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## ***Kampung Madinah Temboro as Tablighi Jama'at Sub-Cultural Community: A Socio-Historical Studies***

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### **Abstract**

Temboro, Magetan, is a unique village widely known as Kampung Madinah. The nickname comes from the Islamic tradition embedded in villagers' everyday lives, associated with Medina, the Prophet's city. Further observations show that their Islamic tradition is distinctive, primarily referring to the community's affiliation with the transnational Tablighi Jama'at movement. This fact implies that the community has its worldviews, moral values, and lifestyle, which puts



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them into a sub-cultural community category. This research examines the socio-historical aspect of Kampung Madinah Temboro as Tablighi Jama'at Sub-Cultural Community between 1984 and 2009. Therefore, we employ historical inquiries and social approaches as methods. We discover that: 1) Pesantren al-Fatah and Markaz Temboro play their central roles in forming Kampung Madinah as a subcultural community based on the Tablighi Jama'at ideology; 2) The subcultural indicators appear in how they dress, how they interact, symbols in the environment, the values they hold, and the integration of the Tablighi Jama'at ideology into people's daily activities; and 3) Both the Pesantren al-Fatah and the Tablighi Jama'at Markaz networks increase the probability of similar subcultural community emerging elsewhere. [Temboro, Magetan, merupakan desa yang unik. Desa ini dikenal dengan julukan Kampung Madinah. Julukan tersebut muncul dari tradisi Islam yang melekat pada kehidupan sehari-hari penduduknya, yang kemudian diasosiasikan dengan Kota Madinah. Observasi lebih lanjut menunjukkan bahwa tradisi Islam yang mereka miliki sangatlah spesifik, yakni merujuk pada afiliasi komunitas tersebut terhadap gerakan transnasional Jama'ah Tabligh. Hal ini berarti bahwa komunitas tersebut memiliki karakteristik yang khusus dalam hal pandangan mengenai dunia, nilai-nilai moral, dan gaya hidup. Hal tersebut menjadikannya sebagai komunitas subkultur. Penelitian ini membahas aspek sosio-historis dari Kampung Madinah Temboro sebagai Komunitas Subkultur berbasis Gerakan Jama'ah Tabligh. Oleh karenanya, kami menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah dengan disertai pendekatan-pendekatan ilmu sosial. Kami menemukan bahwa: 1) Pesantren al-Fatah dan Markaz Temboro memainkan peran utama dalam pembentukan Kampung Madinah sebagai sebuah komunitas subkultur berbasis ideologi Jama'ah Tabligh; 2) Indikator-indikator subkultur yang dimaksud tampak pada gaya busana, pola interaksi, simbol-simbol pada lingkungan sekitar, nilai-nilai yang mereka anut, serta integrasi ideologi Jama'ah Tabligh dalam kehidupan sehari-hari penduduknya; 3) Pesantren al-Fatah dan Markaz Jama'ah Tabligh memiliki jaringannya masing-masing. Hal ini meningkatkan kemungkinan munculnya komunitas subkultur berbasis ideologi Jama'ah Tabligh serupa di tempat lain.]

**Keywords:** *Tablighi Jama'at*, Temboro, Pesantren al-Fatah, Kampung Madinah, *tabligh*



## Introduction

Temboro, a village located in Magetan East Java, is widely known for its *pesantren* 1, namely Pondok Pesantren al-Fatah Temboro. This *pesantren* is a significant center for the proselytization of the Tablighi Jamaat movement in Southeast Asia.<sup>2</sup> The *santris* (students of the *pesantren*) mostly come from Tablighi families, including those from neighboring countries, such as Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. According to their annual report, al-Fatah is recorded to have 811 international students, including 448 students from Malaysia, 160 from Thailand, 101 from Cambodia, 65 from the Philippines, 16 from Vietnam, eight from Singapore, and others.<sup>3</sup>

The *pesantren* was founded by Kiai Siddiq (1890-1950) in 1912, initially as a mosque that serves as a center for *tariqa* activities known as Masjid Tengah (Central Mosque).<sup>4</sup> This mosque flourished as a *pesantren* and underwent several modernization periods under the founder's son, Kiai Mahmud Kholid Umar (1927-1996)<sup>5</sup> through maintaining Nahdlatul Ulama's characteristics. Interestingly, in 1984, under the guidance of the grandson of its founder, Uzairon Thoifur

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<sup>1</sup>A *pesantren* in Indonesia is basically an Islamic education dormitory where students live together and study under the guidance of one (or more) teachers better known as *Kyai*. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3S, 1994), p. 44.

<sup>2</sup>Zainal Arifin, "Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 6, no. 2 (December 27, 2017): 269, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2017.62.265-292>.

<sup>3</sup>"Pesantren Al-Fatah Annual Report at the Student Guardian Meeting," 2018.

<sup>4</sup>Mundzier Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Asta Buana Sejahtera, 2009), 191.

<sup>5</sup>Arifin, "Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology," 274.



Abdillah<sup>6</sup>, the *pesantren* slowly began to adopt the Tablighi Jama'at ideology. This endorsement was then strengthened through a delegation to his two brothers, Umar Fathullah and Ubaidillah, to study abroad at closely associated Tablighi Jama'at madrasas in India and Pakistan.

The Tablighi Jama'at is well known for its six basic teachings, making it easier to accept in society. The six basic teachings of the Tablighi Jama'at movement are: (1) *Al-kalimah al-tayyibah lâ ilâha illallah* (There is no god but Allah); (2) *Iqâmah al-salawat* (performing prayers); (3) *Al-ilm wa al-dzikh* (the knowledge and the remembrance of Allah); (4) *Ikrâm al-Muslim* (honoring the Muslims); (5) *Al-ikhâlâsh* (devotion), and the last and most important teachings that characterize this movement (6) *Al-tablîhg wa al-da'wah* (the preaching and proselytization).<sup>7</sup>

Interestingly, the Tablighi Jama'at has ideological roots in *madrasas* in India and Pakistan. The *madrasas* in India and Pakistan, in turn, have one main *qibla* (model), namely a *madrasa* in Uttar Pradesh known as Dâr al-Ulûm Deoband, which is said to be an Islamic educational institution in the same class as al-Azhar Cairo in South Asia.<sup>8</sup> This *madrasa* is also known as *umm al-madâris* (the mother of *madrasas*) in South Asia.<sup>9</sup> Dâr al-Ulûm Deoband claims publicly that their students will acquire knowledge in three areas of specialization

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<sup>6</sup>Abdul Aziz, "The Jamaah Tabligh Movement in Indonesia: Peaceful Fundamentalist," *Studia Islamika* 11, no. 3 (2004): 484, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v11i3.596>.

<sup>7</sup>Muhammad Yûsuf Al-Khandhlawi, *Al-Ahâdîs al-Muntakhabah* (New Delhi: Idârah Isyâ'at Dîniyyât Nizamuddin, 2006).

