PENETRATION OF ISLAMIC PURITAN LEARNING IN VILLAGES: STUDY ON CADREATION OF MEMBERS OF AL-QUR'AN INTERPRETATION FORUM IN NGANJUK REGENCY

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Abstract

This study discusses the social penetration of the Al-Qur'an Puritanical Interpretation Council (MTA) both in development and cadre regeneration of its members in Nganjuk Regency. The movement of social puritanical Qur'an Interpretation Forum carried out by the MTA are very interesting to study. Although in the form of a foundation with charismatic leadership, MTA preaches puritans such as social organizations, because it has an active organizational structure. Most MTA members from various backgrounds include farmers, laborers, and government officials. There are various factors that tremble behind them, one of which is being laymen, material benefit and a democratic movement. The pattern of cadre MTA members in Nganjuk regency has 4 stages, namely introduction, coaching, stabilization, and control.

Keywords: Puritan Penetration, Cadre Pattern of MTA Members.

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci: Penetrasi Puritan, Pola Kaderisasi Anggota MTA.

Introduction
The wave of renewal has had a wide impact on Islamic World, from North Africa to Southeast Asia, which began in the 18th century, when Muslims lost their creativity and sank into the freezing of thought, due to the closed door of ijtihad by established religious institutions. From there later,
the leaders of reformation rose, such as Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab\(^1\) (1703-1792) in the Arabian Peninsula, Shah Waliullah al-Dahlawi (1703-1762) in India, and Muhammad bin Ali al-Sanusi (1791-1859) in North Africa. Ibn Taymiyyah in the previous five centuries, reformers in the eighteenth century focused their movements on liquefying "internal freezing", namely purifying monotheism, opposing the domination of the school of thought, and eradicating things that were considered heretics. The problem of "external threats" is not a focus of thought, because most of the Islamic world has not been touched by the hegemony of non-Muslim groups. Although since the 17th century, Western Europeans have arrived as traders, spreaders of the Gospel, or warriors (gold, gospel, glory or mercenary, missionary, military), their presence until the end of the 18th century did not destabilize the order of Muslim civilization.\(^2\)

However, this was also sustainable in the 19th century; with new figures emerging (mujadid)\(^3\) calling on Muslims to take modern civilization that supported progress. Because modernization was in the right sense, that is, based on rationalization and technique, it is not contrary to the teachings of Islam even ordered by the Qur'an. Because these mujadids were positive about modernity, they were called modernists by their historians and their ideas were called Islamic modernism. The Tajdid movement then began to explore Indonesia.

Therefore, it is necessary to realize that this phenomenon cannot be separated from the rise of the puritanical Islamic movement. There are two main causes that drive the rise of the puritan Islamic revival movement,

\(^1\) He is a diligent scholar in Islamic missionary activities. He was born in Uyainah in 1115 H (1703 AD) and died in Dir‘iyyah (Saudi Arabia) in 1792 M. The condition of Muslims with various forms of practice and belief in his lifetime which deviated from the meaning of tawhid had encouraged Shaykh Muhammad and his students to launch Islamic da‘wah to remind people to return to pure monotheism. There have been many books written by him concerning renewal or purifying tawhid. See Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab, KitabutTauhid, Tawhid, (Yogyakarta: Gema Ilmu, 2011), 15.

\(^2\) Mahsun Jayadi, Fundamentalisme Muhammadiyah, (Surabaya: PNNM, 2010), 23.

