

**PURITANISM OF ISLAM IN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL  
(PESANTREN)  
(Models of Religious Understanding in Puritan Pesantren in East Java)**

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**ABSTRACT**

Religious purification in Indonesia is often considered as radical movement of Islam, the straitlaced and extreme one. This research aimed to explore religious understanding of the puritans. Six of pesantren were selected as those are considered as the proper representative of those puritan pesantren. Qualitative descriptive method was employed to analyze the data. The result showed that those six pesantren are varied in the quality of how puritan they are. Those pesantren can be grouped into three groups, radical, accomodationists, and moderinists. The grouping is based on how they deal with the concert issues occurring in the society. The radicals tend to strait-lacedly deal those issues. The accomodationists are more flexible than the radicals as they prohibit some issues under certain condition and purpose. On the contrary, the modernists are more lenient with the tajdid issues.

**Keywords:** *Scriptualism, Acomodationism and Puritanism*

## INTRODUCTION

The wave of reformation has had an enormous impact throughout the Islamic World, from North Africa to Southeast Asia. The reformation began in the eighteenth century, when Muslims lost their creativity and drowned in the coldness of thought, due to the closed doors of *ijtihad* by established religious institutions. From there then arose the reformers such as Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792) in the Arabian Peninsula, Shah Waliyullah ad-Dahlawi (1703-1762) in India, and Muhammad ibn Ali as-Sanusi (1791-1859) in North Africa. Like Ibn Taymiyya five centuries earlier, the reformers of the eighteenth century concentrated their movement to melt the "internal frost" of purifying monotheism, opposing the dominance of the school, and eradicating the things that were considered *bid'ah* (activity in religion that was never taught by the prophet). The problem of "external threat" is not the focus of thought, because most of the Islamic world has not been touched by the hegemony of non-Muslim groups. Although from the seventeenth century Western European nations had already arrived as traders, evangelists or warriors (gold, gospel, glory or mercenary, missionary, military), their presence did not shake the fabric of Muslim civilization even until the end of the 18th century.<sup>2</sup>

So, at the end of the 19th century, prominent figures (*mujaddid*)<sup>3</sup> emerged. They called on Muslims to take modern civilization that supports progress as modernization, which actually based on rationalization and technicality, doesn't contradict the teachings of Islam yet commanded by Al-Qur'an. For their positive attitude toward modernity, historian defined them as the renewer group (*mujaddid*) and their idea is called Islamic modernism. This *tajdid* (renewal) movement then began to penetrate Indonesia.

As in Indonesia the renewal was done by various organizations and groups, such as Muhammadiyah, founded by Ahmad Dahlan in

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<sup>2</sup> Mahsun Jayadi, *Fundamentalisme Muhammadiyah*, (Surabaya : PNNM, 2010),

<sup>3</sup> The term *tajdid Ad-din* basely not good to used, it is because religion is the revilation from GOD that cannot be changed and be renewed. But, the good term *tajdid al-fikr al-islam*. Because, that is renewed is the understanding, the methode of understanding and the practicing it. Al-Manawi, *al-Fayd al-Qadir*, Juz 1. (Cairo : Matba'ah Tijariyyah Kubra), 10. in Amal Fathullah Zarkasyi, *Tajdid and Modernisasi Pemikiran Islam*, (ISID-Gontor : Jurnal Tsaqofah Volume 9, No 2nd November 2013), 400

Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta on November 18, 1912. The objective conditions underlying the birth of Muhammadiyah are internal factors such as the impurity of Islamic practices. This impurity is due to the failure of most Indonesian muslims in making al-Qur'an and Sunnah Rasul as the only reference. Educational institutions owned by Muslims, for example, have not been able to prepare the generation that is ready to carry out the mission as Caliph on earth. Meanwhile, external objective factors are the increasing of Christianization in the midst of Indonesian society, the penetration of Europeans especially the Dutch in colonial Indonesia. According to Mukti Ali, Muhammadiyah's birth was motivated by four important things, namely: (a). Uncleanly and mixedness of Islamic religious life in Indonesia. (b) Inefficiency of Islamic educational institutions. (c). Catholic and Protestant mission activities and (d). Indifference, even the degrading attitude of the intellectuals to Islam.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to Muhammadiyah which was founded in 1912, Sheikh Ahmad Soorkati in 1914 founded Al-Irsyad which aims to promote Islamic education purely among the generation of Arabs. As that, they established Madrasah Al-Irsyad, especially in coastal areas, such as Surabaya, Pekalongan, Tegal and Jakarta in the field of social and Islamic *da'wah* based on the Qur'an and As-Sunnah purely.<sup>5</sup>