<sup>8</sup>Taberez Neyazi, "Darul Uloom Deoband's Approach to Social Issues: Image, Reality, and Perception," in *Being Muslim in South Asia: Diversity and Daily Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 181–84, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198092063.003.0009>.

<sup>9</sup>Yoginder Sikand, "Deobandi Patriarchy: A Partial Explanation," *Economic and Political Weekly* 46, no. 19 (2011): 35, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41152370>.



from the three leading intellectual centers in North India. The three intellectual centers in question are Delhi as a specialized center for the study of *manqûlât* (study of the Koran and Hadith), while Lucknow and Khairabad as a specialized center for the study of *ma'qûlât* (rational studies) in law, logic, and philosophy.<sup>10</sup>

The ideological roots of the Tablighi Jama'at movement can be traced back to the region of Mewat, North India. This movement has a “genealogical” relationship with the Deobandi Movement of Dâr al-Ulûm Deoband. Both are identical to conservative movements inspired by the Wahhabi reformist movement in Arab lands. However, the followers of the Deobandi movement come from expert educators. At the same time, the Tablighi Jama'at is dominated by lay proselytizers.<sup>11</sup> who carry out the mission of returning Muslim society to Islam's “true” path. Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas Kandhlawi (1885-1944), the initiator himself, still had a kinship with the leadership of Deobandi.<sup>12</sup>

As a proselytization movement, the Tablighi Jama'at is quite unusual. While most proselytizers try to invite people outside their faith to embrace the religion they preach, the Tablighi Jama'at focuses on people already within their circle of belief, i.e., Islam. Their primary mission is to change their brothers and sisters in faith to become a “better” Muslim that meets their standards. Interestingly, as a neo-Salafi literalist-fundamentalist conservative movement with a high tendency to puritanism, Tablighi Jama'at is increasingly unique with the links it

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<sup>10</sup>Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 100.

<sup>11</sup>Farish A. Noor, *Islam on the Move; The Tablighi Jama'at in Southeast Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 27.

<sup>12</sup>Barbara D. Metcalf, “Living Hadith in the Tablighi Jama'at,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 52, no. 3 (August 1993): 585, <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/2058855>.



has with Islamic mysticism (Sufism) and Sufi practices, which other neo-fundamentalist conservative movements regard as something against the teachings of Islam.<sup>13</sup> Like most Indian Muslims, Muhammad Ilyâs, the movement's founder, follows four Sufi orders: Chishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Qâdiriyya, and Naqshbandiyya. This complex affiliation was initiated by Rashîd Ahmad Gangoni, one of the founders of Dâr al-Ulûm Deoband.<sup>14</sup>

The Tablighi Jama'at Movement tends to be the opposite when juxtaposed with the Jamaat-e-Islami movement initiated by Abu al-A'la al-Maududi. The latter tends to set the establishment of an Islamic State as the primary condition for achieving the application of Islamic principles in human life. The Tablighi Jama'at, with the same goal, prefers the persuasive path, inviting Muslims to draw closer to God. They argue that the compelling approach is more appropriate, considering that the Prophets were sent to humankind similarly. The Tablighi demand that *da'wa* be conducted within the Prophet's way to be successful, while all other methods of spreading Islam are destined to disappointment.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, using power, people will be more likely to be forced to adhere, meaning their obedience tends not to be

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<sup>13</sup>Dietrich Reetz, "Sûfî spirituality fires reformist zeal: The Tablighî Jamâ'at in today's India and Pakistan," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, no. 135 (September 1, 2006): 41, <https://doi.org/10.4000/assr.3715>.

<sup>14</sup>Marc Gaborieau, "What Is Left of Sufism in Tablighî Jamâ'ât?," *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions*, no. 135 (September 1, 2006): 57, <https://www.doi.org/10.4000/assr.3731>.

<sup>15</sup>Arsalan Khan, "Islam and Pious Sociality: The Ethics of Hierarchy in the Tablighi Jamaat in Pakistan," *Social Analysis* 60, no. 4 (December 1, 2016): 97, <https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2016.600406>.



based on their sincerity.<sup>16</sup> It answers why Tablighi Jamaat is considered an apolitical religious movement.<sup>17</sup>

By the time this research was conducted in 2018, Temboro Village already had its nickname, *Kampung Madinah* (Medina Village). The handle comes from the Islamic tradition embedded in villagers' everyday lives, associated with Medina, where The Prophet Muhammad established the first Islamic state-like (if not a state) community. However, closer observation shows that Islamic traditions embedded in *Kampung Madinah* Temboro are distinct compared to Indonesian Islam. It implies that the community has its worldviews, moral values, and lifestyle, which puts it into a sub-cultural community category, meaning there is a cultural contrast between the Kampung Madinah and the general public. This cultural distinction primarily refers to the community's affiliation with the transnational Tablighi Jama'at movement.

In his interview, Asrori, a resident of Temboro, stated that the nickname came from visitors outside Temboro. He elaborated that during the construction of the village's gate entrance in December 2018, there was a discussion that the *Kampung Madinah* nickname would be written at the top of the gate as part of the identity of Temboro. However, Gus Yusuf, the eldest son of Kiai Uzairon, who is known to have a close relationship with the villagers, disagrees with this. He argued that Temboro does not (yet) deserve this title. Temboro has many shortcomings that still need to be addressed. Temboro residents

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<sup>16</sup>Christian W. Troll, "Two Conceptions of Da'wā in India: Jamā'at-i Islāmi and Tablīghī Jamā'at," *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions* 39, no. 87 (1994): 121, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30116232>.

<sup>17</sup>Jan Ali, "Islamic Revivalism: The Case of the Tablighi Jamaat," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 23, no. 1 (2003): 175.



still smoking cigarettes is one of the issues that he highlighted, an issue that al-Fatah considers an evil deed.<sup>18</sup>

Many scholars have conducted several studies on Pesantren al-Fatah and Kampung Madinah Temboro. Some focused on the proselytization aspect<sup>19</sup>, some chose Pesantren al-Fatah as the focal point<sup>20</sup>, others were concerned with the holy dimension of its people<sup>21</sup>,

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<sup>18</sup>Asrori, Temboro Village Resident Interview, 2018.

<sup>19</sup>Yon Machmudi and Putih Kusumah Ardhani, "The Role of Women in Islamic Propagation: A Case Study of Tablighi Jamaat's Nyai of Pesantren Al-Fatah, East Java, Indonesia," *Journal of Asian Social Science Research* 2, no. 2 (December 27, 2020): 175–90, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jassr.v2i2.27>; Zainal Arifin et al., "The Impact of Masturah Program on The Families of Tablighi Jamaat at Temboro Village in Indonesia," *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 1 (March 20, 2021): 136–49, <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v4i1.1128>; Syarifah Isnaini, "Social Media and Public Participation of Tablighi Jamaat's Women," *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi (Indonesian Journal of Communications Studies)* 6, no. 1 (2022): undefined-undefined, <https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v6i1.3591>.

