sumatera Province with the samples of *pakiah* from both the *pesantren* of Madinatul Ilmi Islamiyyah and the *pesantren* of Nurul Yaqin.

This study applies the phenomenology approach developed by Husserl stating that an essence can be understood through the investigation of the visible (empirical objects) and manifestation.²⁶ In this sense, as revealed by Erricker from the research by Waardenberg, social structure and the behavior of the community—*pakiah*, *buya*, and the community members—is displayed based on scientific premises.²⁷ With regard to data analysis, it is done based on the stages of data collection, data interpretation, and writing.²⁸

The History of *Mamakiah* Tradition

The history of *pakiah* cannot be separated from the introduction of Islam into Minangkabau in 16th century with Sufism characteristic assimilated with social life.²⁹ After Islam developed in Minangkabau, the people of Siak came with merchants to the rural areas to spread Islam. They were received by the Minang people as guests and stayed in mosques or *surau*, where the transmission of science and knowledge to young people of Minang took place. Therefore, *urang siak* were respected because they were tutors of *mangaji* (*sorogan*/ learning religious teachings), they taught how to perform prayers and other Islamic teachings.

Mamakiah activity is done every official holiday from *mangaji* in *surau*, namely every Thursday and Friday. *Mamakiah* is done more often during the month of Ramadan, especially by *muqîm* (those who stay in the *surau*) as *mangaji* in the mosque is closed. Beside due to weekly days off, Thursday and Friday is chosen for *mamakiah* activity because it based on the understanding of *buya* and *tuangku* who believe that giving *sadakah* on these days has a greater *fadhîlah* than any other days. They refer to books of Islamic jurisprudence, such as *al-Iqnâ'*:

ويسن كثرة الصدقة وفعل الخير في يومها وليلتها، ويكثر من الصلاة على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في يومها وليلتها لخبر: إن من أفضل أيامكم يوم الجمعة، فأكثرُوا علي من الصلاة فيه، فإن صلاتكم معروضة علي

²⁶Clive Erricker, "Pendekatan Fenomenologis," dalam Peter Connolly (ed.), *Aneka Pendekatan Studi Agama*, trans. Imam Khoiri, Editon 3 (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2011), p. 110.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p.106-107.

²⁸Lexy J. Moleong, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Karya, 1989), p. 4.

²⁹Duski Samad, *Kontinuitas Tarekat Di Minangkabau* (Padang: TMF PRESS, 2006), p. 2. This is also in line with the information from Buya Kerajaan, that the origin of *pakiah* starting from students who come from areas outside of Padang Pariaman who are generally derived from Siak, Riau Islands now. Buya Kerajaan, one of the Leaders in the Pesantren of Nurul Yaqin, Ringan-ringan, August 14, 2016.

It is recommended to multiply the charity and do good works on Friday and Thursday night. Also, it is recommended to multiply saying shalawat to the Prophet Muhammad at night or during the day of Friday, based on the hadith, "Verily the best day is Friday. Therefore, multiply reading shalawat for me because your prayers (shalawat) are shown to me.

The explanation above is in line with the contents of the *tuangku* religious lectures at the mosque on time and amount of *sadakah*. In front of the people whose house of are visited mostly by the *pakiah*, *tuangku* also confirms that in terms of the value of *sadakah*, it is not seen from the amount (small or large) of the *sadakah*, but rather from the intentions of the givers, whether it is given sincerely or not. People should give *sadakah* sincerely according to their capabilities. It is not wrong when *Tuangku Kaciak* tells the story of former Islamic scholars in his lecture, in which they gave *sadakah* secretly.³⁰

The vast majority of students who go to the *pesantren* come from families of middle or low economic level. When they send their children to the *pesantren*, they pay only initial capital. The initial capitals of new students are usually in the form of mats, pillows, cupboard, *sarong* and a bag of rice. After that, the provisions given by parents are not followed by other supplies due to economic reasons. Even if there is a supply of rice and side dishes from their parents, it comes once a month and only lasts for three days.

