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URBAN SOCIETY PHILANTROPHY; TRANSFORMATION OF PHILANTROPY BY ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS IN YOGYAKARTA, 1912-1931

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Abstract: This paper is a book review on the results of Ghifari Yuristiadhi's thesis research which describes the transformation of philanthropic practices carried out by Islamic movement organizations, namely Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam in Yogyakarta in the colonial era, especially in 1912-1931. The discussion in this book can be divided into at least 4 (four) parts: First, it focuses on the social, economic and political life of the Muslim bumiputera at the beginning of the twentieth century under the shadow of the feudal and colonial rulers. Second, analyzing the emergence of "urban santri" as a muslim middle class who developed a non-farm economic model as a result of the expansion of European private plantations and changes in the agrarian system in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Third, to explain the shift of charismatic authority in managing Islamic philanthropy from Kawedanan Pengulon to Islamic organizations accompanied by the transformation of the forms and types of Islamic philanthropy. Fourth, new institutionalized philanthropy orientation and paradigm. One of the important findings in this research is Ghifari explaining about the new social movement model carried out by the Islamic social movement, especially Muhammadiyah, to respond to the discriminatory colonial government's ethical policies in an elegant way, by developing Islamic philanthropy to improve services to bumiputera society, and do not carry out confrontational activism in the form of rebellion. This research confirms that Islamic community organization movements such as Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam have made a major contribution to the development of a more modern transformation of philanthropic practices in Indonesia.

Keywords: Philanthropy, Zakat, Waqf, Islamic Movement

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Filantropi Masyarakat Perkotaan; Transformasi Kedermawanan oleh Gerakan Islam di Yogyakarta, 1912-1931 is a book published from the research results of Ghifari Yuristiadhi's Thesis at Gajah Mada University which contains the history of Islamic social movements, particularly Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam, and their relationship to the development of the dynamics of Islamic philanthropy transformation practices in 1912-1931 in the Dutch East Indies, especially in the city of Yogyakarta.

This book finds a point of significance amidst the limited historical research on Islamic philanthropic studies in Indonesia. The writer analyzes logically how the socio-political context of Yogyakarta in 1920-1930 influenced the transformation process of Islamic philanthropy. For example, the author describes how the expansion of European private plantations to Yogyakarta, on the one hand, improves the economy of certain community groups such as the *Sultan*, *Sentono Dalem*, and of course European plantation owners. But on the other hand it creates gaps in the community who have limited access to the plantation industry. However, this limitation actually encourages the *bumiputera* to develop non-farm economic models with other means of production such as batik, silver and other trade sectors. This group is the forerunner of the Muslim middle class in Yogyakarta who will develop the practice of Islamic philanthropy.

The discussion in this book can be divided into at least 4 (four) parts: First, it focuses on the social, economic and political life of the Muslim *bumiputera* at the beginning of the twentieth century under the shadow of the feudal and colonial rulers. Second, analyzing the emergence of "urban santri" as a Muslim middle class who developed a non-farm economic model as a result of the expansion of European private plantations and changes in the agrarian system in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Third, to explain the shift of charismatic authority in managing Islamic philanthropy from *Kawedanan Pengulon* to Islamic organizations accompanied by the transformation of the forms and types of Islamic philanthropy. Fourth, new institutionalized philanthropy orientation and paradigm.

Muslim Bumiputera under the Shadow of Feudalism and Colonialism

The conditions in the Dutch East Indies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries could not be separated from the conditions of the political and economic policies of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Europe in general. The economic liberalization policy also had an impact on colonial countries, including Yogyakarta which had the status of *Vorstenlanden*. Economic expansion in the form of European private plantations had an impact not only on changing the status of land ownership from the King to the people, but also opening the gates to the modernization of the city of Yogyakarta with the construction of public facilities to support plantation production.

However, in every development, there are always groups of people who do not get the economic pie. This was exacerbated by the implementation of the discriminatory ethical policies of the colonial government in which the *bumiputera* occupied the lowest social strata class under foreign eastern societies. Then comes a sharper social inequality.

Practically the economic turnover of the plantation benefited certain groups, including the *Sultan*, his relatives, *sentono dalem*, the colonial government and of course European plantation owners. Due to limited access and means of production, some people began to look for and develop non-farm economic models such as *batik*, silver and other trade sectors. It is from here that the Muslim middle class who has an economic surplus will generate Islamic philanthropy.

The secular policy of the Dutch government as stated by Amelia Fauzia (2016: 147) in her book Faith and the State; A History of Islamic Philanthropy in Indonesia provides a good basis for the growth of Muslim civil society organizations and institutions. The attitude of the colonial government that did not want to interfere in religious activities allowed sources of Islamic philanthropy to develop for community empowerment that was independent from the government.

This is reinforced by the establishment of a good relationship between Muhammadiyah as a representative of civil society and the authorities in this case the Sultan and the *Kawedanan Pengulon* institution, especially the *Pengulu Ageng* Muhammad Kamaludiningrat era in providing space for Islamic organizations to take a central role as managers of the practice of Islamic philanthropy in Yogyakarta. outside Beteng Kraton.

PHENOMENON OF URBAN SANTRI AND NEW MUSLIM MIDDLE CLASS

Most of the new non-farm economic actors are Muslim *bumiputera*. This has an impact on increasing the economic standard which makes Muslim *bumiputera* position as the new middle class. The increasing number of *bumiputera* performing the pilgrimage in the 1920-1930s became an indicator of economic prosperity in Yogyakarta at that time.