<sup>20</sup>Arifin, "Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology"; Muhammad Luthvi Al Hasyimi, "Dampak Faham Keagamaan Jamaah Tabligh Terhadap Perubahan Sistem Pendidikan di Pondok Pesantren Al Fatah Desa Temboro Kecamatan Karas Kabupaten Magetan," *Intelektual: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Keislaman* 7, no. 1 (May 20, 2017): 99–108, <https://doi.org/10.33367/intelektual.v7i1.365>; Yusuf Khummaini and Sukron Mamun, "Jodoh Dan Perjodohan Santri Jamaah Tabligh Di Pesantren Temboro," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Dan Penelitian Hukum Islam* 3, no. 1 (2020): undefined-undefined, <https://doi.org/10.30659/jua.v3i1.7586>; Khairuddin Alfath, "Pendidikan Karakter Disiplin Santri Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Fatah Temboro," *Al-Manar* 9, no. 1 (2020): 125–64, <https://doi.org/10.36668/jal.v9i1.136>; Sukron Mamun and Ilyya Muhsin, "Istinbāṭ Method of Tablighi Students In Pesantren Temboro: Textual and Contextual Matter," *Justicia Islamica* 17, no. 2 (October 31, 2020): 185–204, <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v17i2.2003>; Kholili Badriza, "Pondok Pesantren Al-Fatah Temboro sebagai Induk Madrasah Asia Selatan Berbasis Jama'ah Tabligh di Indonesia," *FIHROS: Jurnal Sejarah dan Budaya* 6, no. 1 (June 8, 2022): 10–26, <https://ejournal.staisyekhjangkung.ac.id/index.php/fihros/article/view/21>.

<sup>21</sup>Muh Ridho Nasri Akhmadiyah Saputra, "Tradisi Pembacaan Ayatul Khirzi (Studi Living Qur'an Pondok Pesantren Al-Fatah Temboro)," *Al Karima* 4, no. 1 (2020): 1–9, <https://ejournal.stiqisykarima.ac.id/index.php/AlKarima/article/view/65>; Undefined Khamim and Hisbulloh Hadziq, "Living Hadis Penutupan Lapak Jual Beli Ketika





and some others tried to shed light on the impact of the Tablighi Jamaat on the economy of Temboro village.<sup>22</sup> Using various approaches, some researchers have also examined Kampung Madinah Temboro as a unique community.<sup>23</sup> However, these researchers need to analyze Kampung Madinah Temboro as a subcultural community in a comprehensive manner. The potential of the emergence of a similar Kampung Madinah elsewhere with the same pattern as that of Kampung Madinah Temboro should have been addressed. Therefore, this research is designed to analyze the socio-historical aspect of Kampung Madinah Temboro as a subcultural community and how this particular community can emerge elsewhere.

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Waktu Shalat di Kampung Madinah Desa Temboro Karas Magetan Jawa Timur,” *Tribakti: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman* 31, no. 2 (2020): 253–68, <https://doi.org/10.33367/tribakti.v31i2.1043>.

<sup>22</sup>Fadhool Muhammad Luthfi Alwi, “Peran Pondok Pesantren Terhadap Kegiatan Bisnis Di Kampung Madinah Desa Temboro Kec Karas Kab Magetan Analisis Etika Bisnis Islam: Studi Kasus Pengusaha Lingkungan Pondok Pesantren Temboro. - Digilib UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya” (Surabaya, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2020), <http://digilib.uinsa.ac.id/38817/>.

<sup>23</sup>Muhammad Rasyied Awabien, “Living Hadis di Kampung Madinah, Temboro, Magetan,” *Jurnal Living Hadis* 5, no. 1 (July 11, 2020): 105–32, <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadis.2020.2171>; Zainal Arifin et al., “The Kiai’s Cultural Strategy in Shaping the Religious Culture of the Community of Temboro Magetan Village, East Java,” *Dinamika Ilmu* 21, no. 2 (December 15, 2021): 369–81, <https://doi.org/10.21093/di.v21i2.3657>; Mustaqim Pabbajah et al., “Kampung Madinah: The Construction of Jamaah Tabligh for the Arabization Process in Magetan, East Java,” *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 6, no. 1 (April 30, 2022): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2022.6.1.8378>; Sri Widyastri, “Analisis Manajemen Dakwah Pondok Pesantren dalam Menjadikan Kampung Madinah di Desa Temboro (Studi Fenomenologi di Pondok Pesantren Putra Al-Fatah Temboro),” *TADBIR: Jurnal Manajemen Dakwah FDIK IAIN Padangsidempuan* 4, no. 1 (2022): 25–54, <https://doi.org/10.24952/tad.v4i1.4937>.



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## **Methods**

Referring to the emergence of the *Kampung Madinah* nickname, this research focuses on the study of *Kampung Madinah* as a sub-cultural community based on the transnational Tablighi Jama'at movement instead of placing the term *Kampung Madinah* in the analysis of the civil society concept. That is to say that the *Kampung Madinah* nickname that the visitors of Temboro echo refers more to the village's social-religious conditions. This idea implies that those visitors agreed that what they found in the community, regarding Tablighi Jama'at movement values, makes the community "alien" to other communities around them. This notion also means that those same visitors indirectly acknowledge that what they call *Kampung Madinah* is a sub-cultural community.

This research focuses on studying *Kampung Madinah* Temboro as a sub-cultural community based on the transnational Tablighi Jama'at movement from a socio-historical perspective. Three main questions shape the discussion presented in this study. (1) How is the process of the emergence of *Kampung Madinah* Temboro as a sub-cultural community? (2) To what extent *Kampung Madinah* Temboro can be regarded as the Tablighi Jama'at sub-cultural community? (3) How likely may a similar Tablighi-Jama'at-based sub-cultural community emerge elsewhere?

The research employs historical inquiries involving four steps, i.e., heuristic, critics, interpretation, and historiography. At the same time, the concept of community and sub-culture is employed to help the analysis. The concept of community includes discussing membership, influence, integration, fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional



connection.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, the concept of sub-culture, as Gordon defined, is a sub-division of national culture composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their assortment a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual.<sup>25</sup> This concept emphasizes how a group differs in language, values, religion, diet, and lifestyle from the larger society in which they “separate” themselves.<sup>26</sup>

The sources used in this research are mainly interviews, audio recordings, and observations conducted at Kampung Madinah Temboro. However, secondary sources are also utilized to help understand the ideology of the transnational Tablighi Jama’at movement. Apart from that, some photos also served to help fellow readers depict phenomena that occurred in the study. In addition, one source and another are compared to each other to verify the data that is being presented.

## Result

### *Kampung Madinah Establishment*

McMillan and Chavis argued that members are more attracted to a community where they feel influential.<sup>27</sup> It is pretty evident in the case

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<sup>24</sup>David W. McMillan and David M. Chavis, “Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory,” *Journal of Community Psychology* 14, no. 1 (1986): 6–23, [https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6629\(198601\)14:1<6::AID-JCOP2290140103>3.0.CO;2-I](https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6629(198601)14:1<6::AID-JCOP2290140103>3.0.CO;2-I).