Due to the fact that *mamakiah* tradition has been started since hundreds of years ago, it seems that there has been a strong bond between *pakiah* and the people in Padang Pariaman. Parents advise to continue the tradition of *sadakah* and the reward is awarded to the families who had died. The argument is that what has been gained is to continue the hard work of the previous generation. What is interesting about this tradition is the fanaticism of the community when distributing donations in which they feel more "comfortable" when the receiver of *sadakah* is a *pakiah*. This is what has been suggested by parents from generation to generation, that is to diligently give *sadakah* to *pakiah*.

Motivations of Doing *Mamakiah*

Pakiah's motivation can be divided into three main factors: cultural, economic, and religious understanding factors.

Cultural Factor

Living together in a *surau* help unite the word view of the *santris*. Although the world they see in *surau* is quite limited, narrow, and some how boring, it prepares them for challenges that they may encounter in their future lives in the real world. In this respect, *mamakiah*

³⁰A quote from Indra Saputra Tuangku Kaciak lecture, Surau in Gobah Laweh Lubuk Alung, July 25, 2016.

can be seen as a time to go and see the outside world. Joy and sorrow during *mamakiah* activity and the need for continuation of this tradition are the reasons why *mamakiah* becomes a lasting tradition among students. They share stories about their experiences during *mamakiah* and the *sadakah* they obtained as well as the allocation of the *sadakah*. It is not exaggeration to say that *mamakiah* has been a culture or tradition that repeatedly done so that it become a blue print for the students. Asked whether *mamakiah* is recommended in the *pesantren*, Buya Jalalain states that actually there is no recommendation from the institution. Nevertheless, as it has already been a custom since a long time ago, he sets two days off, Thursday and Friday, which are, then, used for *mamakiah*.³¹ Similar statement is also made by Buya Kerajaan who says that *mamakiah* is not officially recommended; it is an initiative of *santris*. The *pesantren* requires *pakiah* to ask permission first before going out for *mamakiah*.

Basically, the reason why a student actively involves in *mamakiah* is because they are invited by friends. Generally, those who come to boarding schools such as Madinatul al-Ilmi Islamiyyah and Nurul Yaqin are teenagers of junior high school age. As such, they are in a period of instability and easily influenced by fellow *santris*, especially the senior ones. According Marfi, he was first invited by fellow students to do *mamakiah*.³² Similarly, Bima, one of the students from Sijunjung, says that he was invited to do *mamakiah* for the first time by his senior fellow students.³³ Seen from the area of origin, both Mafri and Bima are students who come from the same area that is Sijunjung.

There are some students who do *mamakiah* because of envy seeing their fellow students have their supplies for life in the boarding school from *mamakiah* (*sadakah*). Therefore, they are advised by his friends to do *mamakiah*. There are also some *pakiah* who intentionally count their money they get from *mamakiah* (*sadakah*) in front of his friends, other students. They count the money by fanning them in the presence of their friends.³⁴ This action would cause “turmoil” among students who have never done *mamakiah*. The unstable psychological condition is reinforced by financial condition that is far from enough. In short, because of the habits and thinking that they can survive independently like their friends who do *mamakiah*, other students who had never done *mamakiah* are triggered to participate in doing so.

Economic Factor

It is undeniable that economic factors are driving the perpetuation of *mamakiah* activity. The large number of students who comes from low economic level background could not be dealt with by the internal institution of the boarding schools. This makes the manager of the *pesantren* allow the students to do *mamakiah*. Buya Kerajaan and Tuanku Aznam

³¹Interview with Buya Jalalain, August 14, 2016.

³²Interview with Marfi (not the real name), September 23, 2016.

³³Interview with Bima (not the real name), September 23, 2016.

