

THE PRACTICE OF AMAL MASJID IN MADURA

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Abstract

This paper aims to portray a practice called 'amal masjid' which is very popular at Madura. It is performed at the street to get donation for mosque(s) construction. However, local MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia; Indonesian Ulama Council) issued a legal regulation to forbid it. This condition comes to a problem because the practice is the real solution for funding source. On the other hand, its existence is problematic as it disturbs even endangers street users as well as the amal men. The primary data of this research is from observation and interview at two location of amal masjid in Pamekasan and Sumenep. This paper is going to answer three questions. First, to what extent does the amal masjid represent the identity of local Maduresse Moslems? Second, how do the Maduresse Muslim negotiate the amal masjid to the local government and other stakeholders? Third, how can the amal masjid be located as a distinctive local Muslim philanthropy and the blueprint on ideal philanthropy to the world?

Keywords: Amal Masjid, Maduresse Moslem, Local Philanthropy, Government.

A. Introduction

It would be fair to say that Madura is an island of mosque as finding the mosque building(s) would not be hard at any part of it. Typically, a mosque is used to perform Jumu'ah prayers, Eid prayers, funeral prayers, Islamic teaching forum (*pengajian*) or other big rites and celebration. Other than that, Maduresse also have so called *langgar* and *surau* (a mosque in smaller size) which generally belong to individuals or families and used

for smaller forums. Traditional families living at *taneyan lanjang* (a common yard for several houses) would usually have a very small and simple *langgar* located at the very West side of it.

Additionally, a mosque would typically exist in every village—even sub-village—as it could be easily identified by the voice of call (*adhān*) or Islamic readings (such as *ṣalawāt* and *wirid*) five times a day. Every Islamic educational institution would even have at least one single mosque for students' activities. The number of Islamic educational institution at Madura is quite high as every village would have at least one Islamic elementary school (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*) while some villages have Islamic boarding school (*Pondok Pesantren*). Amazingly, the building of mosques is generally more than proper and even luxurious. This implies how Maduresse Moslems respect and value the mosque as not solely a physical building, but also religious expression even a symbol of prestige. It closely relates to Maduresse Moslems who do not hesitate to give hands in keeping the mosque well-built and managed, including doing so called *amal masjid* (mosque charity).

Amal masjid—or simply called as *amal*—could be briefly described as an activity in which some people stand by at the street facilitating its users to donate for the mosque construction. This practice is not only found in Madura, because other areas in horseshoe (*Tapal Kuda*) area also have it as well in far fewer numbers. *Tapal Kuda* is often described as a private Madura as many Maduresse tribes live there. It consists of some part of Pasuruan, Lumajang, Probolinggo, Jember, Bondowoso, Situbondo and Banyuwangi (East Java, 2010). In Madura, it could be found almost everywhere and becomes as if a common scenery that local people do not wonder on it anymore. In one single regional or trans-regional trip, for instance, it could be found about two to five spots in which the *amal* takes place particularly at the crowd such as three-junction, intersection or a crowded street.

The high number of *amal* inspires other Maduresse to do the same way in dealing with the similar purpose. Local society also seems to accept the practice so the numbers get increased time by time. Moreover, it is commonly believed that only by *amal* could the mosque reparation

committee cover the funding need and the process goes on. This practice is also considered powerful to initiate cooperation of local people in giving their hands through different ways. An *amal* at Keppo, Galis, Pamekasan, lasted during seven years (2000-2007) and was successful in supporting the enlargement of a luxurious mosque locating at the edge of an intra-province street (Halimah, 2016). Unsurprisingly, this practice is even preferable also for private school building. For example, *amal* performed to repair a school building at Trasak, Larangan, Pamekasan, performed since about May 2016 until today.