<sup>25</sup>Milton M. Gordon, “The Concept of Sub-Culture and Its Application,” *Social Forces* 26, no. 1 (1947): 40, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2572602>.

<sup>26</sup>J. Milton Yinger, “Contraculture and Subculture,” *American Sociological Review* 25, no. 5 (1960): 626, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2090136>.

<sup>27</sup>McMillan and Chavis, “Sense of C“ommunity.”



of Kampung Madinah Temboro that their primary source of influence is the ideology of the transnational Tablighi Jama'at movement. Therefore, it can be safely stated that Temboro would not be what it is today without the Tablighi Jama'at movement. Adopting the Tablighi Jama'at ideology attracts various parties to be involved in Temboro. In other words, these parties are interested in becoming members. This kind of enthusiasm can take many forms. Some were excited to live in Temboro to feel its religious atmosphere. Others were interested in opening businesses in harmony with Temboro's socio-religious climate or simply becoming regular visitors, especially supporters of the Tablighi Jama'at movement who live outside Temboro.

The formation process of Kampung Madinah Temboro as a sub-cultural community can be harmonized with the four stages of the preaching method that the Tablighi Jama'at movement employed. The approach incorporates four stages: *ta'âruf*, *ta'alluq*, *targhîb*, and *tasykîl*. During an interview, Mulwi Ahmad, the head of Markaz Temboro, explained that *ta'âruf* is a step where the preacher gets acquainted with the target of preaching through various possible approaches. This step is followed by *ta'alluq*, where the preacher tries to familiarize his relationship with the target. In the third phase, the preacher encourages (*targhîb*) the target to be more involved in the Tablighi Jama'at movement's activities. This step ends with *tasykîl*, inviting the target to participate in the Tablighi Jama'at movement's preaching.<sup>28</sup>

1984 to 1997 were considered the *ta'âruf* period of Kampung Madinah Temboro. The stage was initiated by adopting the Tablighi Jama'at ideology by Pesantren al-Fatah in 1984. This stage is where Pesantren al-Fatah plays a vital role as the disseminator of the doctrine

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<sup>28</sup>Mulwi Abdullah, Markaz Temboro Administrator Interview, 2018.



to the inhabitants of Temboro and other villages around it. The first important step al-Fatah took was to provide regional markaz for the Tablighi Jama'at movement. Interestingly, the first Markaz that was founded was not even in Temboro. It was in Manisrejo, a village located about 5 km from Temboro. It was initially only a small mosque but later expanded with *waqf* land around it.

The dissemination of Tablighi Jama'at ideology by al-Fatah drew a lot of resistance. Preachers are often driven out by the villagers where they preached. No more than 15 people attended the weekly Tablighi Jama'at meeting (*ijtimâ'*) held at the Markaz.<sup>29</sup> By the time this research is conducted (2018), the attendance of weekly meetings can reach as many as 5000 to 7000 people. On that account, it is pretty clear that in 1995 and 1996, the potential for forming Kampung Madinah as a sub-cultural community based on the ideology of the transnational Tablighi Jama'at movement was not yet clear. Apart from the lack of harmony between Pesantren al-Fatah and the villagers, community behavior regarded as not following Islamic teachings was also easy to find in Temboro back then.<sup>30</sup>

The next phase, which is *ta'alluq*, involves the process of what McMillan and Chavis call conformity and uniformity.<sup>31</sup> This progress arises from the need for individuals and communities to mutually validate the agreement between the two. At this stage, Pesantren al-Fatah (with its Tablighi Jama'at movement) and the people of Temboro gradually find their common ground and live in harmony. This shift started when Kiai Umar Fathullah and Kiai Ubaidillah, the current Pesantren al-Fatah caretakers (2021), returned from their studies in

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<sup>29</sup>Uzairon Thoifur Abdillah, *Speech Audio Recording* (Temboro, 2012).

<sup>30</sup>Abdullah, Markaz Temboro Administrator Interview.

<sup>31</sup>McMillan and Chavis, "Sense of Community," 11–12.



India and Pakistan in 1998. Both were known as martial artists, which, interestingly, contributed a vital role in the process of conformity and uniformity. The approaches employed by the two involved (literally) physical fights with the people of Temboro. The fierce image at that time can be illustrated when Kiai Fatah was angry at the pesantren bullies. He dragged his sword on the road while riding his motorcycle. It is said that they often fought with the village thugs. Unexpectedly, this approach seems adequate to harmonize the pesantren and the people of Temboro.<sup>32</sup>

In the same year, Pesantren al-Fatah embraced another approach by distributing groceries to the people of Temboro every Sunday night. The *ikrâm* (that is what the activity is called) was carried out by Pesantren al-Fatah in rotation between village areas. This approach is part of *ta'alluq* effort to bind both parties in a good relationship.<sup>33</sup> It reminds us that *ikrâm al-Muslim* (honoring the Muslim) is one of the six primary teachings of the Tablighi Jama'at movement.<sup>34</sup>

Several important national events in 1997-2000 also helped the pesantren and the community to have a sense of mutual need. During the financial crisis of 1997/1998, the *Santris* (students of pesantren) began to interact a lot with the villagers. Temboro residents feel helped by the Santris, who become customers of their shops. The 1998 Ninja mass hysteria outbreak in East Java was another key event that helped to harmonize their relationship. This so-called Ninja Terror reportedly targeted *Koran* teachers, Kiai, supernatural experts, and others. At that time, pesantren al-Fatah and the villagers jointly maintained the

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<sup>32</sup>Abdullah, Markaz Temboro Administrator Interview.

<sup>33</sup>Abdullah.

<sup>34</sup>Al-Khandhlawi, Al-Ahâdîs al-Muntakhabah.



security of Temboro, guarding and patrolling around the village area together.<sup>35</sup>

Apart from being a form of pressure to conform, the monetary crisis and ninja terror incident indirectly stimulated the intensity of interaction between Pesantren al-Fatah and the villagers. The increased power of this interaction binds them together as what McMillan and Chavis call a shared emotional connection. This process refers to the contact hypothesis, where the more often people interact, the greater their tendency to have closeness.<sup>36</sup> The two crises are also classified as shared valent events. The more critical the shared event is for those involved, the greater the community bond.<sup>37</sup> The actors involved during the two events may be different from those involved in this community today. However, what happened then became an important starting point for the formation of the Kampung Madinah Temboro community. Those shared valent events bonded the community together, later known as the Kampung Madinah Temboro community.

The last two phases, i.e., *targîb* and *tasykîl*, in the context of the formation of the Kampung Madinah Temboro's sub-cultural community, occurred in an adjacent period. Therefore, we summarized it into one discussion, which stretched from 2003 to 2009. Meanwhile, since 2009, Kampung Madinah Temboro has transformed into a stable community based on the ideology of the transnational Tablighi Jama'at movement. The beginning of these two phases was marked by holding daily and weekly small-scale Tablighi Jama'at activities and massive annual national scale *ijtima'* (meeting) at Markaz Temboro by Pesantren al-Fatah. Through these activities, the echoes of the

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<sup>35</sup>Abdullah, Markaz Temboro Administrator Interview.