\(^3\) The term tajdid al-din is basically inappropriate to use, because religion is a Divine revelation that must not be changed and renewed. The right term is tajdid al-fikr al-Islami, because what is renewed is understanding, thinking, teaching methods and practicing the teachings of the religion. Al-Manawi, al-Fayd al-Qādir, Juz 1. (Cairo: Matbā‘at Tijāriyyah Kubrā), 10, in Amal Fathullah Zarkasyi, "‘Tajdid dan Modernisasi Pemikiran Islam’, Jurnal Tsagafah, Volume 9, Nomor 2, (Ponorogo: Institut Studi Islam Darussalam Gontor, November 2013), 400.
namely at the global level because the collapse of the Soviet Union as a balancing force of Western capitalism pioneered by the United States and Britain. After that, the fundamentalist power of Islam motivated to form ethno-religio internationalism, sought to be the substitute role of the Soviet Union as anti-Western capitalism. Secondly, at the local level, the appearance of Abdurrahman Wahid, popularly known as Gus Dur, was a figure of traditionalist Islamic symbols that accommodated the practices of the abangan tradition in the "Wisdom" frame. For example, Ruwatan is interpreted as a shodaqoh; offerings are interpreted as being kind to other fellow beings, including jinn. Gus Dur's views were strongly opposed by puritan Muslims, including Muhammadiyah and MTA. On the contrary, Gus Dur's attitude towards Islamic fundamentalism was very strict. As an illustration, for example, it appears in his statement in the Muslim Intellectual Association (ISMI): "As far as I am concerned I am ready any time enter and join ICMI. If the fundamentalism, the militarists do not control it, if Professor Habibie does not use it for interest politics groups.

This fact is inevitable, because after all the Islamic puritanical movement in various countries where Islam is a part of it, will always clash with local traditions. Conflict will definitely occur, considering that each party, both the Islamic puritan movement and the local tradition, has a conservative tendency, namely to protect, safeguard and preserve each other's values.

One of Islamic puritan groups is the Qur'anic Interpretation Council (MTA). Like other puritan Islamic groups, MTA invites Muslims to return to the Qur'an. Thus, the Qur'an is the main accentuation point in all MTA

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4 etno-religio internasionalism is dipinjam dari Ulil Absor Abdalla’s term stated in discussion “Membangun Kebutuhan Bangsa Melalui Pendekatan Kultural. see S. Bayu Wahyono, Kejawen dan Aliran Islam, (Dissertation: UNAIR, 2013), 27
5 Ibid., 32
7 The MTA missionary movement was carried out hard and rigidly and was disseminated frontally. This has led to a horizontal conflict between MTA and traditional groups who have indeed practiced synthesis between Islamic teachings and local traditions. There have been many cases of conflict between MTA and traditional groups, especially NU, as illustrated in the Iklila Nur Afida study conducted in Bantul. See Ilyya Muhsin, Geliat Puritanisme Islam di Indonesia : Menyibak Tabir di Balik Gerakan dalam Perspektif, Jurnal IAIN Salatiga, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Juni, 2018), 3.
activities. From this invitation, MTA provides a literal-textual interpretation of the Qur’an and balks at religious practices that mix with local traditions.

MTA is a purification movement that has been in the spotlight in recent years because of its rapid development. MTA is an Islamic purification movement, which from the beginning dedicated itself as a missionary movement to restore the practice of pure Islam while eroding any practice of Islam, which is not considered to be based on the Qur’an and as-Sunnah. The persistence of the activists in their enthusiastic return to the Koran and the Sunnah made this movement grow rapidly to various regions, especially in the countryside. The number of followers is increasing with various professional backgrounds, economics, and social classes. The impression that emerged is that the development of this movement in the rural area was always tinged with tension and responded controversially by rural Muslims. MTA’s journey of approximately 40 years has never been separated from the tension and conflict between his followers and Muslims in general.

The symptom of the widespread purification of the MTA movement in rural areas is different from the main thesis so far which states that the purification movement only captivates the appeal of urban and educated people, as is the thesis of Riaz Hassan8 Clifford Geertz9 and Sutiyono. Therefore, the expansion of the purification movement of Islamic MTA in this rural area is interesting to explain further. Theoretically, religious purification movements usually develop limited among traders and educated circles in the city. On the other hand, purification of Islamic movements will tend to weaken in the countryside and among farmers. Puritanically parallel movements with rationalization tend to distance themselves from local traditions but are easily adapted to urban societies that adhere to the pattern of transactional, bureaucratic, and rational relations.10