Into some extent, this practice reflects the strong civil society and the creativity to fulfill the common need. It also shows the traditional values of Indonesians or, in this case, Maduresse, in the term of solidity, cooperation and division of labor. Furthermore, people could even do it independently without relying on the role or help of state or government. However, on the other hand, the local government does not totally agree with the practice as it potentially harms and disturbs the street users. So far, it is only MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*; Indonesian Ulama' Council) which issued a legal fatwa to forbid *amal* while three other regions still use other instruments to either forbid and manage this practice. One of which was the Bangkalan local government which forbid the practice only before and after Eid as the volume of vehicles is above average (Faisol, 2016).

The argument is based on some evidence as few traffic accidents inevitably happened at the spots. Consequently, the restriction of this practice has been issued through both formal and non-formal instruments. MUI Bangkalan, for instance, still invited its people to stop *amal* through cultural instrument or so called *tauṣiyyah* (advice). Meanwhile, MUI Pamekasan is still discussing about this theme and does not issue a fatwa yet (Ahmad, 2016). The practice, however, does not really disappear. It just changes the setting or style and/or move into a 'safer' location. It is still familiar to find the *amal* at intra-district or intra-city streets although the number is not as big as what found at trans-villages street.

Based on the problem, this writing would like to explore the phenomenon of *amal masjid*, particularly its special character(s) in searching and constructing the identity of local Moslems as well as their

philanthropy practice. It would then formulate possible solution(s) to modify the practice while perpetuating and promoting it as one of Indonesian Islam legacies to the world civilization.

B. *Amal Masjid* at Madura

Intended to get donation targeting people passing through the street, the spot of *amal* is well designed and set to stimulate street users in order to donate their money. It is equipped by some accessories such as signs—typically a plastic banner displaying the picture of mosque or any writing or announcement—informing that the *amal* is nearby, a tank, circuit breakers, flags and the likes put at any part of street. Additionally, it is also found some shelters, water dipper and microphone to facilitate the on-the-spot men doing the mission (Observation during a regional trip from Pamekasan to Sumenep via-Pakong and via-Prenduan, May 2016). When it is possible, the location of *amal* is nearby the mosque to show the real proof for donors and ensure them more on where the money is used to. A few *amal* does not exist nearby the mosque such as what happens at Belto' three-junction and Trasak.

In a round, at minimum, it would be about 3-4 people at the spot. It consists of a man with microphone (spokesperson), waiters (those who stand by at the edge or at the middle of street to take the money from donors) and other men who ask the street users to speed down the vehicles (typically by waving hands or flags). A few women also get involved at the spot, although not as many and often as what men do (Observation on *amal* at Pragaan Daya, Sumenep and Pamoroh, Pakong, Pamekasan. At the second field, the spokesperson is even a woman. May 2016). The speech of spokespersons is typically about motivation to donate, general greetings and daily talks delivered in local or national language while singing *ṣalawāt* or other songs.

At general, *amal* is not the only technique used to facilitate others to donate. There are many other ways to perform this mission either for community or for individual purpose. A door to door technique with donation request proposal is also well known, although most Maduresse distrust and consider it as a fake. It is a common secret that a luxurious

beggar village exists at one sub-district at Madura in which occupation of their people are beggars with high daily income (Salam, 2005). Recently, those with money request proposals also 'operate' at the public places, yet people seem not too believe it as well. This can still be found at gas station at Blumbungan, Pamekasan, recently, in which at the daylight, two men usually wait customer refilling the gas and offer them to donate showing a mosque building funding request proposal. *Amal*, here, is still generally considered as the most trustworthy technique so that people do not hesitate to donate through it. This particularly happens when the mosque is nearby and could be directly seen by street users. Moreover, the spokesperson often updates the donation amount or latest improvement of building process to make people surer about the accountability of money. This trick is used by the spokesperson at Al-Falah mosque, Pananggungan, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep.