³⁴Interview with Donal (not the real name), September 24, 2016.

said that *mamakiah* is the last alternative to resolve the economic problems among students. Students have a strong desire to learn religious teachings in boarding schools, on the other hand, they have financial constrains for *mangaji*, in terms of both tuition fee and living expenses during their stay at the boarding schools. Buya acknowledged that the boarding schools make an effort to minimize *mamakiah* activity by requiring students to ask permission first. He said that he only gives permission for *pakiah* who run out of supplies to do *mamakiah*.³⁵

It is also revealed by Buya Jalalain, Head of Pesantren Madinatul Ilmi Islamiyyah. According to him, life is now hard, so he does *mamakiah*. Buya Jalalain even invites those who are able to overcome the economic crisis among his students. Buya admits that there is a grant for *Bantuan Operasional Sekolah* (the operational fund of schools) and for students with a good achievement from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. However, he explicitly rejects it because there is no help from the government without any string attached. He does not want the education system at his *pesantren* to be interfered or controlled by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. According to Buya, if the BOS fund was received, the *pesantren* would be required to use the curriculum of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This does not fit with the materials that have been taught continuously from generations to generations at the *pesantren*.³⁶

The explanation of Buya Jalalain seems to be in line with the statement of students or *pakiah* that the researcher met. Marfi (not the real name) says that sometimes Buya “asks” students to do *mamakiah*. This is done, however, as the last choice to deal with financial problems when most of the students studying in his *pesantren* run out of provisions. The majority of students of this *pesantren* come from out of town and their parents provides no sufficient financial support. Basically the *pesantren* of Madinatul Ilmi Islamiyyah does not charge the students with a high cost of education. According to Genta, the monthly tuition fee is only IDR30,000.00 each plus two liters of rice. They are not charged for other items such as power, housing, and papers like commonly collected by other schools in general. However, because the majority of students come from outside the area and they run out of their living costs which should be supplied by their parents, they are allowed to do *mamakiah*.³⁷

Based on an investigation of several samples of *pakiah* of the *pesantren* of Madinatul Ilmi Islamiyyah, it is revealed that on average they come from outside the area of Padang Pariaman like Sijunjung and Damashraya. Some of them do not receive money from their parents. Mafri, for example, with his brother who is also *mangaji* in the boarding school can only expect and wait for money or other supplies from his brother who has had a family and works as a technician at a motorcycle repair shop.³⁸ Similar cases can be commonly found in traditional *pesantren* in Padang Pariaman. Generally, those who *mangaji* in a boarding

³⁵ Interview with Buya Kerajaan, August 14, 2016.

³⁶ Interview with Buya Jalalain, August 14, 2016.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Interview with Mafri (not the real name), August 14, 2015.

school help promoting the existence of their boarding school when it is holiday or do *mamakiah* in his hometown. This promotion seems to be so successful that the regenerations from years to years continue to do the same. Another case is also experienced by Welfi, who claims that he rarely receives supplies from his parents. Even if there are some, they are not enough to cover his daily needs.³⁹

Religious Understanding Factor

To see normative arguments underlying and motivating students from both *pesantrens* in doing *mamakiah*, it is important to see how the concept of *sadakah* envisaged in religious texts is understood and practiced by *pakiah*. From the data of *buyas* and *tuankus*' lectures in *surau* and mosques collected by the researcher, it is found that *sadakah* is one of good deeds of which the rewards from the God would never end. The practice of *sadakah* includes the perpetual donation (*shadaqah jâriyah*).