Besides Al-Irsyad, there is an organization of Islamic Union (Persis)<sup>6</sup> established by KH. Zamzam, a cleric from Palembang on 17 September 1923 in Bandung. The purpose of Persis is to restore Islamic leadership to the Qur'an and Hadith. In order to realize these idealisms, Persis made various efforts such as founding Islamic schools and teaching like Madrasah, Pesantren,<sup>7</sup> Tabligh activities, and publish

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<sup>4</sup> Mukti Ali, 1985 on Pasha and Darban, 2002

<sup>5</sup> Soegijanto Padmo, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia dari Masa ke Masa : Sebuah Pengantar*, (Jurnal Humaniora, Vo. 19, No. 2 Juni 2007), 156.

<sup>6</sup> Persis (Persatuan Islam or Islamic Unity) is one of organisation focused on modern islam that have activity on education and social. Persis is not focused on politics, means they not do politic practically. Look at to the leader of Persis, *Tafsir Qanun Asasi dan Dakhili Persatuan Islam*, (Bandung : Pusat Pimpinan Persis, 1984), 6. This ideology is supported by Howard M. Federspiel that is seriously think about Persatuan Islam. He thought since firs time, Persatuan Islam preseved education. Education aspect was seriously forced by Persatuan Islam. Look at Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, (Ithaca, New York : Modern Indonesia Project Southeast Asia Program Cornell University, 1970), 18.

<sup>7</sup> On 1940 ahmad hasan moved to bangil then he developed an islamic boarding school named pesantren persatuan islam that is existently until now. Other that, after

magazines and religious books. Magazines that are quite popular among Muslims in Indonesia and even abroad such as Malaysia are Islamic Defenders and Al-Muslimun magazine.

Persis contribution in fighting *bid'ah* and *khurafat* delivered hard and straightforward is very prominent. Such an attitude is more pronounced when the leadership of Ustadz A. Hasan, famous for his pen and his sharp tongue in establishing the purification of religion. The popularity of A. Hasan while leading Persis is the correspondence he made with Bung Karno when he was banished to Ende. The letter was then published in part of Bung Karno's famous book, *Under the Revolutionary Flag* in the chapter of *Letters from Ende*.<sup>8</sup>

The Islamic purification movement in Indonesia is implemented with the establishment of educational institutions such as *pesantren* and formal schools. It is an effort of perserving puritan ideology as the rich heritage through formal education. Institutionalizing the ideology in the form of *pesantren* is one of the chosen criteria to determine research objects. The selected institutions are: *Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan*, *Pesantren al-Ishlah Sendangagung Paciran Lamongan*, *Pesantren al-Islam Tenggulun Solokuro Lamongan*, *Pesantren Maskumambang Dukun Gresik*, *Pesantren Persatuan Islam in Bangil Pasuruan* and *Pesantren Walibarokah Islamic Da'wah Institute Indonesia in Burengan Kediri*.

Those objects were chosen for the reason that those *pesantren* have been considered to be proper representative for institutions and organizations with puritan ideology in Indonesia, such as Muhammadiyah, Persis, LDII (Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia or Islamic *Da'wah* Institute of Indonesia), Dewan Dakwah Indonesia (Council of Da'wah Indonesia), Salafi and Wahabi Ideology. *Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah* is a representation of Muhammadiyah. *Pesantren Persatuan Islam* is a repository of Persis. *Pesantren Wali Barokah* is the representation of LDII. *Pesantren al-Ishlah* is the representation of Gontor. *Pesantren al-Islam* is the representation of Council of Da'wah Indonesia and *Pesantren Maskumambang* is a representation of Wahabi ideology.

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year 1900, many private schools appeared. The schools mainly built by an organisation that focused on education and they got subsidy from the government. Read Soegarda Poerbakawaja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam Indonesia Merdeka*, (Jakarta : Gunung Agung, 1970), 29.