Apart from performing the Hajj rituals, it turned out that they also used the opportunity to learn to deepen their religious knowledge in the land of the Hijaz. At that time the Islamic world was experiencing a declining phase and it can be said that the idea of Islamic renewal was "feverish" by Jamaluddin Al Afgani and his student Muhammad Abduh, as well as Rasyid Ridha after the collapse of the caliphate institution in Turkey.

As explained by Charles C. Adams (1933) in his book Islam And Modernism in Egypt A Study of The Modern Reform Movement Inaugrated by Muhammad 'Abduh where Al Urwatul Wutsqo magazine made by Afghani and Abduh was in exile in France and then continued with Al Manar by Abduh and Rashid Rida influenced the thought of reforming the Islamic world not only in Egypt but also spread throughout the Islamic world including the muslim in Nusantara. And one of the important figures from among the *bumiputera* who was exposed to the idea of Islamic reform was Ketib Amin at Kawedanan Pengulon Ahmad Darwis who later changed his name to Kiyai Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah.

Ahmad Dahlan and his students at Muhammadiyah became "urban santri" and actors of socio-religious change in Yogyakarta because they were able to access the dynamics of global Islamic renewal and "dialogue" with the realities of the conditions of society in the Dutch East Indies. One of them is to formulate a new social movement that implements the practice of social philanthropy to respond to social inequalities that plague *bumiputera* while at the same time trying to improve their welfare.

Apart from Muhammadiyah, Sarekat Islam also played an important role in advocating for the political economy of the Muslim *bumiputera*, especially the economic competition between *bumiputera* and Chinese traders. However, the author does not explore the sources of Sarekat Islam and other Islamic movements, perhaps because of limited sources or the author's focus is to highlight Muhammadiyah.

One of the important findings in this research is Ghifari explaining about the new social movement model carried out by the Islamic social movement, especially Muhammadiyah, to respond to the discriminatory colonial government's ethical policies in an elegant way, namely developing Islamic philanthropy to improve services to *bumiputera* society, and do not carry out confrontational activism in the form of rebellion (rebellion).

TRANSFORMATION OF ISLAMIC PHILANTHROPY

The author describes the transformation of the philanthropy of the people of Yogyakarta and how the role of Islamic movements or organizations in capitalizing generous assets into social capital to show their identity as civil society in the context of a colonial state.

The backflow of students from the Middle East allowed a shift in the role of the *priyayi* community in both socio-religious and economic life. The emergence of middle class philanthropic actors who have two strengths; religious knowledge and economic surplus.

The author describes the transformation of generous activities that were previously shackled by the feudalism of the Yogyakarta Sultanate with *Kawedanan Pengulon* as the highest authority, turning to Islamic organizations in Yogyakarta, especially Muhammadiyah, which build charismatic authority to maintain the loyalty of their members and participate in developing institutionalized philanthropy through social service institutions in the Islamic organization. In short, there was a shift - to borrow Weber's term - charismatic authority which was feudalistic in nature towards a new charismatic authority that was more rational through the institutionalization of Islamic community organizations.

A NEW PHILANTHROPY ORIENTATION

Agrarian Reform (Agrarische Wet) 1870 which then culminated after the issuance of a regulation from Sultan Hamengkubuwono VII concerning the reorganization of land in the Yogyakarta Sultanate in the 1918 *Rijksblad*. Where in this *Rijksblad* contains the abolition of land control with the apanage system and replaced with a system of property rights (*andarbe*). This allows the general public outside the court institutions to have land ownership rights, which then for some Muslims who have an economic surplus and religious awareness donate their land to Islamic organizations that emerge as new charismatic authorities outside the *Kraton* that manage Islamic philanthropy funds.

It seems that further research needs to be carried out, whether the practice of waqf in the Dutch East Indies was only implemented by the Muslim community in that era after the land reogranization in 1918? Because the history of the establishment of mosques and Islamic boarding schools, which usually comes from waqf sources, has existed long before that era.

The development of more organized philanthropic practices of Islamic organizations amidst various social problems and disasters faced by Muslims has transformed the types of philanthropy funds from zakat fitrah to more diverse forms such as waqf, grants, voluntary charity, and disaster donation assistance during the eruption of Mount Kelud in 1919 more massive and inclusive.

The community orientation has also shifted to developing waqf practices that are more long-term in nature, such as for school buildings (*scholen*), Polyclinics (Penolong Kesengsaraan Oemoem), Poor Houses (*Armenhuis*), Orphans House (*Weeshuis*). Where according to Ghifari, this is influenced by the development of the *zending* and *missie* movements that have carried out service activities in the fields of education, health and other social services.

Related to the activity of Islamic philanthropy, according to the author, adapting *zending* and *missie* work, especially in the fields of education and health, could be an inspiring external factor. However, it seems that the strength of the spirit of Al Ma'un doctrine and the influence of the thought of Islamic reform carried out by Abduh and Rasyid Ridha, especially in the field of education, are the most powerful factors in shaping the paradigm of Muhammadiyah action in applying Islamic philanthropy practices that are more systematic and long-term.

The strength of this book lies in the use of primary sources which are quite abundant, both from the colonial government, court institutions and from actors of the Islamic movement. The author is neat enough in constructing several important events or moments that are relevant to strengthen the arguments in his research study, accompanied by an analysis of the interrelationships of actors built into a logical framework. This research confirms that Islamic civil society has long been formed since the colonial era and has contributed greatly in developing philanthropic practices whose benefits continue to be felt today in the world of independent Indonesia.

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