Yang terakhir, sadaqah jariyah. ...ado sadakah wajib, ado sadakah sunaik. Nan wajib tu zakat, bakatak an. Tapi kalau sadakah sunaik ndak ado bakatak an doh. Tapi yang dimaksud sadakah jariyah tu apo? Yaitunyo wakaf. Wak wakafan karambieh sabatang, salagi dipakai urang, ateh namo kebaikan, tu mangalir pahalonyo ka awak tu. Kok karambie agak sabatang, batu agak ciek, tu sadakah namonyo tu. Ko sadakah batu ka surau, sa oto ndak talok dek wak doh, wak baok ce ciek dari batang aie, lah jadih tu. Nyo ndak bakatak an doh. Samo jo maapeh, tagantuang umpan e. Kalau katak umpan ne, dapek rutiang. Yang pantiang umpan e.⁴⁰ [The latter, *shadaqah jâriyah*. ... there are obligatory and recommended charities. The obligatory charity is known as zakat. It is given out in certain portions when reaching predetermined sum (*nishâb*) while the portion of *shadaqah* is not determined. What is meant by the *shadaqah jâriyah* (perpetual *shadaqah*)? That is an endowment (*waqaf*). We give a coconut tree as *waqaf*, as it can be used by others for something good, the reward continues to flow to us. Like the coconut tree, a stone can also be given for charity. Give stone for charity to *surau*, if we cannot give a car of stone for charity, it is enough for us a stone from the river. It is no measurement of such charity. Just like fishing, it depends on the bait. If the bait is frog, we could get snakehead fish. What is important is the bait.]

The content of Tuanku Sidi Ibrahim's lecture above exemplifies the importance of giving *sadakah*, of both obligatory and recommended *sadakah*. The recommended *sadakah* is given in portions that are not predetermined and in accordance with the ability of the person who gives the *sadakah*. As far as the *sadakah* is used by many people, the reward from the God will flow continuously. One of the types of *sadakah* is donating a stone for construction of a *surau*. In the context of the people of Padang Pariaman, for constructing

³⁹Interview with Welfi (not the real name), Saturday, September 23, 2016.

⁴⁰A quote of Muhammad al-Munawwir Tuanku Sidi Ibrahim lecture, in the Mosque of Sungai Bayiah Sei. Sariak, July 20, 2016.

a surau or a mosque, typically, a location near a river is chosen so that the water can be supplied to the mosque. Therefore, the preacher gives a simple example that for the community of low economic level, *sadakah* can take the form of taking stones from the river to the mosque yard for the construction of the mosque.

Tuangku Abdul Hadi, one of the community leaders and former *pakiah* confirms that the essence of *pakiah* who do *mamakiah* is to encourage people to give *sadakah* and not asking for *sadakah*. Originally, *pakiah* say “*basadakah lah, Mak basadakah lah, Pak*” bukan”*sadakah, Mak, sadakah Pak*”.⁴¹ The first phrase means, “Would you give out *sadakah*, Madam, Would you give out *sadakah*, Sir.” while the latter means, “Give me *sadakah*, Madam and Sir.” The first phrase is essentially in line with the verse which orders us to take *sadakah* from *muzakki* (those who are obliged to give *zakat*), as described by Buya Kerajaan of Pesantren Nurul Yaqin.⁴²

The above explanation legitimizes that *mamakiah* is essentially telling people to give out *sadakah* and *pakiah* is an arm of the government to collect the *sadakah*. On the other hand, *pakiah* is *mustahiqq*, the person entitled to receive *sadakah*, because he is categorized as *fī sabīlillāh* in the religious term. Beside as the *sadakah* collector, *pakiah* is also considered as one who practices *sadakah* because he prays for those who give the *sadakah* every time he receives it.

The Views of Community on *Pakiah* and *Sadakah*

Self-actualization of a student as *pakiah* does not necessarily make him as *pakiah* of a lifetime. It would change in accordance with the personal growth of the student when he grows mature in thinking and acting. A *pakiah* would change when he realizes the manifestation of himself as a cadre of the villagers and citizens who once have given him *sadakah*. At the time of doing *mamakiah*, a *pakiah* is seen bluntly as a person with lower class in the society compared with those who give *sadakah*. As a matter of fact, the *pakiah* also feels ashamed and aspires to become giver of *sadakah* if later he could manage to become a successful person.