<sup>8</sup> Soegijanto Padmo, *Gerakan*, 157.

## RELIGIOUS PURIFICATION'S DYNAMICS

In its historical development, the post-Ibn Taymiyya purification movement remained to be continually dynamic. It also developed into some branches. Each has its special pattern and emphasis according to the context of time, place, and problems encountered. The purification movements themselves can be classified into two, namely the pre-modern purification movement and the purification movement of the modern period.

The pre-modern purification movement took its form mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Meanwhile, the modern movement primarily began at the time of the fall of Egypt at the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte (1798-1801 AD), which later convinced Muslims of the low culture and civilization it possessed, as well as raises awareness of weakness and backwardness.<sup>9</sup>

Although the purification movement is broadly divided into two decades of pre-modern (XVII and XVIII) and modern (from the XIX century AD), but as Fazlur Rahman points out, the purification movement launched in that century basically exhibits the characteristics similar to the main idea of Ibn Taymiyyah who is seen as the father of purification, the purification movements are put forward the socio-moral reconstruction of Islamic societies as well as correction of Sufism that over-emphasized the individual and ignore the people.<sup>10</sup>

The existence of similar characteristics in purification movements, both pre-modern and modern, can be seen for example in the seventeenth century AD Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi has laid the foundation of the same reform theory with Ibn Taimiyah, also emphasized the implementation of the teachings of sharia in everyday life. Then the revelatory movement of the eighteenth-century AD pioneered by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab is seen as more radical and does not recognize the compromise of all "non-Islamic" influences on the deeds of worship. Similar movements also appear in other parts of

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<sup>9</sup> Look at Harun Nasution, *Pembaruan*, 14. Zulbadri Idris, *Pembaruan Islam Sebelum Periode Modern*, on Jurnal Media Akademika, No. 29, XIV/1998, 56.

<sup>10</sup> M. Amin Rais, *Kata Pengantar*, x. for the farther information look at to Fazlurrahman, *Revival and Reform in Islam*, dalam P.M Holt. ANN K.S Lambton, Bernard Lewis (ed), *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. 2B, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1970), 636-656.

the Islamic world. Shah Waliyullah in India in the eighteenth-century AD, also did the same with what Shaykh Ahmad did in his attitude to deviant Sufi teachings. However, what differentiated him from his predecessor, the Shah Wali Allah movement also entered the world of socio-political life, where he opposed the socio-economic injustices that befell the people, criticized the tax burden borne by the peasants, and called on the Muslims to establish a territorial state in India that merged into the form of an international imperial.<sup>11</sup>

The pre-modern purification movement on the basis of "returning to the Qur'an and al-Sunnah and ijtihad" as above, also colored the purification movement in the modern era (XIX and XX CE). For example, purification movements are driven and triggered by Muhammad Abduh, which is formulated in four aspects: first, the purification of Islam from various influences of teachings and improper practices (*bid'ah* and *khurafat*); second, the purification of the Islamic higher education system; third, the reformulation of Islamic doctrine in line with the spirit of modern thought; fourth, the defense of Islam against European influences and attacks.<sup>12</sup>

What Abduh did above shows the same characteristics as in the previous era, namely the existence of reformist purists. What Abduh did only as one example, can certainly be found also in movements and thoughts by other figures.

With regard to the continuity of purification characteristics of both pre-modern and modern movement, according to Voll can be seen also in three inflatable fields or themes: first, the call to return to the strict application of the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet; secondly, the necessity of ijtihad; thirdly, the reaffirmation of the authenticity and uniqueness of different Qur'anic experiences by means of synthesis and openness to other Islamic traditions.<sup>13</sup>

The above description shows that purified ideas based on theological and normative, have historically shown relevance to theological and normative foundations. Therefore, the purification movement has a strong historical root as a foothold for the continuity of the present and future purification movements.

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<sup>11</sup> Achmad Jainuri, *Tradisi Tadjīd dalam Sejarah Islam* (bagian kedua), dalam *Suara Muhammadiyah*, No. 06/80/1995, 25.