Apart of its relation to street users, *amal* is also a powerful medium to create harmony and solidity among people inside or those who culturally 'own' and use the mosque. As it begins, local people would be morally motivated to donate or contribute in many ways, either by donating building materials such as cement and brick or facilitating the *amal* men by providing meals, snacks, cigarette and drinks. Otherwise, they would donate money in cash to pay the carpenters or skilled persons as well as purchase building materials. Those who could not financially support would directly participate at the spot by being spokesperson, waiters or simply helper. It is a common secret that the on-the-spot men of *amal* are sometimes paid from the income of *amal* as they have to leave daily activities—even occupation—to perform *amal*. Other than that, donators often give them snacks, cigarette and soft drink. Meanwhile, villagers also like to provide them meals especially for lunch. This happens, for instance, at *amal* performed at Kertagena Laok, Kadur, Pamekasan (Observation on the spot, May-August 2016). Additionally at formal level, there would be a special committee who specifically work to provide the fund, purchase materials, manage the carpenters' payment and other related jobs including arranging, monitoring even performing the *amal* practice.

Following is the two study cases of *amal* at Sumenep and Pamekasan, two regions of Madura in which *amal* spots still blossom almost in every part of both.

C. Study Cases of *Amal Masjid* at Sumenep and Pamekasan

1. *Al-Falah Mosque, Pananggungan, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep*

Amal had never been imagined as a solution for funding source by Pananggungan villagers before. The mosque was still in proper condition and capable to accommodate people performing daily or periodic worships (and events). The damage was only at the door and window frames yet not quite bad (Hamdi, 2016). However, the mosque was later broken off due to the administrative pre-requirement of representatives from a foreign charity foundation promising to donate for the mosque enlargement. Unfortunately, the promise had gone with the wind and this made villagers blame each other as at first, not everyone shared the same opinion to the break off. At that time, the process had been started and financially supported at most by debts. Additionally, a few villagers who work outside Madura donated money and building materials although it only covered a very little need. Villagers even also lend their money for hiring the carpenters while for providing meals of about thirty villagers working at the mosque daily—at the very first beginning—, they did it in turn (Basyir, 2016).

Dealing with the condition, some villagers initiated to open *amal* as the mosque is located at the strategic position nearby the street. However, others disagreed considering that it would confound all villagers entirely. Moreover, a clerk who routinely teaches villagers in an informal Islamic teaching (*pengajian*) forum avoided them to do so, because in his opinion, it would disturb street users (Hamdi, 2016). The plan was later cancelled and the cold conflict has begun between those who support *amal* and do not. The condition was then out of control when the debt got increased, yet the committees and villagers were still in dispute.

Four months after the break-off and the condition got worst as the process was stopped and the debt was too much, the committee consulted

again to the clerk. He softened his mind while telling that as long as it does not disturb street users, it is allowed to perform *amal*. He also recommended another clerk who is expert in managing *amal* to make sure the effectiveness of it. Hj. Aisiyah (78), the village figure, then asked all villagers to contribute and so did *amal* began since October 2015. Along with it, the committee divided villagers into six groups in which each of them was assigned to get involved in three types of job; assisting the carpenters, providing snacks and meals and standing by at the *amal* spot (Basyir, 2016).

The recommended clerk, Kyai Mubarak, led and performed the *amal* under condition that the income must be totally for the mosque construction (Hamdi, 2016). He also asserted that the waiters should not touch the street asphalt, either the edge or—and moreover—at the middle of it. Additionally, he instructed that there should be no accessories on the street at all. The spokesperson has his position in front of the shop of Hj. Aisiyah with the good seat and shelter, while the waiters use chairs to sit down while waiting (Basyir, 2016). At the very beginning, Kyai Mubarak served as the only one spokesperson yet as he got busier later on, local people replaced his position and one of which is Basyir (47) who recently becomes almost the only and the most available spokesperson. The main thing that the spokesperson deliver is motivation to donate and prayer for the street users whether they donate or not.