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The emergence of MTA from the beginning until now is still considered as a mass organization that is disturbing to the community, so that a misleading opinion appears by certain parties. In some areas, this often creates conflict because of disharmony in the community, which it deems to be deviant. Even in 2012, there was a conflict between MTA and the surrounding community.\(^{11}\) However, LDII, which was previously considered to have often caused conflict, this organization still survives until now. Interestingly, in Nganjuk District, MTA worshipers still survive in 3 Sub districts and each month, there are additional followers. Based on these facts, this paper examines the penetration of MTA in Nganjuk Regency and the pattern of cadreation of the organization. This case is interesting, according to the author.

Social Penetration Theory As a Knife Analysis

Social penetration theory began to be developed since 1973 by two psychologists, Irwin Altman\(^{12}\) and Dalmas Taylor.\(^{13}\) They propose a concept of social penetration that explains how the closeness of relationships develops. Altman is a professor in Psychology at the University of Utah

\(^{11}\) Demonstrations carried out by members of the Ansor Youth Movement and a number of santri at the Gondo Mayit Islamic Boarding School in Maguan Village, Berbek District, Nganjuk Regency, East Java, Wednesday (03/07/2012), were marked by showing off immunity. See https://oranganjuk.wordpress.com/2012/10/05/gp-ansor-ngajuk-tuntut-pembubaran-mta/ diakses tanggal 1 Desember 2018

\(^{12}\) He was born July 16, 1930 in New York City, New York. A social psychologist who won the B.A degree. degree from New York University in 1951, M.A. from the University of Maryland in 1954 and his Ph.D. from the University of Maryland in 1957. He was active in many groups and associations including the International Applied Psychology Association, American Psychological Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Association of University Professor, Society for Psychological Studies in Social Problems, Experimental Social Psychology Society, Community Personality and Social Psychology, Association for Human-Environmental Relations Studies, Environmental Design Research Association, and Western Psychology Association. He is currently an emeritus faculty member at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irwin_Altman accessed December 1, 2018

\(^{13}\) At the time of Taylor's death in 1998, when old friend James M. Jones described Taylor as someone who always tried to get people involved in various ways, to make a difference to psychology was by establishing a Minority Fellowship Program in APA in 1965. Originally from Detroit Michigan Dalmas Taylor who works in the US Army will complete a BS in chemistry at Western Reserve University. See Robert B. Lawson, A History of Psychology, (Wangshington: Routledge, t.t), 145.
while Taylor is a professor in Psychology at the University of Lincoln, Pennsylvania. They suspect that an interpersonal pool will end up as the best friend only if they process in a "regular stage and form from the surface to an intimate level of exchange as a function of direct and approximate results."

Since its inception, the theory of social penetration has a large role in the field of psychology and communication. The social penetration theory model provides a complete way to describe the development of interpersonal relationships and to develop them with individual experience as a process of self-disclosure that drives the progress of relationships. Thus, this theory has been used extensively as a model in teaching regarding interpersonal relations and as a framework in considering the development of relationships.

Another statement from Altaian and Taylor's theory states that relations as a reverse penetration process in which both parties methodically lock deeper layers of their lives and slowly drift apart. In order to test this expectation, psychologists from Chicago, Betsy Tolstedt at Mines Hospital and Joseph Stakes at the University of Illinois analyzed long-term love partner conversations when their relationship was separated. They found that pain and direction caused the split process to be more chaotic than predicted in theory. Contrary to film-backward analogy, their findings indicate that the depth of self-disclosure often increases dramatically in the final stages of decline.

From a philosophical review, Wood (1997) states that "relations cannot be ordered and cannot be explained by economic principles or cost-benefit considerations but differ from social penetration theory."

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15 According to the theory of social penetration, it all depends on the costs and benefits of each person because he considers the possibility of a close relationship. Immediately after the first meeting, they assessed that their profits and losses were friends. If it is felt to be mutually beneficial, the social penetration process will be carried out. See Altman, Irwin. *Social penetration: The development of interpersonal relationships*. (T.t: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973)
From this, it can be seen that individuals have a high degree of flexibility to make their choices when facing social problems in order to maximize their personal benefits.