<sup>12</sup> Lihat Achamd Jainuri, *Landasan*, 25-26

<sup>13</sup> John O Voll, *Pembaruan*, 25

## RELIGIOUS PURIFICATION IN PESANTREN

The responses and definitions of religious purification in *Pesantren* are quite varied, such as *Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah* argue that, *aqidah ummat* Islam should be straightened out, because *aqidah ahlussunah wal-jama'ah* itself has many versions, there is *aqidah ahlussunah wal-jama'ah* NU version, there is *aqidah ahlussunah wal-jama'ah* version of Muhammadiyah, and there are other versions, therefore in *Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah* taught *Al-Aqidah Al-Islamiyyah As-Shohihah* by Muhammad Zamil Zenu and *Al-aqidah al-wasithiyyah*, and *Majmu' Fatawa* by Ibnu Taimiyyah, and also some lectures from Sholeh Fauzan bin Ustaimin one of the great scholars of Saudi Arabia, so that in understanding Islam in this case *aqidah* can be in accordance with the *aqidah* taught by Prophet Muhammad SAW.

Slightly different from what Maskumambang understands, in the view of Islam Maskumambang etymologically is *Al-Khudhu* '(obedient), obedient here is obedient to the *Shari'ah*, namely the *Shari'ah* taught by the Prophet. Because Islam who came to Indonesia was already contaminated by the animism culture of dynamism, Purification here is to restore the teachings of Islam in accordance with the teachings brought by Prophet Muhammad SAW. Among Maskumambang's own founding backgrounds is the purification of monotheism, and this has been reflected in Maskumambang's vision of "have a good morality".

But Al-Islam Pesantren has another view related to purification, al-Islam argues that Purification is *Al-muhafadhah 'ala qodimi sholih wal akdhu bil jadid al-ashlah*,<sup>14</sup> keeping the teachings or *Shari'ah* brought by the Prophet and the early *salaf* scholars and take something new that has *maslahat* for the people. For Pesantren Al-Islam Purification must be done, however, al-Islam pesantren does not impose its ideology embraced by the students because in religion there is no compulsion in religion, so it tends to be more loose. The students are invited to discuss, think and be introduced to existing ideology.

Almost the same, but different forms of implementation. The view of Pesantren al-Ishlah on Purification is the purification of *aqidah*, but the form of purification and purification efforts are not so

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<sup>14</sup> The interview with KH. Din Muhammad Zakariya in may 15th 2017. He is the leader of Pondok Pesantren al-Islam Tenggulun Solokuro Lamongan changing Moh. Khozin that is now becoming the leader of Yayasan Pesantren al-Islam

visible and prominent, the planting of aqidah in Al-Ishlah pesantren is similar to that in Gontor, meaning *bid'ah* is highly avoided to be discussed.

Far different from Islamic Persatuan Pesantren, the Exact View of Purification, exactly leaning towards the term *taswiyah*, is cleansing Islam from things that are against the *shari'ah*, or from things that smell of *hindu* tradition-Javanese Ceremonies and rituals.<sup>15</sup> Because how one can restore the teachings of Islam as originally if the grime has not been cleaned.

## RELIGIOUS PURIFICATION IN PESANTREN

Each Pesantren has its own characteristics in interpreting the Qur'an and al-Hadith, although basically they have the same spirit that is the spirit of purification of religion, and has the same ideology of *tajdīd* ideology, although there are pesantren who disagree with the terminology *tajdīd* itself, but still has the same strains as *tajdīd*.

Thus, it is necessary to purify the ideology of puritan ideology in some pesantrens in East Java. Through research conducted by the author in six pesantrens in East Java, the writer mapped the puritan ideology in pesantren into three typologies, the first is the pesantren with radical puritan typology<sup>16</sup>, pesantren who have radical puritan typology tend to be harder in responding *tajdīdiyyah* problems, who embrace the ideology of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab<sup>17</sup> as their ideology, the pesantren Maskumambang Dukun, Gresik. There is also a tendency of militant in educating the students of pesantren Al-Islam Tenggulun Solokuro Lamongan<sup>18</sup> and there is also a textual<sup>19</sup> tendency

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<sup>15</sup> See Allan A. Samson, *Conception of Politics, Power and Ideology in Contemporary Indonesian Islam*, dalam Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye (ed), *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, (London : University of California Press, 1978), 197.