Basyir told that the art of it is quite easy yet needs few tricks. He said that praying is a powerful weapon to win Maduresse Moslems' heart. Clarifying common belief that donation is a 'gift' for dead ancestors or prayers for them and families, according to him, is effective to make people donate. "Maduresse like to send 'reward' of giving (*sedekah*) to their family either ancestors or children, particularly at the special days. We could offer them a service through our practice," he explained. For those who donate at most and most often, Basyir mentioned that people from other villages take the most part. "Believe it or not, those who donate the most often are ordinary people such as civil servants, sellers, andong riders, motored pedicab riders and even farmers. They are not that rich yet they like to donate consistently, even more than once a day. "The men

with luxurious cars, religious figures, preachers, even politicians rarely donate. I do not know why” he told sadly quite angrily (Basyir, 2016).

The content and style of spokesperson work well as told by Hamdi (42), the treasurer of committee. “Every Thursday and Friday, the daily amount of donation increases much as Maduresse like to send reward for their ancestors at that time. In Ramadan, 10th of Muharram or 15th of Sha’ban, the amount was even much more than the daily averages”, said Hamdi. As for the daily average income, Hamdi mentioned that it is about IDR 700.000-800.000, while the minimum is IDR 500.000 and the maximum is IDR 3.500.000. He added that until they day of interview (August 6, 2016), the total amount reached IDR 329.867.000 while the building process is 80% finished.” According to him, people like to donate because they feel like having owed when mentioned in the prayers in which everybody could listen to it and automatically pray for them as well. “Therefore, if they do not donate on the way leave, they would do it on the way home (Hamdi, 2016).

As the time goes by, the number of waiters is decreasing since the villagers get busier for work. Fortunately, as told by Hamdi and confirmed by Basyir, people still believe in the team, so they keep donating although the *amal* has been there for a long time. “Generally, we are now at the hard economic condition yet people do not stop donating. It is the main reason why we keep the *amal* goes on although we often think to stop it as various problems come along the way. Moreover, we do not find other funding sources to continue this process, even though we had tried” explained Hamdi (Hamdi, 2016). About this, Basyir commented “It comes to a big surprise to know that we always get at least IDR 500.000 daily. Perhaps because people know and we continue confirming that the money they donate is not for our coffee and cigarette, moreover our snacks and fees, but purely for the mosque”.

Apart of those data, people living at its surrounding admit that they are disturbed enough by the voice of microphone, as told by Farid Anwar (58). “The volume is too loud; we cannot even hear what other people say. It is totally disturbing,” he said (Anwar, 2016). On other hand, Hj. Tamamah, another neighbor of the *amal* spot, commented that like it or

not, neighbors just could listen to it. “He (spokesperson) works for us all, for our mosque,” she said (Tamamah, 2016). Meanwhile, the comments of street users are quite different each other. “We just need to speed down the vehicle when passing through, so no disturbance at all. Moreover, the staffs and accessories are not on the street, so it is ok and not disturbing,” explained Robert, a villager of Prancak, who daily passes through at the *amal* spot. Additionally, Habib, a villager from Bragung, said that the *amal* here is different from others, as it assures the safety of street users. “. We find the full street available,” he said (Robert, 2016). However, negative comments also exist. “It is undeniable that sometimes we feel like shy or un-ok, when we pass through too often without giving anything to donate. Moreover if the spokesperson greets and talks about us at his speech”, said Via, a villager of Daleman (Via, 2016). The almost same opinion came from by Latifa, another villager of Daleman who insisted that she often feels reluctant even avoids to pass through the spot because of *amal* (Latifa, 2016).

Amal at this village gets attention from its government, Mr. Mohammad, the head of village confirmed his full support to the practice. “We totally support any initiative from villagers here as long as it does not disturb street users and used for the common need,” he explained. About the restriction of local MUI, he commented that his people do not even know what MUI is, moreover about the ‘*fatwa*’. “If it was a *fatwa* of a clerk or, NU, let say, people would certainly obey it with no question”, he explained. “Moreover, *amal* here is well managed and set so that it is effective to provide the fund. The village formally—and financially—could not support the funding and so do higher institutions, that’s why we have to rely on our initiative and work to do such a thing, he ended.” (Muhammad, 2016). The head of police district of Guluk-Guluk even donated two units of loudspeaker, three units of fan and set of prayer carpets (Hamdi, 2016).