After completing his education in a *pesantren*, *pakiah* usually no longer go to the field to do *mamakiah*. He discovers his true identity and is confirmed as *tuangku* in a traditional ceremony held at his boarding school. The ceremony is usually attended by community leaders, *buya* as leader of *pesantren*, and accompanied by a *salawaik dulang* feast in the boarding school. Once back into the community, a former *pakiah* would be a *tuangku* who is respected by the community. A *tuangku* functions as an *imam* at mosques and *surau*, and religious teacher for his community.

⁴¹Interview with Tuangku Abdul Hadi, August 21, 2016.

⁴²A lecture of Buya Kerajaan in the mosque of Ringan-ringin, July 29, 2016.

A *tuangku* is the person to ask questions about religious matters. Sometimes, a *tuangku* also consulted about social and political issues of the community. *Tuangku's* close tie with the community is reminiscent of the relation between *pakiah* and the 'client' society that had given him *sadakah*. In short, there occurs an evolution of which a student who becomes *pakiah* (asking *sadakah*) subsequently changes to a person who provides 'sadakah' in a different form, namely religious opinions, advices and services.

Robiah, one of residents of Lubuk Alung says that frequently, a *pakiah* which has become a 'client' in the village is later crowned as *tuangku* by the local community.⁴³ After the coronation, of course, the arrival of the former *pakiah* would be always expected to provide advices on the teachings of religion in certain days. It is also revealed by Dedi, a *pakiah* who is very young. According to Dedi, his presence in his hometown, where he was sent to *mangaji* to Nurul Yaqin is always awaited for to be a priest substituting the local *tuangku* when he is absent for certain reasons, such as going out of town.⁴⁴

Community views on the issue can be classified into two kinds; positive and negative. A positive response is indicated, among others, by Ronal who considers *pakiah* with their routine of going around the village on Thursdays and Fridays constitute a mental training for the *santris*. Various attitudes of society during *mamakiah* help *pakiah* in developing a determined personality which in turn prepares him to become a succesful when preaching in a plural society. The same thing is also confirmed by Tuangku Abdul Hadi, a former *pakiah* and board of Nahdlatul Ulama in Padang Pariaman that *mamakiah* has a positive impact on *pakiah* due to the mental training.⁴⁵ In addition, *pakiah* are also trained to be generous among them. This opinion is also expressed by Ronal, the owner of a rice mill. According to him, not all *pakiah* come from the less fortunate family. Many of them also come from those of upper middle class, so they often share or give the *sadakah* they get from *mamakiah* to their friends who need it in the *surau*. So, many villagers wait for the arrival of *pakiah*, as revealed by Uni Ida, one of residents of Kayu Gadang Sikabu Lubuk Alung.⁴⁶

According to Zainal Tuangku Mudo, basically *mamakiah* can be categorized as an emergency, it is permitted under a dire conditions only. This is, according to Zainal, when *pakiah* is viewed in the context of *khudz min amwâlihîm shadaqah* (take alms out of their possessions).⁴⁷ This means that *pakiah* can be considered as collector of *sadakah* from the people, door to door. The logic behind the opinion that *pakiah* is permitted is also revealed by Tuangku Abdul Hadi who considers *pakiah*, in principle, as carrying out a noble task, that is to invite people to give charity. However, He requires that those who would be given

⁴³Interview with Robiah Adawiyah, August 19, 2016.

⁴⁴Interview with Dedi (not the real name), August 19, 2016.

⁴⁵Interview with Tuangku Abdul Hadi, August 11, 2016.

⁴⁶Interview with Uni Ida, August 19, 2016.