<sup>16</sup> The term of puritan radical is termed by Azyumardi Azra with "Ultrapuritan", or like over purification. If purification on Muhammadiyah's version only limited on *mahdlah*, ultrapuritan also on mu'amalah. This term is explained on International Research Conference on Muhammadiyah (IRCM), 29th November – 02th Desember 2013 on University of Muhammadiyah Malang.

<sup>17</sup> This is proclaimed by mr. Fatih as the leader and the son in law of kh. Najih achjad: "..... the Tauhid is Wahabiism, so that others thought that Maskumambang is wahabi ideology, so the father has ever becoming the candidate to the seminar on *risalah wahabiiyah* on saudi.

<sup>18</sup> The pesantren al islam itself has some collection on weapons, as mentioned by the leader of pondok pesantren, KH. Din Muhammad Zakariya: "we have the wepon,



in interpreting the various sayings of the Prophet and the word of Allah SWT namely Pesantren Persatuan Islam Bangil Pasuruan.

It can be seen from how this pesantren responds to religious issues that occur in the community. Among the statements given by *Pesantren* when responding to those kinds of issue is its comment about *tahlilan*. They tend to respond the *tahlilan* issue straitlacedly.

"In the situation when we face 2 harming choices, principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*usūl al-fiqh*) guide us with the rule of *idza ta'aradha mafsadatāni ru'iya a'dzamahuma dlararan* (when two evils clash, the worse of the two is ward off by doing the lesser). This means that we have to choose one the less harming and ward one the more endangering off. I'd like to choose to feel inconvenient to human being rather than to be afraid of *adzab* Allah. People might understand our reason. They usually don't invite to *tahlilan*, but they give us the *berkat* [food and snacks brought home after *tahlilan*]." <sup>20</sup>

This radical puritanical typology can actually be subdivided, since the radical pattern in each Pesantren is not completely equal, the first is the radical scriptualist, this pattern reflects the interpretation of the Qur'anic text and the very textual Hadith of the Prophet, the textualist interpretation can be seen in Pondok Pesantren Persatuan Islam in interpreting the Prophet's Hadith about the dog lick that has been discussed in the previous analysis. The second is radical fundamentalist, this pattern reflects the interpretation of texts of the Qur'an and Hadith of the Prophet is very fundamentalist, fundamentalist thought can be seen in Pondok Pesantren Maskumambang in giving meaning on stone of grave is enough one and do not mention any name or writing at gravestone, because Maskumambang argues that the writing of the name has no basis in the Qur'an and Hadith. The third is radical militant, this pattern reflects the militant character formed by the pesantren to students, the character of the militant is instilled by Pondok Pesantren al-Islam

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for helping Poso, Ambon. The police know all that is lead by Ali Imron that is now still on jaled.

<sup>19</sup> This textual statement is the conclusion of the writer that is agreed by Ust. Umar bahwa truely Persis proclaimed like that : "...so that, Persis people called *Dhohiriyah*, because take *Dhohirnya* that Hadits."

<sup>20</sup> The interview with Drs. Fatihuddin Munawwir on may 15th 2017

Tenggulun, it is proved that the pesantren has a "weapon" to defend Muslims in areas of conflict over command of the pesantren, therefore students must be ready and willing to sacrifice for the sake of defending Muslims.

The next typology, pesantren with modernist puritan typology, pesantren with modernist puritan typology tends to be more lenient in responding to tajdīdiyyah issues, such as when responding to Christmas greetings, pesantren with modernist puritan typology is far more tolerant than other pesantren with radical puritan typology, pesantren with modernist puritanical typology assumes that Christmas greeting will not change a person's creed, just as when Prophet Muhammad "stood" when there was a Jew who died who happened to be his corpse passing before him, this Prophet's "standing" attitude was a form of homage to the Prophet Muhammad against the Jews, as well as Christmas greeting is a form of respect for Muslims to the Christians.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, with other issues such as Family Planning (KB) program, meningitis injection and coming to *tahlilan*, Pesantren Al-Ishlah more tolerant in responding to these problems, though that does not mean al-Ishlah approve *tahlilan*, but if come to it merely keeping *hablumminannas* (the relation with people) then it does not matter, likewise with family planning and injecting during that for the benefit then it is okay.

