

## THE MOTIVES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TAREKAT TIJANIYAH IN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL FROM ALFRED SCHUTZ'S PERSPECTIVE

*(Motif Amalan Tarekat Tijaniyah di Pesantren Perspektif Alfred Schutz)*

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### ABSTRACT

This paper identifies the thoughts of Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi in interpreting their experiences and obsessions as practitioners of Tarekat Tijaniyah (ideology in the world of Sufism or Islamic Sufism) based on their family historical background, lifetime, domicile, affiliation, intellectual background and their future aspirations. This study uses a phenomenological study at al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School. The data were collected through observation, interviews and documentation, then the research findings were analyzed using Alfred Schutz's Phenomenological theory. The conclusion of this study is that the family backgrounds of Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi are families who practice

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tarekat. Kiai Djauhari's educational background was in traditional Islamic boarding school (Annuqayah Guluk-guluk, Tebuireng Jombang and Sidogiri Pasuruan), while Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi graduated from modern Islamic boarding school (Pondok Gontor Ponorogo). All three have also studied in Saudi Arabia although with different majors and levels. Kiai Djauhari used to be active in practical politics through Masyumi Party on the other hand, both Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi have neutral stance in politics. Kiai Djauhari's aspiration was to build a modern Islamic boarding school like Gontor, while Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi's obsession is maintaining traditional values in the modern system.

**Keywords:** Motives of practice; Tarekat *Tijaniyah*; phenomenology

### ABSTRAK

*Kertas kerja ini adalah untuk mengenal pasti pemikiran Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani dan Kiai Ahmad Fauzi dalam mentafsir pengalaman dan obsesi mereka sebagai pengamal Tarekat Tijaniyah berdasarkan sejarah keluarga, jangka hayat, domisi, pertalian, latar belakang intelek dan aspirasi masa depan mereka. Kajian ini menggunakan kajian fenomenologi di pondok pesantren al-Amien Prenduan, dengan kaedah pengumpulan data itu adalah pemerhatian, temu bual penyelidikan dan dokumentasi, kemudian dapatan kajian dianalisis menggunakan teori fenomenologi Alfred Schutz. Kesimpulan kajian ini ialah latar belakang keluarga Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani dan Kiai Ahmad Fauzi merupakan keluarga yang mengamalkan tarekat. Latar belakang pendidikan Kiai Djauhari ialah di pesantren tradisional (Annuqayah Guluk-guluk, Tebuireng Jombang dan Sidogiri Pasuruan), manakala Kiai Tidjani dan Kiai Ahmad Fauzi merupakan lulusan pesantren moden (Pondok Gontor Ponorogo). Ketiga-tiganya pernah belajar di Arab Saudi walaupun berbeza jenis dan tahap. Kiai Djauhari aktif dalam politik praktikal melalui parti Masyumi, manakala Kiai Tidjani dan Kiai Ahmad Fauzi kedua-duanya memilih pendirian berkecuali dalam politik. Cita-cita Kiai Djauhari adalah untuk membina pesantren moden seperti Gontor, manakala obsesi Kiai Tidjani dan Kiai Ahmad Fauzi adalah untuk mengekalkan nilai tradisi dalam sistem moden.*

**Kata kunci:** Motif amalan; Tarekat *Tijaniyah*; fenomenologi

## INTRODUCTION

Home-comer is someone who expects to return to the environment he has always wanted. The concept of home-comer has equivalence with the concept of strangers (foreigners). The concept of home-comer is not merely means a person who wants to return to an environment that he considers ideal. One crucial problem that the home-comer must face is the fact that the environment he once idealized has disappeared as in the story of Odiseus. Under these conditions the home-comer must be an active subject to transform reality into one thing that is at least similar to what he imagines as the ideal environment to live. In other words, a meaning of reality or also a certain horizon that goes beyond empiricism is needed by the subject to take active action, as Odiseus later fought for as a home-comer who ended his life happily. Likewise, what Schutz did in transforming the non-ideal reality around him into a comfortable environment to live in (Muhamad Supraja & Akbar 2020).