⁴⁷Interview with Zainal Tk. Mudo, the chairman of the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) Padang Pariaman, August 19, 2016.

permission for doing *mamakiah* are senior students, they are the grade five and up because they would become *tuangku* who will directly meet people in the community. Therefore, they need a mental training such as *mamakiah*.⁴⁸

In another perspective, *pakiah* can be viewed as “lower hands” (*al-yad al suflâ*) or the receiver, as stated in a hadith “upper hands” is better than “lower hands” which means it is better to give than to receive (*al-yadu al-‘ulyâ khair min al-yad al-suflâ*).⁴⁹ When viewed from this perspective, *mamakiah* is not a good practice because the religion states that giving is better than receiving. The same opinion is also expressed by Tuangku Abdul Hadi who says that the current activity of *mamakiah* tends to be interpreted as begging because it uses the phrase, “*Sadakah Sir, Mom!*”. Although it is viewed negatively, the two former *pakiahs* do not admit that the government has not been able to overcome the financial problems of the students in the *surau* or *pesantren*. Badan Amil Zakat Daerah (the fund of the Regional Tithe Council) in Padang Pariaman set up by the government is inadequate to cover the education fee of the *pakiah* in the boarding schools.⁵⁰ In addition to the above reasons, the community is already close to the *pakiah*, who come to collect their *sadakah* even in a very small amount. Therefore, if the activity is stopped, some people will surely miss it.

The differing responses toward *mamakiah* activity should be seen in the light of rich diversity of the population of Padang Pariaman. As noted earlier, the *pakiah* often cross the boundaries of Padang Pariaman in doing *mamakiah*. Diverse educational backgrounds and professions form different views on *pakiah*. There are those who see it as positive, some who view it negative, and there are also those who sit on the fence. Generally, those who see *pakiah* positively consist of people who like to give charity and are generous either they are rich or poor. Based on the exploration of the researcher to the region of Sikabu Padang Pariaman, generally they expect and look forward to the arrival of *pakiah*. Uni Ina, for example, who is a porridge seller at Sikabu, believes that giving *sadakah* to the *pakiah* gives her special blessing. She says that every time she gives *sadakah* to *pakiah*, she is always rewarded with a prayer by *pakiah* wishing that she would be rewarded double by Allah for what he had given as *sadakah*.⁵¹ For this reason, the presence of *pakiah* is always awaited by the public.

Those who see *mamakiah* as negative activity generally come from urban public. There are only a small number of people in Padang Pariaman who support this view. As said by Mafri that people who do not like *pakiah*, always judge them negatively. Some of them give the *pakiah* a hoe when he comes asking him to work to earn money with his own hands.⁵² There are also people who believe that the phenomenon of *mamakiah* done by *pakiah* is common

⁴⁸Interview with Tuangku Abdul Hadi, August 11, 1916.

⁴⁹Interview with Zainal Tk. Mudo, August 19, 2016.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹Interview with Uni Ina, Sikabu Lubuk Alung, August 11, 2016.

⁵²Interview with Mafri (not the real name), August 14, 2015.

and has become a tradition. These groups of people usually neither expect too much nor reject the arrival of *pakiah*.

People have different views on what the *sadakah* is used for. Niimma asserts that *sadakah* obtained by *pakiah* of pesantren of Nurul Yaqin is not given to the institution and *tuangku* or *buya* as educators. However, Niimma points out that *pakiah* of other traditional boarding schools outside Nurul Yaqin give the *sadakah* to their teachers or *Tuangku*. This is certainly intended as a gratitude to the teacher.⁵³ The assumption of Niimma is justified by Yurnalis, a resident in Pariaman. She understands that most of *pakiah* come from poor families but have a strong desire to study religion at the *surau*. Nevertheless, a general assumption in the community assumes that *sadakah* actually should be given to *tuangku* or *buya*.⁵⁴ A different opinion is stated by Ronald. He says that not all *pakiah* come from poor families. There are some *pakiah* whose parents are Civil Servants, so, when they obtain *sadakah*, they would share with their poorer fellow.⁵⁵ What is revealed by Yurnalis and Ronald above is the view of outsiders who expressed his perspectives on *sadakah*. They have never been *pakiah*, they just the givers of *sadakah*.