<sup>36</sup>McMillan and Chavis, "Sense of Community," 13.

<sup>37</sup>McMillan and Chavis, 14.



Kampung Madinah Temboro community are known in various regions, at the very least by members of the Tablighi Jama'at movement at the regional, national, and even international levels. This resonance represents the effect of honor<sup>38</sup> on the community, strengthening the ties between the Kampung Madinah Temboro community members.

Before 2003, the annual *ijtimâ'* was held at the Markaz Manisrejo, the first Pesantren al-Fatah markaz. In 2003, the Markaz was moved to the Syafi'iyah complex at Temboro, close to the Central Mosque of Pesantren al-Fatah. The Markaz was moved again in 2004 to Pondok Utara, the other pesantren's compound in the northern part of the village. Since 2005, the al-Fatah Tablighi Jama'at Markaz has been moved to Trangkil Darussalam, an area in Temboro which was initially a hilly land which has now become the most significant compound owned by the Pesantren al-Fatah. By the time this research was conducted, Pesantren al-Fatah had planned to build a mosque covering an area of 10 hectares in Trangkil, which would be utilized as a Tablighi Jama'at movement Markaz.

To show the statistics, the annual *ijtimâ'* held in Manisrejo before 2003 was attended by a maximum of 2,000-3,000 people. In 2018, at the Trangkil Markaz, 5000-7000 people could hear the weekly Friday night activities. The annual *Ijtimâ'* of the Tablighi Jama'at movement held in August 2017 was attended by 60,000 people. With the construction of a mosque covering an area of 10 hectares, the annual *ijtimâ'* is targeted to bring 1.2 million people in. The Pesantren al-Fatah itself is recorded to own around 53 hectares of land, including the Pesantren and land that has not yet been built.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>McMillan and Chavis, "Sense of Community."

<sup>39</sup>Abdullah, Markaz Temboro Administrator Interview.





Pesantren al-Fatah has also made various efforts to integrate the community. Faiz, one of the caregivers of the al-Fatah branches who once accompanied Gus Yusuf during his *khurûj*, explained that Kiai Uzairon (d. 2014) specifically asked his son, Gus Yusuf, to embrace the youth village. The first son of Kiai Uzairon is known to be accustomed to mingling with villagers. Many of the village youths were also his childhood friends. His automotive hobby is considered a suitable approach for youngsters. Later, the pesantren initiated a special meeting (*ijtimâ' khusûsî*) among village youth, stretching from those who are inclined to the Tablighi Jama'at movement and those who are classified as "brats." Gus Yusuf also often asked the village youth to visit (*nushrah*) him during his *khurûj* in various places.<sup>40</sup> *Al-nafar fî sabîlillah or khurûj fî sabîlillah*, mainly referred to as *khurûj*, is the sixth and the most important primary teaching of the Tablighi Jamaat movement. It literally means traveling to preach in the way of Allah.<sup>41</sup>

These integration efforts carried out by the family of Pesantren al-Fatah caregivers indirectly increase what McMillan and Chavis call the quality of interaction between the Pesantren and the villagers. The village youths feel appreciated and respected by the pesantren as they know one of the sons of Kiai well. This fact means that the more positive the experiences and relationships, the stronger the bonds.<sup>42</sup> To measure how integrated the Kampung Madinah community is, Mulwi Abdullah estimated that among all the mosques in Temboro, only one mosque had not become the center of the daily Tablighi Jama'at

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<sup>40</sup>Muhammad Faiz, Al-Fatah Branch Caretaker Interview, 2018.

<sup>41</sup>Zacharias Pieri, "Daily Ritual, Mission, and the Transformation of the Self: The Case of Tablighi Jamaat," *Numen* 66, no. 4 (June 18, 2019): 372–76, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685276-12341544>.

<sup>42</sup>McMillan and Chavis, "Sense of Community," 13.



movement activities. This mosque belongs to the Pesantren Baitul Muttaqin, led by Kiai Sofwan. Kiai Sofwan was chairman of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulema Council) and the Head of the Shura Council of Nahdlatul Ulama in Magetan district.<sup>43</sup> During his interview, Mr. Haris, the manager of one of the mosques in Temboro, confirmed the claim.<sup>44</sup> The integration in question can also be seen when the halaqah (A collection of 5-7 *Tablighi Jamaat* mosques in one area) meeting is held. Malik, one of the shop owners in Temboro, elaborated that the mosques in Temboro are divided into three halaqahs: South Temboro, Central Temboro, and Pule. When the meeting is conducted, the shop owners in the area also contribute to providing the meeting needs.<sup>45</sup>

Along with integrating the Kampung Madinah community, The Pesantren al-Fatah has experienced rapid development. Primarily since the first annual *ijtima'* was held in Temboro in August 2003. The meeting was attended by approximately 4000 people, including congregants from Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Thailand, and Bangladesh. Even Hâjî Muhammad Abdul Wahhâb, one of the *shûrâ âlamî* (international consultative assembly) of the transnational Tablighi Jama'at movement at that time from Pakistan, was also present at this meeting.<sup>46</sup> In the following year (2004), after the annual *ijtimâ'* was held, which was attended by around 20,000 people, the Pesantren al-Fatah received 1700 new Santri. This phenomenon marks a significant increase in the number of students. Of the 1400 students, 900 completed the *daurah* level in 2012. They celebrated the first graduation ceremony in al-Fatah's history with the most graduates at

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<sup>43</sup>Abdullah, Markaz Temboro Administrator Interview.

<sup>44</sup>Abdul Haris, Temboro Area Mosque Administrator Interview, 2018.

<sup>45</sup>Malik, Temboro Area Shop Owner Interview, 2019.

<sup>46</sup>Romdloni, Pesantren al-Fatah Cooperative Administrator Interview, 2018.



the *daurah* level.<sup>47</sup> *Daurah* level is the Seventh and eighth grades of Pesantren al-Fatah. At the *daurah* level, students focus on studying the Prophetic Traditions (*hadīth*), particularly the Kutub al-Sittah, six books containing collections of *hadīth*. This study level is identical to the *daura-i hadith* level of The Dar al-'Ulum Deoband.<sup>48</sup>

The accumulation of the abovementioned events has slowly attracted many people to become part of the Kampung Madinah Temboro community. With the *Tablighi Jama'at* movement, the Kampung Madinah could join areas outside the community. They are bridging the community with outsiders who share the same ideology. This case means that the community has a bridging social capital in the form of networks that are beneficial for them. The relationships with members of the *Tablighi Jama'at* movement outside Temboro are based on similar ideologies, so the existing relationships can be categorized as solid ties.<sup>49</sup>

## Discussion

### Subculture Indicators

On the conception of sub-culture, Kampung Madinah Temboro can be categorized as a sub-cultural community that originates within the context of the dominant culture. This notion implies that Kampung

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<sup>47</sup>Faiz, Al-Fatah Branch Caretaker Interview.