The concept of home-comer is also experienced by many Kiais. When they return home, not all of them can be easily accepted by their environment because sometimes they live too long abroad in search of knowledge or find it difficult to adapt to the conditions and culture in their area where they originated. Such an experience happened to the *Kiais* of the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic boarding school, especially to Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi. They are the leaders and caregivers of the al-Amien Prenduan Islamic boarding school, during their own periods.

When Kiai Djauhari returned to Prenduan, he became a stranger to the people because he taught *Tarekat Tijaniyah* (a collection of physical and spiritual practices that aim to bring someone to become a pious person). Likewise, Kiai Tidjani also felt like a stranger to the people by practicing the modern cottage education model as in Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Ponorogo. This is especially the case with Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, who has been in the Arabian Peninsula since he was born, so that when he lived in Prenduan, he and the people around him became completely foreigners.

However, with his faith and persistence, Kiai Djauhari managed to and successful in teaching *Tarekat Tijaniyah* in Prenduan, especially for his students at the Tegal boarding school at that time. Likewise, Kiai Tidjani with the cooperation and solidity of the team with his two brothers; Kiai Idris and Kiai Maktum, was finally able to adopt the system applied in Gontor to be carried out in Prenduan and fortunately was accepted by the wider community. The choice of the system applied in Gontor was the obsession of Kiai Djauhari before his death. He wanted to have a modern Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*) similar to Gontor in Prenduan. As the successor, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, although since a young age he had lived in the Arabian Peninsula, he was able to adapt to the habits of the surrounding community, especially in terms of

clothing. So that the three of them, slowly were no longer strangers but were able to successfully become home-comers.

In addition, as *muqaddam* of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, the three of them have been able to carry out the mandate in the *tarekat*. Although during the period of Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, *Tarekat Tijaniyah* was not formally taught to the students of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School however some good deeds (*amaliyah*) of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* were integrated into the education at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, especially when Kiai Tidjani started his leadership. Although Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School has been running a modern education system like Gontor Boarding School since the period of Kiai Tidjani to Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, traditional values especially the noble values of the *amaliyah* of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* are still internalized into education at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School.

The continuity and change in the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, the use of Alfred Schutz's theory of social phenomenology is relevant to this phenomenon. As described in the theory, that a person's actions can be affected by experiences, meanings and awareness but on the other hand someone takes an action as an effort to create situations and conditions that are expected in the future (Ikhsan & Pranata 2018). Thus, this paper is to identify the thoughts of Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi in interpreting their experiences and obsessions as practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* based on their family history, lifetime, domicile, affiliation, intellectual background and their future aspirations.

## DISCUSSION

Kiai Djauhari who was an educated young man, had used to study Islamic education in Saudi Arabia. When returning to Prenduan, what he brought from Mecca was not directly accepted by the people of Prenduan. In fact, if traced from the time he spent in Mecca, he took only 2 years. But when he returned from Mecca with the teaching of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, the community of Prenduan was still unfamiliar and doubtful with the teaching. Hence, later Kiai Djauhari initiated to do *uzlah* to his followers to give evidence of justification for *Tarekat Tijaniyah* he brought. The figure of Kiai Jamaluddin Abdus Shamad was a confidant of Kiai Djauhari, who carried out his teacher's orders while at the same time getting a blessing upon the truth of the *Tarekat Tijaniyah* (Kuswandi et al. 2021a, 2021b).

What Kiai Djauhari had been going through in Prenduan, was experienced by the practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* in other places. As what experienced by Mallam

Muhammad Wali as a practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, he struggled persistently even though he had to face obstacles and temptations to keep practicing *Tarekat Tijaniyah* he believed in. What made it different was that *Mallam* had to deal with the followers of other *tarekat* (Solagrebu 2018).

At first, the teaching of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, Kiai Djauhari brought from Mecca was still unfamiliar and doubtful however, with various efforts Kiai Djauhari could manage to transform the truth of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, through the Islamic educational institution he founded, namely Pondok Tegal. Besides, Kiai Djauhari's persuasive da'wah model he did to his close family was another good action so that *Tarekat Tijaniyah* could be accepted by the people of Prenduan and its surroundings. So, it was reasonable that the followers of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* under Kiai Djauhari's period were not only from Prenduan village but also from Larangan Perreng village, Kapedi village and Pekandangan.