Development of the Qur'an Interpretation Council Analysis of Puritan Islam

Studies related to the purification movement of Islam in Indonesia have been carried out by many religious scholars, anthropologists and sociologists. From their study, various types of Muslim typologies emerged based on the relationship between Islam and tradition, the relationship between Islam and modernity, or Islamic and political relations. Particularly related to the Islamic purification movement can be found a number of important research results. James L. Peacock chose Muhammadiyah as the largest refining movement of Islam in Indonesia. Abdul Munir Mulkhan once analyzed the purification movement of Islam (Muhammadiyah) in the countryside.16

Through a sociological approach, Mulkhan found that pure Islam in rural areas can survive after making various "modifications" and adjustments that are influenced by the local socio-political situation. Peasant communities accept pure Islam after adjusting to the lifestyle of farmers.17 On the other hand, pure Islam through the role of elites at the local level made modifications to obtain more masses. Pure Islam is difficult to develop in the village when sharia activists dominate. In line with this opinion, it is in accordance with the phenomenon of Brebek and Pace which is claimed by Mr. Suwandi as the Head of the Nganjuk Branch. "The development of MTA in Nganjuk Regency originated from radio broadcast on Jalan Citarum..."
Nganjuk Kota. This was carried out via radio broadcasts about da’wah and recitation held in the Center on a continuous schedule.18

Whereas, Howard M Federspiel chose Islamic Unity (Persis) as a manifestation of the purification movement.19 The purification movement of Islam has attracted the attention of researchers from various scientific disciplines because of the important role played and the various implications that accompany it. Studies of the Islamic purification movement are related to several aspects, including aspects of Islamic activism and the pursuit of authentic Islam, Islam and productive economy (Abdullah), the development of modernity and education (Hassan), rational leadership patterns (Weber, Mulkhan), and radicalist expression of Islamic politics (el-Fadl), and the struggle of Islam and local culture (Geertz, Wood-ward, Beatty, Nur Syam).20

The purification movement is commonly used to refer to groups of people who want pure Islamic practice. In Geertz’s classification, this movement was supported by santri from the santri group in the Javanese typology beside abangan and priyayi.21

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18 With this approach, there are people who are interested in participating in the MTA mission. Finally, the management of the Nganjuk Branch was formed, along with the preparation of activities in Nganjuk starting from Donations and routine. As time went on, it gradually opened several branches in Nganjuk’s area, including Brebek, Bagor, Pace and Nganjuk Kota. Interview, Nganjuk, December 1, 2018.

19 Persis is a puritan Islamic movement that stands in Ban-dung and extends in several cities in Bangil and Pekalongan. Federspiel targeted Persis as a faction of Islam in Indonesia with the term “puritan Muslim”. The other two factions are "nominal Muslims" and "Muslim nationalists", each of whom is defined as a Muslim who is attached to customs and Muslims who respond to values of citizenship and democracy. See Howard M. Federspiel, Labirin Ideologi Muslim: Pencarian dan Pergulatan Persis di Era Kemunculan Negara Indonesia 1923-1957. Ruslani Kurniawan Abdullah, (Jakarta: Serambi, 2004), 19.

20 Ibid.,

21 According to Geertz, this movement emerged from a group of puritan santri (pure Islam) with its important character, first, linked to the market social subculture in the understanding of the entire trading network. Trade-based urban communities are an important feature of the development of the purification movement. Secondly, pure Islamic groups having a concern for doctrine almost entirely subvert the aspects of Islamic ritual, as religions that contain ethical guidelines for living in modern times. Third, social grouping emphasizes awareness or sovereignty. Fourth, managing education with a modern school system. Clifford Geertz, Abangan, Santri dan Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa, terj. Aswab Mahasin, (Jakarta: Pustaka, 1981). Riaz Hassan, Islam: Dari Konservatisme sampai Fundamentalisme, terj. Abubakar Basyarahil,
In the discourse of contemporary Islamic movements, the purification movement is also associated with radicalism. Purification is considered a religious ideology that sponsors religious radicalism that occurs in various parts of the world. Moreover, puritanism was also accused of being the source of the global terrorism movement.\textsuperscript{22}