According to Tuangku Genta, a *pakiah* of Pesantren Madinatul Ilmi Islamiyyah, *sadakah* obtained from *mamakiah* is only used to fulfill his own needs, for example, for paying monthly dues of *mangaji* as much as IDR30.000,00 and two liters of rice. The rests are used for others necessities, such as for food and the ingredients to be cooked.⁵⁶ This assumption is also justified by Efri, a former *pakiah*. Efri adds the books, Muslim clothing, sarongs, and the cap he has come from *sadakah*. All of these necessities should be used for the sake of education in the *surau*. In short, the results of *mamakiah* are not given to *buya* or other *pesantren*'s managements as revealed by Niimma. Because *mamakiah* is linked to a practice that results in *sadakah*, of course, there are also some *pakiah* who use the *sadakah* not for the aforementioned purposes, such as for buying mobile phones and motorcycles.⁵⁷

On another occasion, Tuangku Aznam also reveals that a *pakiah* with initial L is highly skilled in *mamakiah*. The technique he applies is by doing the *mamakiah* during the day and then meets with the mosque board in the area asking for an opportunity to give a lecture in the evening. Similar thing he applies in almost every mosque and *surau* in the area of the object of *mamakiah*. The local community feels so closed to this *pakiah*. He gets *sadakah* quite a lot so he can buy books, clothes, and all he needs for *mangaji* and giving lectures.⁵⁸ The different assumptions develop in the community and the reality experienced by *pakiah*

⁵³Niimmasubhani, "Tradisi Mamakiah..."

⁵⁴Interview with Yurnalis, August 14, 2016.

⁵⁵ Interview with Ronald, August 11, 2016.

⁵⁶ Interview with Genta, September 24, 2016.

⁵⁷Interview with Joni (not the real name), September 22, 2016.

⁵⁸Materials for *Forum Group Discussion* by Tuangku Aznam, September 24, 2016.

at least give us an idea that *pakiah* in the community are still needed even though there is some rather negative view in terms of how the *pakiah* spend the *sadakah* they earn.

Conclusion

Mamakiah tradition has existed since Islam introduced by by Shaikh Burhanuddin in Ulakan Padang Pariaman, West Sumatra in the fifteenth century. This tradition was developed by the students who *mangaji* in *surau* and they came from *Siak*. Therefore, the *pakiah* is also called *urang siak*. *Mamakiah* activity is held on Thursdays and Fridays. The identity of *pakiah* is known from a *batik* shirt or a muslim cloth, sarong, and black cap he wears, and *buntia*, flour sacks made of cloth. The *buntia* is used to bring gifts or *sadakah* of society such as rice and other items for daily needs. This phenomenon seems to be similar to the tradition of monks in Buddhism like in Thailand, who believe that they live for the people and teach the people to give charity for the monks.

The motivation of *pakiah* in doing *mamakiah* is driven by cultural, economic, and religious belief factors. *Pakiah* which are generally students of boarding schools are tempted to do *mamakiah* because they 'jump on bandwagon' and are invited by their seniors. After enjoying *sadakah*, they go *mamakiah* on their own. Senior *pakiah* are mostly motivated to do *mamakiah* to train to be mentally strong in order to be ready to live in society. The second is economic factor, in which many students who *mangaji* in *surau* such as the *Pesantrens* of Madinatul Ilmi Islamiyyah and Nurul Yaqin come from low economic level families and from outside Padang Pariaman. The last factor is their understanding of the religion they gain from Islamic literature they are studying in the boarding schools. An understanding of the importance of giving charity, especially to students studying religion, is a part of the religious messages delivered by a *buya* in his lectures in the community.