2. *Al-Mubarak Mosque, Mangka'an I, Kertagena Laok, Kadur, Pamekasan*

The initiative to perform *amal* at Kertagena Laok, Kadur, Pamekasan came from a youth community under unexpected condition where the mosque construction committee established five years ago—was in conflict. One of committee member repaired the damaged part by himself using operational fund from the mosque treasury without involving or talking to other committee members. The ‘cold’ conflict was inevitable among the members and the youth could not stand to do nothing at the condition. Before, it was agreed that the mosque would be both repaired and enlarged due to the damaged condition and inability to accommodate people, particularly when those who work outside Madura come home. However, during five years, the committee was confused to conduct the plan particularly on how they would provide the fund. This condition possibly disappointed some parts including the one member (Zaini, 2016).

Soon, they initiated and opened *amal* firstly at the end of November 2016 intending to solve the conflict and give real solution on how the fund could be provided. Heroically, they did it without consulting to anyone as the condition was terrible. Instead of bridging two parts, the condition got worse as the one member asked the youth to stop the *amal* considering that it was not necessary. The youth insisted that the income from *amal* would be used according to the agreement made long time before (Marsuki, 2016). Other committee members then consulted to the head of *ta'mir* to find possible solution. Surprisingly, the head of *ta'mir* told to continue the *amal* based on real willingness of the youth and so did the first brick putting event was performed not long after that and attended by some local public figures as the symbolization of cultural permission and moral support. Villagers also attended the meeting yet the one committee member was absent (Aziz, 2016).

As the *amal* formally began, villagers gave their hand(s) in different role(s) to support and succeed it. The committee, for example, does not stand by at the spot because their main jobs are providing fund from other sources while managing the payment of carpenters and the purchase of building materials. They are also responsible to find solution when income from the *amal* could not cover the urgent cost of enlargement process. Meanwhile, villagers provide meals for the youth either in a turn—at the

beginning of the process—or voluntarily as what happens recently. Additionally, committee like to support the youth by treating them, having dinner together and even collecting donation from villagers to buy them *sarung* for Eid. Hasan added that as the spot is nearby the traditional market, street sellers providing foods often donate meals or lunch for on-the-spot men voluntarily (Hasan, 2016). Amazingly, women ‘team’ also have a turn to stand by at the spot when the men physically help the mosque enlargement (Wawan, 2016).

In performing the *amal*, the youth does not use any special trick or invite any special spokesperson. They just did it as they used to find out on how it is practiced in other villages. They chose a three junction as the spot, use the patrol post as the shelter for waiters and ask permission of a villager to use his front veranda for the seat of spokesperson(s). The three junction itself is a strategic area nearby the traditional market, trans-village streets, public school(s) and the mosque in which many people regularly pass through for various purposes. As for the announcement sign of the *amal* is a tank put at the middle of the three junction attached with a tiny second cardboard made announcement board writing “Amal Masjid Al-Mubarak.” Other than that, there is no accessories typically found at other spots such as circuit breakers or flags (Yayan, 2016).

Compared to the *amal* at the first case, the volume of microphone at this area is far lower. The youth also use back sound songs at the low volume intended to accompany and entertain the waiters in order not to get bored. According to Mr. Hasanuddin (50) a headmaster of an elementary school nearby the spot, the position of speaker for the *amal* had been moved several times in order not to disturb school and people activities. “When we are going to conduct a meeting, we tell the youth to lower the voice so it would not disturb us, including at the class-hours,” he explained (Hasanuddin, 2016). The rate of speech is also far slower although it is found three to five spokespersons with different styles and dialects having the turn culturally and voluntarily. “It is well heard but totally not disturbing”, said Faris, a 23 man who lives nearby the spot. ‘We can still do daily activities normally without any disturbance because of noise voice and the crowd. The volume is well set’, he ended (Al-Farisi,

2016). The content of speech is not far different from that in the first case consisting of motivation to donate, thank-you greeting, praying and daily talks. As far as it could be observed, it sounds no bad words from spokespersons for those who do not donate such as forcing, teasing even disgusting speech.