<sup>48</sup>Dietrich Reetz, "Change and Stagnation in Islamic Education: The Dar al-'Ulum of Deoband after the Split in 1982," in *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages* (Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 78, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048501380-004>.

<sup>49</sup>Humnath Bhandari and Kumi Yasunobu, "What Is Social Capital? A Comprehensive Review of the Concept," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 37, no. 3 (January 1, 2009): 480–510, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853109X436847>.



*Madinah Temboro* is a community based on religious affiliation, i.e., *Tablighi Jama'at*, born within Indonesian Islam as the dominant culture. Interestingly, Pesantren al-Fatah claims that Nahdlatul Ulama has always been their main ideological base since its inception and continues to claim so. One can speculate that its affiliation with the *Tablighi Jama'at* movement can be considered a negative response to the social and cultural structures' demands they find in Indonesian Muslims. By agreeing to the primary mission of the *Tablighi Jama'at* movement to invite Muslims to be closer to God, they indirectly assume that Islam practiced in Indonesia, to some degree, can do better, aiming for a higher standard. From their point of view, the *Tablighi Jama'at* (*songkok hitam*) movement is the solution. This section discusses the subculture indicators that appear in *Kampung Madinah Temboro*.

The most striking subculture indicator that can be observed is the people's dress code of the *Kampung Madinah*. The visitors are obliged to wear Islamic clothing. They even have a notice board of it in the village entrance gate. The obligation in question could be as simple as wearing a cap for men or a headscarf for women. However, the *Kampung Madinah* villagers have their dress code preferences. The black cap, commonly worn by Indonesian male Muslims, is almost absent. They prefer to wear other types of hats, preferably the ones with South Asian style. Even the village apparatus in which the black *songkok* is more often associated with the more formal attributes do not wear them. Among the *Santris* of Pesantren al-Fatah, black *songkok* is often joked about as *songkok Pak Lurah* (the cap of the head of the village). It is almost certain that no *Santri* wore this type of cap.

The *Kampung Madinah* community men were accustomed to wearing robes and South Asian *sharwal*, which are not common among Indonesian Muslims. Most of them also keep and grow their beards, the practice encouraged by the *Tablighi Jama'at* movement. Muhammad



Zakaria al-Kandhlawî, the author of the *Tablighi Nişab* known as *Fadhâ'il al-A'mâl*<sup>50</sup>, the primary handbook of the Tablighi Jama'at movement, wrote a treatise titled *Wujûb I'fâ 'al-Liḥyah* (obligation to lengthen the beard).<sup>51</sup>

The men of the Kampung Madinah have unwritten rules regarding the type of pants they wear. Jeans are not an option for them to wear to the point where they almost consider them “evil” pants. They prefer three-quarter trousers, or at least the length does not exceed the ankles to avoid *isbâl*. These trousers are mostly wide in size. The practice is based on the Prophetic tradition prohibiting *isbâl* or extending clothes beyond the ankles. See *Shahîḥ al-Bukhârî* no. 5758 and 5784<sup>52</sup> and *Shahîḥ Muslim* no. 2085.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, the women of the Kampung Madinah are accustomed to wearing *niqâb*. More often than not, their clothes are black. As previously mentioned, women of Kampung Madinah must wear a head covering. The least they wear when not wearing the *niqâb* is a head scarf, which interestingly tends to be quite extensive than usual.

Furthermore, the interactions between men and women in this community are strictly maintained. The women cannot talk carelessly with men who are not *maḥram* to them (a member of one's family with whom marriage would be considered haram), excluding some cases, such as buying and selling interactions. This notion also explains why the passenger transportation services commonly found in this

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<sup>50</sup>Muhammad Zakariyâ Al-Khandhlawi, *Manhaj Al-Hayâh al-Îmâniyyah Wa al Tarbiyah al-Dîniyyah Fi Ḍau'i al-Kitâb Wa al-Sunnah Ya'nî Majmû'ah al-Rasâ'il Fi Fadhâ'il al-A'mâl Wa al-Akhlâk* (Shahranpur: Al-Maktabah al-Yahyawiyah, 2011).

<sup>51</sup>Muhammad Zakariyâ Al-Khandhlawi, *Wujûb I'fâ 'al-Liḥyah*, n.d.

<sup>52</sup>al-Bukhârî, *Shahîḥ Al-Bukhârî* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkâr al-Dauliyyah, 1997), 1132.

<sup>53</sup>Muslim, *Shahîḥ Muslim* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkâr al-Dauliyyah, 1998), 865.



community are *bentor*, a.k.a. becak montor (motorized rickshaws). This kind of transportation service is considered friendly to the women of Kampung Madinah, where they can maintain their distance from the motorcycle taxi service providers by sitting in front of the rickshaw, contrasting from conventional motorcycle taxis, where the passengers have to sit behind the service provider at a distance that is considered too close.

Dhikr and prayer boards are common and can be found easily in Kampung Madinah. Short dhikr boards such as *tahmîd* (*alhamdulillah*), *tasbîh* (*subhânallâh*), and *takbîr* (*Allahu akbar*) are placed on street corners or the walls of houses. At the same time, longer prayers are installed at the market and village entrances. One of the food stalls we visited wrote “Allah is omniscient” on its table to remind buyers to honestly pay for what they have eaten because Allah is watching.

Almost all mosques and *mushallâs* (small mosques) in Temboro conduct religious activities based on the ideology of the Tablighi Jama'at movement on fixed schedules. They call each mosque and *mushallâ* a *maḥallah maḥallah*, which acts as the smallest center unit for the Tablighi Jama'at movement activities of the local population. The activities carried out in every *maḥallah* are called *maqâmî*. Pesantren al-Fatah, on the other hand, plays a more significant role. During the month of Ramadan, the pesantren hold several tarawih groups with various choices of the number of chapters of the Koran read overnight, stretching from one juz', five juz', ten juz', 15 juz', and 30 juz' of the Koran in one night. Another thing that is almost absent elsewhere in Indonesia. These unique practices reinforce their community identity with the right to hold the title of Kampung Madinah.

Watching television and smoking cigarettes are also strongly discouraged, especially by Pesantren al-Fatah, whose caregivers



repeatedly remind the Santris and villagers in their speeches. They insist that television brings more of a bad than a positive influence on the viewers, likewise, regarding cigarettes. As previously mentioned, Gus Yusuf, Kiai Uzairon's son, said that Temboro Village still needs to be worthy of the title Kampung Madinah because cigarette smokers are still easily spotted in Temboro. Although these two things cannot be implemented and agreed upon by the community, there is still an idea commonly understood in Kampung Madinah that watching television and smoking cigarettes are evil deeds.