The views of the society on *pakiah* and *sadakah* can be classified into two categories. *First*, those who see it positively and believe that *pakiah* is *fi sabillillah*, people who study religion and lack of funds. Therefore, it is recommended to give *sadakah* to the *pakiah*. In addition, in essence, *mamakiah* is an attempt to invite people to give charity and *pakiah* helps them in the distribution of their *sadakah*. *Second*, those who view *mamakiah* negatively and percieve *pakiahs* as beggars. As such, their action contradicts religious teaching to give rather than to ask for *sadakah*. To the society at large, another important aspect of the argument is whether the *sadakah* of *mamakiah* is given to *tuangku* or *buya* in *pesantren*. Most *tuangkus*, however, argue that *pakiahs* do *mamakiah* merely to support their studies not to collect *sadakah* for their *tuangkus*. *Pesantren* and *surau*s essentially neither prohibits nor sanctions *pakiahs* to do *mamakiah*.

Having said that, it seems in order to put forward some recommendations. *Pesantren* and *surau*s clearly need some financial support both from the government and the society at large. Sufficient financial support will allow this traditionsl indigineus education to prosper

and provide a better education. *Mamakiah* has positive sides, because it could facilitate people to give *sadakah* and provide socio-psychological training for *pakiahs santris*. It should, however, be performed in well-mannered ways in accordance with the dignity of the *pakiahs* as students of religious knowledge and as future religious leaders.

References

- Arinda R., Ichmi Yani. "Sedekah Bumi (*Nyadran*) sebagai Konvensi Tradisi Jawa dan Islam Masyarakat Sratujejo Bojonegoro," in *el-Harakah*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2014.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *Islam Substantif: Agar Umat tidak Menjadi Buih*. Bandung: Mizan, 2010.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *Surau Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi*. Jakarta: Logos, 2003.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. "Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai," in *Indonesia*, No. 29, (April 1980).
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011.
- Erricker, Clive. "Pendekatan Fenomenologis," dalam Peter Connolly (ed.), *Aneka Pendekatan Studi Agama*, trans. Imam Khoiri, ed. 3. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2011.
- Hanani, Silfia, et al., "Surau Minangkabau, Mengembalikan Pendidikan Agama Islam Berbasis Lokal," in *Istiqra': Jurnal Penelitian Islam Indonesia*, Vol. III, No. 01, 2004.
- Hidayatulloh, Furqon Syarief. "Sedekah Bumi Dusun Cisampih Cilacap," in *el Harakah*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2013.
- Jenkins, Richard. *Membaca Pikiran Pierre Bourdieu*, trans. Nurhadi, ed. 6. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2013.
- Johnson, Randal. "Pengantar Pierre Bourdieu tentang Seni, Sastra dan Budaya," in *Arena Produksi Kultural: Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*, trans. Yudi Santosa, ed. 3. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2015.
- Khatib, al-, Muhammad al-Syarbaini, *al-Iqnâ'*. Beirut: Dâr a-Fikr, 1415.
- Moleong, Lexy J. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Karya, 1989.
- Niimmasubhani. "Tradisi *Mamakiah* dan Dampaknya terhadap Internal dan Eksternal Kelembagaan Pondok Pesantren Nurul Yaqin Ringan-Ringan Pakandangan Kabupaten Padang Pariaman." Thesis, Post Graduate of IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang, 2010.
- Pohl, Florian. *Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia*, in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 50, No. 3, (August 2006).
- Rahardjo, Dawam. "The Life of Santri Youth: A View from Pesantren Window at Pabelan," in *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 1986).

Samad, Duski dan Salmadanis. *Surau di Era Otonomi*. Jakarta: The Minangkabau Fondation, 2001.

Samad, Duski. *Kontuinitas Tarekat di Minangkabau*. Padang: TMF PRESS, 2006.

Saxeboøl, Torkil. "The Madurese Ulama as Patrons, a Case Study of Power and Relations in an Indonesian Community". Dissertation, University of Oslo, 2002.

Turmudi, Endang. *Struggling for the Ummah*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2006.

Walbridge, Linda S. "The "Santri-Wati" of Indonesia's "Pesantren": Orientations of Students of Three Girls Religious Schools," in *Islamic Studies*, vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter 1988).