Leadership is indeed interesting to study further to know why the puritan movement still adheres to charismatic leadership patterns rather than rational patterns as Weber's findings.\textsuperscript{23} According to Mr. Rukani, one of the Branch Heads of Brebek said that the leadership pattern in MTA was still single, namely Jakarta center.\textsuperscript{24} Within certain limits, the safety of followers depends on other people, namely the leaders. In the opinion of the author, this symptom is one of the prominent features in a magical society that is still attached to its authority.

Formally, the development of MTA can be divided into two periods of leadership, namely the period of Abdullah Thufail Saputro\textsuperscript{25} and Ahmad Sukina. Abdullah Thufail Saputro is known as a preacher who has the ability

\textsuperscript{22} Khaled Abou el-Fadl saw the purification movement of Islam contribute to the rise of radical Islamic fundamentalist movements and became the antithesis of other moderate Islamic groups. Puritan groups were not interested in absorbing the wealth of past Islamic civilizations while looking at the rational orientation of critical intellectualism. See Chafid Wahyudi, \textit{Tipologi Islam Moderat dan Puritan : Pemikiran Khaled M. Abou El-Fadl, Jurnal Teosofi}, Vol. 1 (Juni, 2011), 12.

\textsuperscript{23} Rationalization is the expansion of rationality of actions and goals that are rationally determined by efficient means that are universal insofar as society experiences modernization. The rationalization of social actions can be divided into instrumental rationality (synergistic conformity between ways and objectives to be achieved), rationality of the value of actions that are controlled by awareness of beliefs and commitment to the order of noble values such as justice and belief in God. Two other social actions are affective actions (influenced by feelings) and traditional actions (which are based on hereditary practices. See Max Weber, \textit{Sosiologi}, terj. Nurcholis, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006), 93.

\textsuperscript{24} The MTA purification movement tends to form a single follower pattern. MTA looks like a charismatic religious movement that makes the elite a backrest in defending its groups. Although a single leader but among members are also familiar with each other because they are a strong network. \textit{Interview}, November 25, 2018.

\textsuperscript{25} Abdullah Thufail Saputro was born in Pacitan, East Java on September 19, 1927, his father named Thufail Muhammad (a Pakistani migrant merchant) and his mother named Fatimah (daughter of a wedana / camat from Pacitan, East Java). \textit{Interview} with Suwardi, December 1, 2018 at his home.
to speak to amaze his listeners and is able to deliver 2-3 hours of study material. Abdullah Thufail Saputro is the initiator and founder of this movement. This period lasted for approximately 20 years between 1972-1992.

The development of the next phase of MTA was in the second leadership, Ahmad Sukina, after the death Abdullah Thufail Saputro in 1992. This stage can be said to be the stage of stabilizing the movement and expanding the movement. At this stage, the founders’ successors are forced to explain important issues regarding the organization, beliefs, and rituals that are left untreated as long as the founder is still alive.26

Typically, a religious movement, in the second stage of replacement, the leader faces a more complex problem. At this stage, the leader of the movement is required to solve and explain important issues regarding the organization, trust, and routines that have been carried out by its predecessor. During Sukina’s leadership, the development stage of MTA could be divided into two parts, namely the stabilization and expansion stages. The stabilization stage is the stage where MTA establishes itself as an open movement by continuing various business charities such as schools, business networks, publishing, and the development of Medical Centers. The schools that MTA currently has range from kindergarten to High School. Business networks are controlled through a savings and loan business unit that operates centrally in Surakarta under the auspices of the CV Al-Abrar. While the publishing business as a missionary tool in the form of reprinting manuals for the study of interpretations and guidelines for worship such as prayer and fasting. In addition to book, magazine Respon and Al-Mar’ah were