### **The Possibility of the Emergence of Similar Subcultural Community**

According to Gaborieau<sup>54</sup>, although the final interpretation of the significance of the Tablighi Jama'at movement has not been clearly defined, scholars should not take shortcuts and think manichaeenly, especially about the comparison between the Tablighi Jama'at movement and the Jamaat-e-Islami, which al-Maududi initiated. Gaborieau argues that it would be unfair to place the Tablighi Jama'at movement as purely spiritual, peaceful, and apolitical while putting Jamaat-e-Islami as a politically oriented movement that often involves violence. On the other hand, Tibi suggested that the most essential difference between Islamism and Islam lies in the idea that Islamism is about a political order, not a belief. However, Islamism is not only politics but more religionized politics. It means Islamism promotes a political order that is believed to come from God's will and is not based on popular sovereignty. However, as Tibi argues, Islam itself does not

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<sup>54</sup>M. Gaborieau, "Transnational Islamic Movements: Tablighi Jama'at in Politics?," *ISIM Newsletter* 3, no. 1 (1999): 21, <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/17321>.



do that. As a belief, worship, and ethical framework, Islam indirectly also contains certain political values but does not require a specific governance model. Islamism grew out of a particular interpretation of Islam, not Islam itself. Islamism is a political ideology that is different from the teachings of Islam.<sup>55</sup>

That notion also resonates with Gaborieau's suggestion<sup>56</sup> That scholars must change their mapping pattern to a more unbiased approach. Using political and apolitical as dividing lines is ineffective. The focus of scholars should be more on variants of the ways or forms of political practice that are carried out. In the first group, Islamists, we can find a narrow conception of politics through the main framework of the nation-state, in which the main objective is the power to conquer through the fastest possible path. In the second group, such as the Tablighi Jama'at and Deobandi movements, we will find a broader conception of politics, not limited to the concept of the nation-state. They do not have short-term goals. They often put political terms "in brackets." First, they build individuals and institutions, continually giving rise to a more lasting political influence. For example, the international influx of individuals and the ideas of the Tablighi Jama'at movement have a major contribution to the globalization of Islam in Thailand. For the Thai-speaking Muslim group of Malay descent in the Nakhon Sri Thammarat region, the most critical links to them are the routes to India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. This fact suggests that these three countries, as the center of the Tablighi Jama'at movement, have become their primary "Islamic style" orientation. With the presence of the Tablighi Jama'at movement, there was a shift in the pattern from the localization of Islam to the Islamization of the social order. The core

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<sup>55</sup>Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012), 1.

<sup>56</sup>Gaborieau, "Transnational Islamic Movements," 21.





institution of this proselytization movement and its ideology is a transnationalism mission, which means cutting ties with local Islamic ethics embedded in everyday life for a long time.<sup>57</sup>

There are indications that the primary goal of the Tablighi Jama'at movement is to create a specific religious society, i.e., based on the Tablighi Jama'at ideology. The pattern tends to start from the bottom upward. Initially, it is just individuals who slowly prefer to live in a religious environment based on the ideology of the Tablighi Jama'at movement centered in each area (mosques). In these mosques, they constantly practice the ideology-based activities of the Tablighi Jama'at movement. They called these activities *maqâmî*. Gradually, these individuals become a community. Kampung Madinah Temboro, in this case, is positioned as a model for the success of the Tablighi Jama'at movement in forming a religious community based on the Tablighi Jama'at ideology. From this point, we may assume that similar sub-cultural communities may emerge elsewhere.

The illustration of the potential for the emergence of a similar sub-cultural community can be traced through two main elements of the sub-cultural community of Kampung Madinah Temboro, namely: (1) a pesantren based on the ideology of the Tablighi Jama'at movement and (2) a markaz of the Tablighi Jama'at movement. Suppose these two elements are found to be in the same place in an area other than Temboro. In that case, that region has the potential to give rise to another sub-cultural community of the Tablighi Jama'at movement or, in other words, another Kampung Madinah.

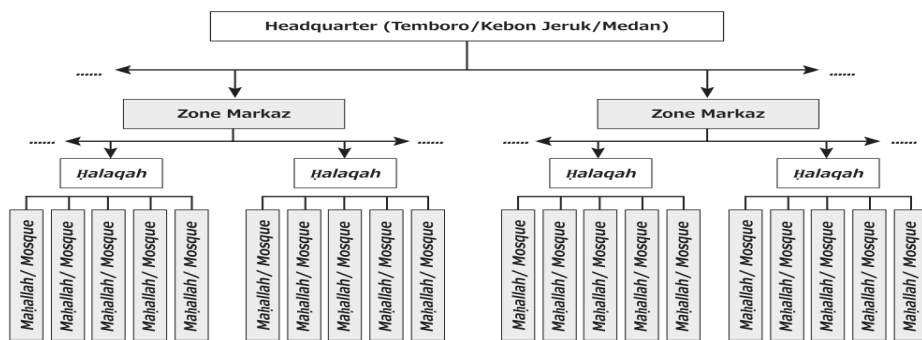
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<sup>57</sup>Alexander Horstmann, "The Inculturation of a Transnational Islamic Missionary Movement: Tablighi Jamaat al-Dawa and Muslim Society in Southern Thailand," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 22, no. 1 (2007): 125–27, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41308088>.



Based on the data from 2018, Pesantren al-Fatah has 102 active Pesantren branches and affiliations, plus 21 newly initiated branches scattered in various regions throughout Indonesia.<sup>58</sup> The (1) Temboro Markaz itself, along with the (2) Medan Markaz and the (3) Jakarta Kebon Jeruk Markaz, are the three central landmarks of the Tablighi Jama'at movement in Indonesia. The three headquarters have their respective *da'wa* areas. The eastern part of Indonesia became the preaching area of the Temboro Headquarters. The Kebon Jeruk Headquarters was in charge of the central part of Indonesia, while the Medan Headquarters had a *da'wa* area in the Western part of Indonesia. They have a different zoning territory than the distribution of time zones commonly known in Indonesia.

Each of the headquarters divides their *da'wa* area into zones or regions. For instance, the regional centers in East Java are the Jombang Zone, Jember Zone, Malang Zone, Banyuwangi Zone, Bojonegoro Zone, and Madura Zone. Each zone markaz is then in charge of several halaqahs. The Halaqah is a collection of five to seven mosques that serve as the Tablighis' stopover. Every mosque with its maqâmi practice, which is hierarchically under the halaqah, is called maḥallah. The illustration of these mapping networks can be seen in Figure 1.



<sup>58</sup>“Pesantren Al-Fatah Annual Report at the Student Guardian Meeting.”