Likewise, Kiai Tidjani spent his youth studying at Modern Islamic Boarding School; Pondok Gontor and completed his undergraduate study at Islamic University of Madinah and his master's degree at King Abdul Aziz University of Mecca. In addition, he had been working for Rabithah Alam Islami Makkah institution for 15 years (1974-1989). However, when he returned home to Prenduan, Kiai Tidjani was able to become a home-comer by accommodating many traditions that exist in the Madurese environment.

Similar with those two others, Kiai Ahmad Fauzihad lived outside Prenduan since his birth. It is reasonable since his father was serving in the organization namely Rabithah Alam Islami Makkah. Kiai Ahmad Fauzi lived in Indonesia for only 5 years, after graduating from high school education (mutawasshithah Makkah). He studied at Tarbiyatul Muallimien Al-Islamiah (TMI) al-Amien Prenduan, for 3 years. Then he continued his study in Gontor for only 1 year and served there for 1 year. He then continued his undergraduate study in Egypt and finally he got his master and doctoral degrees in Sudan.

The trust given by the Kiai is and administrators of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School was because of the more accommodating and democratic leadership and management that Kiai Ahmad Fauzi had carried out at the pesantren. However, the policy he took was still based on the *sunnah* principles and the tradition of the pesantren that had been running previously, which had been passed down by his predecessors, especially Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Idris. Like Kiai Tidjani, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi was also capable to separate his capacity as muqaddam of the *Tijaniyah* Tarekat from his capacity as leader and caretaker of al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School.

Likewise, with the way Kiai Ahmad Fauzi dressed himself. Although he had only lived in Madura for a short time, he quickly adapted to the way the ulama dressed themselves in Madura. For that reason, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi more often wore a sarong and turban in every event he attended, both in the pesantren environment and outside as for him, it was part of da'wah called *bil libas* (da'wah with the clothes worn). In that way, even though he had not lived in Madura for a long time, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi was not considered a stranger but a home-comer instead.

Another influential factor was that Kiai Ahmad Fauzi graduated from Al-Azhar University in Egypt. In fact, some alumni from Al-Azhar have been indeed considered successful in balancing the continuity and change in Islamic life. Although Egypt is known for its renewal of Islamic thought, the practice of *tarekat* in Sufism is also lively in the pyramid country. Even Al-Azhar Egyptian alumni who are practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* have been able to give contribution in the field of education in Senegal and Nigeria (Thurston 2018). What is done by Al-Azhar Egypt graduate who are practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, is also similar to what Kiai Ahmad Fauzi has done in Indonesia. Through his capacity as a leader and caretaker of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, he could do much for the development of the education he cared for, although on the other hand, he was a practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*.

The same way was also done by the practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* in Kolda Village, the south of Gambia, a part of Senegal State. From the village the tarekat *Tijaniyah* practitioners have contributed and dedicated themselves in Education mainly, in the teaching of Al Qur'an and other Islamic knowledge (Smith 2014). Beside Senegal, other African Countries, especially Nigeria, the *Tarekat Tijaniyah* practitioners also contributed to the eradication of illiteracy. One of the most influential was Sheikh Musa Abu Bakr (Barnes 2009).

The social actions carried out by those three *Kiais* above namely Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and by Kiai Ahmad Fauzi have managed to in transform their knowledge and experience, with anticipatory social steps taken while living in their community, especially at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School. This is in accordance with the results of Schutz's thought, that the projection of an action should have two sides of character, i.e. something from the past and something in the future: something from the past means all the properties of meaning are showing or depicting, while something in the future means what is involved is an estimate, prediction, or anticipation (Muhammad Supraja 2012).

A person's actions cannot be separated from the influence of his biographical situation. Likewise, the meaning built from each interaction that is conducted also cannot be separated from the person's biography (Nindito 2005). Thus, the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* carried out by Kiai Djauhari, was due to the background of the experience of studying with one of the Sufis at Haram Mosque in Mecca, Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Hamid al-Futi, who was a practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. Likewise, Kiai Tidjani who became the reference for practicing the *Tarekat Tijaniyah* because he was born from the family of *Tijaniyah* practitioners. As it was known that his father; Kiai Djauhari and his biological mother, Nyai Maryam and the mother who took care of him; Nyai Aminah, were *Tarekat Tijaniyah* practitioners. Moreover, Kiai Tidjani's consistency in practicing *Tarekat Tijaniyah* supported by his education and career while in Saudi Arabia then it was very possible for him to continue to practice *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. It is known that some of Kiai Tidjani's friends and lecturers, both in Medina and in Mecca, had become practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, one of them was Sheikh Yasin al-Fadani.