Pesantren classified by modernist puritan typology is Pondok Pesantren Al-Ishlah Sendangagung Paciran Lamongan. Among the Pesantren studied by the researchers, only Pesantren Al-Ishlah who entered the modernist puritan, modernist attitudes possessed Al-Ishlah not be separated from the background study and educational background of Pesantren Al-Ishlah KH. Dawam Shaleh who graduated from Pondok Modern Gontor Ponorogo.

The third typology of Pesantren with accommodationist puritan typology<sup>22</sup>, pesantren which has accommodative puritan typology tends to be more accommodative in responding to tajdīdiyyah issues,

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<sup>21</sup> The interview with KH. Dawam Sholeh the leader of Pondok Pesantren al-Ishlah Sendangagung Paciran Lamongan.

<sup>22</sup> The terminology Akomodasionis was inspired from the term by Allan Samson dalam artikelnya *Conception of Politics, Power and Ideology in Contemporary Indonesian Islam*, dalam Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye (ed), *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, (London: University of California Press, 1978), 196.

while maintaining its puritan spirit, while maintaining the integrity of *hablumminannas* in order to accommodate differences.

Pesantren belonging to the accommodationist puritan typology is Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan and Pesantren Walibarokah LDII Santren Kediri. The attitude of Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah and Pesantren Walibarokah is almost the same as responding to *tahlilan* invitation, if it is in order to keep *hablumminannas* no problem, but eating food is not allowed, because it is served *lighoirillah* (not for God) and is a form of *ta'awun*. However, not all attitudes show similarities, but the attitude tends to be accommodative. Another example is when addressing the family planning program, Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah thinks that if it is limited to *tandzim* then it is not a problem, while Pesantren Walibarokah has two policies, when in Pesantren and in internal circles, LDII does not recommend using KB, but in external, LDII do not call on the community to not participate in family planning program, this attitude is to maintain and respect government policy.

The major differences among those three models of religious understanding are their attitude and response to the concret issues. Radical puritans respond it strait-lacedly. They refer the al-Qur'an and Hadith directly, warding the *ulama* off. On the other hand, modernist puritans are more progressive while the accomodationists are more accommodative. The distinct difference between progressive and accommodative is how they view Christmas greetings. While modernists allow it, the accomodionists not strictly forbid it. They allow it only under certain condition and purpose. In the contrary, they radical partner utterly prohibit it in anyway. The same position can be seen in the response of family planning program. The modernists support it, the accomodationists allow it with special consideration, and the radicals totally prohibit it. These mean that radicals are in the extreme right wings, moderinists are in the extreme left wing and the accomodationists are just between the two.

## CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of the above analysis, the author found that religious Puritanism as a "spirit" in the Pesantren, made justification for what has been interpreted, so that social relationships are often dumped in order to maintain loyalty to the omnipotent. So, there are some Pesantren who understand the meaning of al-Qur'an and

al-Hadith textually, so the implication also tends to override the differences. There is also an understanding of the meaning of the Qur'an and al-Hadith contextually, so that implication tends to be tolerant and accommodative in addressing the differences.

Thus, it can be concluded that the construct of puritan ideology in Pesantren in East Java can be grouped into three, namely, radical puritan, modernist puritan and accommodationist puritan. Pesantren with radical puritan typology is Pondok Pesantren Maskumambang Dukun Gresik, Pesantren al-Islam Tenggulun Solokuro Lamongan and Pondok Pesantren Persatuan Islam. While the Pesantren with modernist puritan typology is boarding school Al-Ishlah Sendangagung Paciran Lamongan. And Pesantren with accommodationist puritan typology is Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan and Pondok Pesantren Walibarokah Santren Kediri.

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### **Interview**

- Interview with the leader of regional distric of LDII Ir. Chriswanto Santoso, M.Sc, di DPW LDII Gayungan VII/11 Surabaya. On May 13<sup>th</sup> 2017.
- Interview with the leader of Ponpes al-Islam KH. Din Muhammad Zakariya on May 13<sup>th</sup> 2017.
- Interview with the leader of Ponpes Maskumambang Drs. Fatihuddin Munawwir on May 5th 2017
- Interview with KH. Dawam Sholeh, the leader of Pondok Pesantren al-Ishlah Sendang Agung Paciran Lamongan. on May 16<sup>th</sup> 2017