Figure 1.  
The Tablighi Jama'at Markaz Network Map

At this point, we know that there are two different Tablighi Jama'at networks in Indonesia, namely the Pesantren and Markaz networks. The Pesantren network referred to here is the Pesantren branches network owned by Pesantren al-Fatah Temboro. Although we cannot confirm whether there is another pesantren network based on the ideology of the Tablighi Jama'at movement other than the Pesantren al-Fatah Temboro in Indonesia, at the very least, the Pesantren al-Fatah network can be used as a role model. Pesantren Sunanul Husna Al-Jaiyah, established by Ustādh Abdul Najib in South Tangerang (Banten), which is said to be the second pesantren of significant importance to Tablighi Jama'at in Indonesia has also been influenced by Pondok Pesantren al-Fatah. Most of its teachers, including the founder's children, are either graduates or at least have some experience studying at Pondok Pesantren Al-Fatah.<sup>59</sup>

Pesantren al-Fatah, in 2018, recorded 29,244 students and teachers at its center and branches, including 811 international students,<sup>60</sup> Making it the largest Tablighi Jamaat Islamic boarding school in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. This record suggests that among the Tablighi Jama'at movement in Indonesia, Pesantren Temboro is the foremost supplier of religious experts, implying that Islamic experts who are members of the Tablighi Jama'at movement in Indonesia are primarily alumni of the Pesantren Temboro.

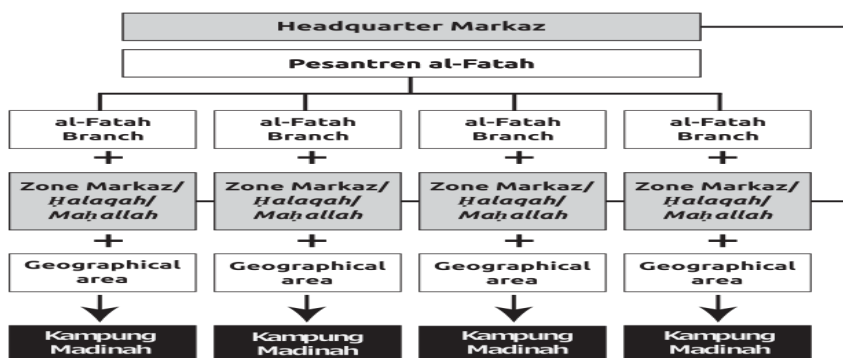
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<sup>59</sup>Eva F. Nisa, "Insights Into the Lives of Indonesian Female Tablighi Jama'at," *Modern Asian Studies* 48, no. 2 (March 2014): 476, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X13000681>.

<sup>60</sup>"Pesantren Al-Fatah Annual Report at the Student Guardian Meeting."



The potential for the emergence of “another Kampung Madinah” would also involve four stages of *ta'âruf*, *ta'alluq*, *targhib*, and *tasykîl* as it took place in Kampung Madinah Temboro. However, the processes that occur in each region might be different. In addition, the similar sub-cultural communities that might emerge may not be as prominent as those in Temboro, as Temboro enjoys two privileges that other regions do not. First, Temboro has one of Indonesia's three main headquarters (Markaz) of the Tablighi Jama'at movement. Second, this Temboro Markaz is controlled by Southeast Asia's most prominent Tablighi Jamaat Islamic boarding school. These two elements are interconnected, contrasting to other regions where it could be a pesantren and a markaz in one area, but they might spring from two separate networks. Supposed in geographical location A exist both Tablighi Pesantren and Markaz. The pesantren might start from al-Fatah as a branch, but the Markaz might come from one of the three central Markaz (Temboro, Medan, Kebon Jeruk). This difference makes the coherence possibility between the Pesantren and Markaz in area A more challenging than in Temboro. Not to mention that Temboro possesses a central Markaz, while others only enjoy a zone markaz, a halaqah, or even a *maḥallah*, which are hierarchically lower, as seen in Figure 2.



## Figure 2 The Possible Pattern for the Emergence of Similar Subcultural Community

As a religious education institution, al-Fatah's contribution to the Tablighi Jama'at movement is crucial. The Tablighi Jama'at Movement explicitly states that a preacher does not have the Ulama, but any Muslim can become a preacher.<sup>61</sup> According to the Tablighi Jama'at movement, teaching Islam is not only the duty of scholars as representatives of Muslims (*al-fardh al-kifâyah*), but it is the obligation of every Muslim (*al-fardh al-'ain*), including those who do not have sufficient religious education and also those who do not have a significant social position.<sup>62</sup> Meanwhile, one of the main goals of the *khurûj* activity is to improve the members' spirituality while performing the *khurûj*.

To achieve this objective, the composition of the Jama'ah that was sent to *khurûj* also consisted of a *'âlim* (religious expert) and a *hâfidz* (memorizer of the Qur'an). When a group goes *khurûj* for 40 days, the members are expected to learn basic Islamic laws from the *'âlim* (at least those related to worship and *mu'âmalah*) and also to improve their ability to read the Qur'an accompanied by the *hâfidz* during those 40 days. According to Mulwi Abdullah, this mechanism is what the initiator of the Tablighi Jama'at movement, Maulana Muhammad Ilyas, wanted. However, he noted that this mechanism could not be implemented optimally in Indonesia since most Ulama in

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<sup>61</sup>Metcalf, "Living Hadîth in the Tablîghî Jama'ât," 603.

<sup>62</sup>*Islam in South Asia in Practice* (Princeton University Press, 2009), 189, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv301gh6>.



Indonesia have not joined the Tablighi Jama'at movement. At this point, Pesantren al-Fatah takes its role by producing *âlim* and *hâfîdz*.<sup>63</sup> On many occasions, the pesantren caregiver often emphasized that one of the main objectives of the Pesantren al-Fatah is to produce reliable preachers.

## **Conclusion**

The success of the Tablighi Jama'at movement's *da'wa* in Temboro is primarily supported by unique factors and privileges that may be difficult to find elsewhere. There are at least two privileges that Temboro has so that the Tablighi Jama'at's preaching has become a great success. These two privileges are closely related. First, it contains the Pesantren al-Fatah, which has grown into Southeast Asia's largest Tablighi Jama'at-based religious education institution. Second, it has the Temboro Markaz, one of the three central headquarters of the Tablighi Jama'at movement in Indonesia. The Pesantren runs the Markaz itself. It means that the leader of the pesantren is also the leader of the markaz. These two factors make the four stages of *da'wa* (*ta'âruf, ta'lluq, targhîb, and tasykîl*) possibly much more straightforward than elsewhere.

We could consider the Kampung Madinah Temboro as a model for the success of the proselytization of the Tablighi Jama'at in Indonesia. The success in question is forming a fully integrated community with the Tablighi Jama'at ideology. This ideology makes the neighborhood different from the surrounding communities, making it a sub-cultural community. The sub-cultural indicators are present in the way they dress and interact, symbols in the environment, the values

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<sup>63</sup>Abdullah, Markaz Temboro Administrator Interview.

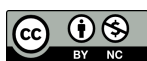


they hold, and the integration of the Tablighi Jama'at ideology in people's daily activities.

With the network of the movement's Markaz and al-Fatah branch network, similar communities can emerge in other places. However, its emergence may be more challenging than in Temboro. Apart from that, the potential for the emergence of other Kampung Madinah itself proves that despite the claim that the Tablighi Jama'at movement has no political agenda, the potential power it has is worth considering (if not enormous) if similar communities appear in various regions in Indonesia.

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