Meanwhile, the waiters usually consist of those who are single or/and in school age. Middle aged men or villagers with regular work(s) and daily activities help in other ways, such as buying building materials, providing snacks and drinks at the spot or physically helping the enlargement process for relatively unskilled activities. Sometimes, they also serve as waiters although this happens quite seldom. A senior high school student, Fani, 16, who likes to stand by at the spot said that at the average, there are about 4-5 waiters at the spot and at minimum, 2 waiters are available, particularly at school hours. However at the weekends or holidays, it could reach 7 as the youth like to spend the day-off together at the spot (Erfani, 2016). In addition to stand by at the spot, the youth also have another strategy to get donation. They have a biweekly routine program at the biggest market days of the week, Sunday and Wednesday, by going down to the traditional market nearby. As there would be more people who go shopping than the other five days so do the sellers, the youth approach them to facilitate donation by bringing water dipper or second can. Automatically, the income of those two days are always much more than the other days (Marsuki, 2016).

The spirit and hard work of the youth really encourages villagers and the committee sympathetically. Not long after the very first beginning of *amal*, it was agreed that those who stand by at the spot would get 'hired' numbering 10% from the daily income which is then divided according to the number of daily team. Villagers and the committee consider it as a fair solution as the men-on-the-spot also do their best and spend time in supporting the mosque enlargement. They are even willing to leave the daily activities or napping hours to stand by at the spot. The treasurer of the committee, Mr. Hasan, mentioned that today, excluded the 'payment' for *amal* men, the total income reaches IDR 163.764.000 and is updated daily. He told that at average, *amal* could get IDR 500.000 daily so

the youth like to make it as a daily target. He mentioned sometimes, it is the youth members who add the amount of money to reach the target from their own pocket (Hasan, 2016).

Hasan added that the highest record was IDR 2.500.000 while the lowest was IDR 200.000. He also mentioned that during the very first opening of the *amal* until the date of interview (August 12, 2016), the daily income is relatively stable although the number of waiters gets decreased day by day. "This makes us aware that people put their trust on us and that they both accept and support this practice. We need to not make them disappointed," he told. Hasan then explained that so far, village staff is cooperative enough in supporting the *amal* particularly in signing and distributing the funding request proposals, donating material building as well as promising to budget the annual fee of village for the mosque enlargement numbering about IDR 250.000.000. "We wish it would come true so the building process could be accelerated," he ended (Hasan, 2016).

D. Negotiation with the Government

Two cases above show how *amal masjid* becomes a real solution to cover the financial need of mosque building, reparation and enlargement, when the support of government, private institution or individuals could not be relied on too much. It offers a little yet consistent income so that building process could be continued as long as the *amal* goes on. The government, on the other hand, plays a secondary—if not tertiary—role in the sense of initiative and action to deal with this kind of condition particularly in providing financial support. Into this extent, it is fair to confirm what Fauzia stated that the civil society would be strong—as clear from the initiative and consistent work to perform *amal* and stable amount of daily donation—at the condition of a weak government (Fauzia, 2013). Uniquely, people themselves tend to think that this condition is normal as it is excluded from what the government has to cope with. This mindset possibly comes from cultural observation and common insight that the government usually does not get involved at such a thing. Moreover, the number of mosque at Madura and the willingness to build and make it well-used—even sophisticated—are relatively high and even higher from

that in other areas so that the state would possibly not be able to cover them all.

Furthermore, Fauzia mentioned that Islamic philanthropy presents a dynamic and highly contested space between the faith and the state (Fauzia, 2013). In the case of *amal*—which is considered as one of Islamic philanthropy practices—her statement is applied on the contested ‘image’ between the public and the religious authority holder according to local people. As people think that the government does not concern to the mosque building, they did not get them involved at the whole process of agreement making, planning and the performing phases of *amal*. They did not even consult to the village staffs or ask permission to perform this practice based on this consideration. Not only that, this ‘principle’ even also works in dealing with the fund problem in which local people do not rely on to the official budget of village or other higher institution as it is clear from the *amal* they perform. This happens at both the first and the second cases, at seemingly most of the *amal* practices.