26 When the second generation MTA is led by the new management, the requirements for membership are made more assertive and the lines of power within the organization are clarified. The quality of the second generation is usually not as tough as the first generation, because at the stage in its leadership period, MTA experienced a significant development extending to almost all regions in Indonesia. Just like his predecessor, Sukina was able to play her role as a leader of Islamic movements aimed at abandoning the tradition of syncretic religiosity and purifying Islam. He was very good at reading the reality that the masses who were attracted by the pattern of MTA preaching, the majority were Javanese people more specifically. Interview with Ms. Umi as a member of the MTA, November 25, 2018 at Brebeg.
published. Second, the expansion phase is marked by the presence of internet communication media, MT @ -FM radio, and MTA TV.\(^\text{27}\)

The rapid development of MTA is very significant in Indonesia according to Mr. Suwardi as the chairman of Nganjuk Branch. This was seen during the 2nd National Silatnas which was held in 2017 and attended by President Jokowi\(^\text{28}\). Unveiling the development of a very fast MTA, in Nganjuk there were also more followers and programs. However, what was intensified there was donation, the building of a branch for the dissemination of da’wah and the teaching of radio transmitters.\(^\text{29}\) From this, the researcher concluded the followers in Nganjuk were from rural backgrounds that might still be layman in religion and view the material. Therefore, they are many who are curious and follow MTA.

**Cadreation Pattern of MTA Members in Nganjuk Regency**

It is not well planned that MTA will become a movement involving thousands of people. His followers came by themselves voluntarily following the recitation and various ways of trying to discipline themselves to remain istiqamah. Citizenship ties are agreed solely to maintain the consistency of recitation, from the presence in the recitation to the supervision of the implementation of the results of the study in the daily lives of participants. Practicing a doctrine with supervision from fellow followers turns out to be effective, more monitored, controlled and easily coordinated. The internal ties and unity of MTA residents, with group discipline, are actually more dedicated to themselves and their families, but in the end attract sympathy and other people's interests to become followers.\(^\text{30}\)

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28 It is estimated that 50 thousand people will attend because the number of MTA branches continues to grow. Branches that have been installed 430 Branches, plus 109 new Branches so that the total reaches 539 Branches. *Interview*, 1 December 2018 at his house.

29 Of the total followers in Nganjuk there are an estimated 450 people from various backgrounds from rural people. 100 of them from government employees. *Interview with Mr. Sudjito, sub-district head of Peace*, December 5, 2018.

30 If classified according to the level of intensity and sincerity, the participation of this movement can be grouped into three, namely the assistants (sympathizers), permanent residents, and special citizens. *Interview* with Mr. Suwardi, December 1, 2018.
Someone who will become a follower of this movement must go through three stages of activity, namely the introduction stage, the formation phase, and the stabilization stage. The first stage is the introduction and precondition of prospective followers on activities and consequences that must be carried out as MTA members. The second stage is fostering prospective followers who are ready to become permanent members. After being considered serious in participating in the study, the prospective members are required to fill out a participant’s form, which contains the identity and agreement as a permanent member. This process is intended in order that the prospective member can truly obey all the rules and regulations outlined by the MTA management either verbally or in writing. This is an important moment for prospective members who have decided to "convert" from the old world into a new world where there will be many changes.

The third stage is stabilization. Prospective members have become steady members with all their obligations. Along with the ongoing development process, the institutional stability of the target groups was formalized to become a separate branch or remain united with the existing branch. The stability of each follower in following the group's ethical requirements varies so that the depth of the level of participation is also not the same. There are some who quickly enter into the core followers of the movement called special groups, while others remain ordinary followers. Followers who have established themselves as supporters of Islam through this movement declare themselves special members after going through a process of fostering specifically especially about the importance of the teachings of Imamah and worshipers in Islam.