At the opposite, the clerk or other public figures (*kyai* and *nyai*) is considered more significantly at this practice. It seems that people concern more about the ‘lawfulness’ of *amal* in the sense of religious and social aspect than its relation to the formal rules of government. Therefore, at the both cases, the permission from local public figures is one principal thing that makes people brave and firm to begin the *amal* formally. Religious authority holders are considered as those who deserve to decide whether it is needed to perform *amal* under certain condition. This value is strengthened by the fact that a clerk or local public figure is also those who are responsible with the management of mosque at most such as by delivering Islamic teaching, leading *jama’ah* prayers, serving as the ‘cultural’ owner and manager even living very close the mosque.

Into most of extent, *amal* practice is still traditional as it was initiated, managed and performed by people culturally for fulfilling their own collective need. It is also ‘controlled’ by traditional—religious—authority and the ‘turn’ of participation is based on voluntary—if not culturally—circle. In relation to it, another statement of Fauzia mentioned that the traditional Islamic philanthropy would never be fully formalized and

regulated as it comes from altruistic, reciprocal nature of people and the collective awareness. Based on this 'qualification' list, *amal* is about to 'fulfill' the characteristics of traditional Islamic philanthropy in the sense that it reflects the altruism when people like to donate even in the hard economic condition and the spot still 'operates' although with fewer people. This willingness also possibly relates to the reciprocal nature based on the Islamic teaching about the reward of giving and helping for the collective—religious—need. However, the regulation of *amal* almost becomes a deniable need because in addition to its high number which potentially becomes what Madura would mostly relate to, the practice takes place at the very high risky public facility. The regulation of *amal*, therefore, is under consideration of local government although it is still MUI Sampang that issued a legal regulation prohibiting '*amal*'.

Interviewed on a phone call, the head of MUI Sampang, Buchori Ma'sum, explained that the prohibition comes with several condition. "What we forbid through the '*fatwa*' issued on December 2011 is *amal* practice which disturbs and blocks street users by putting accessories (circuit breakers and the likes) at the middle of street, narrowing the street and forcefully slowing down the vehicle rate by 'putting' some waiters stand by at the body street. It means that as long as *amal* does not do those mentioned and the street is as what it is supposed to be, it would be ok to perform it.", he explained. Additionally, he also mentioned that performing the *amal* at the protocol streets is also prohibited because it could damage the image of Islam although for this point, his institution still compromises. Buchori mentioned that before the regulation of MUI Sampang was issued, in 2006, NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) branch of Sampang conducted a *bahtsul masa'il* forum at the *amal* and forbid it. MUI Jember also issued the same regulation to forbid the practice. Meanwhile, the specific cause of his institution decision was a traffic accident at the spot of *amal* with a dead victim who served as a waiter. Considering that case, in addition to the intense communication with local government and police who find the practice disturbing specifically at causing the traffic crowd and, he and his team issued the regulation (Ma'sum, 2016).

Buchori clarified that the rule only manages the *amal* and not totally forbid it, as many people assume. According to him, MUI Sampang is fully aware that local government could not help funding the mosque building due to its high number so they try to offer a win-win solution. He also told that his institution already suggested the local government to budget financial support for the building of mosque and private educational institution in order the number of *amal* could be decreased. However, he is totally aware that the number of mosques and educational institution at Madura is quite high so covering the building cost for each is impossible. Implementation of this rule, he said, is relatively successful as he and his team are in a good cooperation with the local government including the police. Without that cooperation, he is sure that it is impossible to implement it well as the *amal* has become the most preferable solution in coping with condition of lack of fund. Buchori also told about the sweeping of *amal* conducted by local police occurred last 2015. According to him, it was intended to manage the *amal* more as after that, seized accessories were returned in the condition that each committee created a legal permission to perform *amal* through the police. Requirements to get the 3-month valid permit are; the picture of the mosque building construction, land certificate, building certificate and accountability of the income (Ma'sum, 2016).