According to the author, from a number of processes, the cadre pattern described by the informant is indeed very administrative. However, at Nganjuk the enthusiasm of followers in istiqomah became very high

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31 At this stage prospective residents are encouraged to take part in the recitations which are held both at the branch level and in the morning Sunday public recitations in the Surakarta Center with the status of listeners (mus'amami). There is no definite time limit for someone in the precondition to enter the next stage. Interview with Mr. Suwardi, December 1, 2018.
32 Illya Muhsin, Geliat, 20.
33 Ibid.
followers. This can be seen by many of them who attend the recitation in MTA Jombang once a month.

Their participation process is of several ways, namely close family paths, employer paths, and through the media. The family path means the followers who are invited and introduced by family members or relatives who were first members of MTA.\textsuperscript{34}

Another path that is also common is through employers or superiors. Some of the members of this movement have labor backgrounds, both farm laborers, construction workers and company workers. Followers of the workers started from the advice of their employers who had become permanent members. Employers condition their workers to live and behave according to Islamic guidance according to what has been studied. Another path that has a very significant role in increasing the number of MTA followers is through radio communication and information media. Since using radio as a medium for preaching Sunday Morning in Jombang, there has been an increase in number. MTA-FM and Persada FM radios were oriented as da’wah radios so that in one day, playing the recording of the Sunday Morning recitation delivered by Ahmad Sukina is played up to three times. After hearing da’wah on the radio, participants were interested in attending the recitation regularly. There are even radios listeners groups and attend the Sunday Morning recitation in Surakarta even though they are not permanent followers. The communication channel via radio is quite effective in increasing the participation of members from various backgrounds.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34} The participation of a family member is not uncommon based on a paternalistic system, because parents become the first followers and are followed by their children or siblings. Including the pattern of regeneration of followers in the family path is through the door of marriage. Indeed, no written provisions were found containing the necessity of marrying fellow citizens who received the blessing of the local branch leader. Citizens may marry other people from any group from fellow Muslims and marriages are carried out in accordance with Islamic teachings. \textit{Interview} with Mr. Suwardi, December 1, 2018.

\textsuperscript{35} Other characteristics which are especially important at the time of recitation, both the general recitation of the Sunday morning and the recitation of waves and groups, are a bag containing stationery, notebooks and pens, the Koran and its translations (published by the Ministry of Religion). Followers seriously listened to and actively noted important things emphasized by Ustadz. The Koran was opened and listened to when the ustaz asked one of the followers to read the verses of the Koran explained. There is a kind of necessity for participants to bring writing instruments while following the
This is a habit of reading the Qur’an, and its translation is part of an effort to fulfill the principle of ease in reciting the Qur’an. The elite of this movement does not advocate for followers to multiply memorization of Qur’an. The reason other than followers is prioritizing understanding and practice in daily life, there are also many followers who have not yet smoothly read Qur’an.

Conclusion

The puritanical movement of MTA is a foundation that moves like a social organization that with its various organs moves in a systematic, structured, and uncompromising manner in preaching. Because of its nature, MTA can be analyzed using social penetration theory. This can be seen from three aspects, namely: utilizing political opportunities, mobilizing resources (moral, structural, social-organizational, human and financial), compiling the movement process (framing process) and profit and loss costs.

MTA as a purification movement can penetrate the countryside with followers mostly from farmers and laborers, as well as a small portion of traders and employees. The pattern of recruitment takes place in a simple way through the process of introduction, guidance, stabilization, and control. Followers of this movement are classified into three based on the intensity of involvement in supporting the movement, namely the inmates, ordinary members (permanent students), and special members as the core supporters of the movement. In the process of regrouping, routine study is a discursive field, a place to produce single interpretations and truths. The most important pattern of community formation is the pattern of recitation, namely public recitation and radio recitation.

lecture, repeatedly Ustadz reminded the reciters to bring the books of the Koran, notebooks and stationery as a form of sincerity in following the recitation. Interview with Ms. Umi, November 25, 2018.
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