According to Buchori, MUI of other three regions at Madura (Sumenep, Pamekasan and Bangkalan) actually concern on this phenomenon although they do not issue any formal rule yet exactly as he and his team have done. He told that the rule needs to be integrated with other authorities from local government and law enforcement institution, so that it may take long time and hard discussion. However, he is pretty sure that soon or later, the rule would be formally issued in any instrument (Ma'sum, 2016). So far, the staff of MUI Pamekasan and the vice of head of region of Bangkalan already prohibited this practice yet seem relatively responsive and temporarily available. However, it is a sign that any formal instrument would be soon issued.

In relation to the regulation of MUI and other institution, both government and 'actors' of *amal* at two cases above admit that they know

the rule—although not totally clear—yet they feel that they are excluded of the target. They insisted that it only applies when the setting of *amal* endangers both the waiters and street users. Therefore, they think that if the *amal* could be set safely and not endangering anyone, it would be ok to perform it. The conclusion that people take also accords to the behavior of authorized (local) government. The law enforcement institution, such as police, is even cooperative—and supportive—to the practice of *amal*. The donation of mosque equipment from the head of local police—at the first case—shows the support as well as permission to perform the *amal*. At the second case, although there is still no same donation, the police car/or individual police passing through the spot of *amal* often donate and never complain about the practice.

The succesful story of *amal* regulation at Sampang shows that traditional philanthropy is possibly regulated under some condition and certain tricks. It also shows the working negotiation between the government and people in which each of them could do the jod and find the purpose without sacrificing one of those both kinds of ‘interest’.

E. Concluding Remarks

An ideal practice of *amal* as proposed by MUI Sampang is quite compatible to apply as it tried to maintain the practice considering its real function as well as the risk it contains. However, the rule and condition are all about the practical or technical thing and do not yet touch more essential thing, such as ideal concept of asking donation as well as tricks to increase income and manage it well even better. In addition to the package, the essence beyond *amal* is also important to pay attention to as the later would influence even form how the former. If the *amal* men could be aware of what they do, they would also behave as it is supposed to be, such as minimizing—even eliminating—disturbance and avoiding donors or street users from feeling forced to donate the money or managing the conflict better.

This, for example, could be conducted in the routine meetings, incidental training program or simply persuasive approach when servicing registration or extension process of permission to perform *amal*.

Meanwhile, other three regions that do not issue any rule yet could begin to think about the 'management of *amal masjid*' by conducting surveys, enlisting the number and condition as well as creating a synergy among some authorized parties such as police, village staffs, local public figures and the likes. Initiative from local government delivered and conducted in proper and polite ways would lead people to be cooperative in arranging the practice as well as.

These become important as *amal* deserves to be promoted as a legacy of Indonesian Islam particularly at the philanthropy practice. At the same time, it could also be the blueprint for global civilization. At least, here are the main reasons beyond the statement. *First*, *amal* features the local values of Moslems in their high appreciation and respect to the religious and social ethics or norms. *Second*, it enables to create cooperation among people that other events or causes could never do the same. *Third*, it offers a real solution to overcome the common need that the government itself could not directly solve and help coping with it. *Fourth*, if the synergy between government and people could be well created and kept, *amal* could also support the harmony of those two parties and reflect the beautiful image of Islam Indonesia.

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Respondents

1. Stake holders (Buchori Ma'sum and Muhammad)
2. Maduresse society (Nur Halimah)
3. Public Figure (Aisyiyah)
4. Pananggungan Villagers and surrounding (Farid Anwar, Tamamah, Via and Lathifah)
5. Committee and *amal* team at Sumenep (Basyir and Hamdi)
6. Committee and *amal* team at Pamekasan (Hasan, Hasanuddin, Aziz, Erfani, Marsuki, Salman Al-Farisi, Yayan and Wawan)