The experience in practicing *Tarekat Tijaniyah* was also experienced by Kiai Ahmad Fauzi. He was born in *Tarekat Tijaniyah* family because his father; Kiai Tidjani and his mother, Nyai Anisah Fatimah Zarkasyi, were both practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. When he was still in elementary school, he had been trained to be close to a Muslim Scholar who practiced *Tarekat Tijaniyah* namely Kiai Rozaq Sarang, the scholar who was in charge of memorizing the Quran in Haram Mosque Mecca. In addition, when Kiai Ahmad Fauzi studied at Al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt, he studied *Tarekat Tijaniyah* with Sheikh Ahmad Muhammad al-Hafidh at-Tijani. In fact, his master and doctoral degrees he achieved when he studied in Sudan, where incidentally had many *Tijaniyah* followers.

It is also interesting to study the findings of this study regarding the inheritance of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* in each generation to one among their sons. Kiai Djauhari handed on *Tarekat Tijaniyah* only to one of his sons, Kiai Tidjani. In fact, Kiai Djauhari had two other sons namely Kiai Idris and Kiai Maktum but neither of them was a practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. Likewise, Kiai Tidjani handed on *Tarekat Tijaniyah* only to Kiai Ahmad Fauzi whereas Kiai Ahmad Fauzi has two brothers namely Kiai Imam Zarkasyi and Kiai Abdullah Muhammadi but neither of them are practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*.

On the other hand, the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Buntet Islamic Boarding School, Cirebon was different. At the pesantren, the spread and da'wah of the *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. was carried out by three brothers, namely Kiai Abbas, Kiai Anas and Kiai Akyas. Kiai Abbas and Kiai Anas, then they appointed many *muqaddam* for the next generations. Kiai Anas pledged allegiance to Kiai Muhammad (Brebes), Kiai Bakri

(Kesepuhan Cirebon), Kiai Muhammad Rais (Cirebon), Kiai Murtadha (Buntet), Kiai Abdul Khair, Kiai Hawi (Bundet) and Kiai Shaleh (Pesawahan). Repeating the allegiance of Kiai Anas, Kiai Abbas also pledged allegiance to Kiai Salih and Kiai Hawi (Buntet), then Kiai Badruz Zaman (Garut) and Kiai Ustman Dhamiri (Cimahi, Bandung). It was from Kiai Hawi that Kiai Anas' son was later also sworn in as muqaddam of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, namely Kiai Junaidi Anas (Sidamulya Cirebon) (Muhaimin 1999).

The model in spreading *Tarekat Tijaniyah* in Buntet Cirebon Islamic Boarding School and Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School is indeed different. In Buntet, the spread was carried out by three brothers, while in al-Amien it was carried out by three different generations. However, there is a similarity between the two, in both pesantren, inheritance or pledge alligance to become muqaddam includes continuity of the sanad. In Buntet, Kiai Anas pledged allegiance to Kiai Hawi, later Kiai Hawi, to the muqaddam of Kiai Anas' son, Kiai Junaidi Anas. Likewise at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic boarding school, Kiai Tidjani pledged allegiance to muqaddam Kiai Jamaluddin Abdus Shamad, which later Kiai Jamaluddin Abdus Shamad was the one who pledged allegiance to muqaddam son of Kiai Tidjani, namely Kiai Ahmad Fauzi Tidjani.

The tradition of inheriting the tarekat leadership that occurs in the pesantren world, usually the young kiai serves as the head of the tarekat, continuing his predecessor, although the issue of descent is not mandatory in the tarekat (Steenbrink 1984). But what happened, both at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School and the Cirebon Buntet Islamic Boarding School, the inheritance of leadership continues to this day.

From the perspective of the motive for joining *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, it was more dominated by the “because motive”, rather than the “in-order-to-motive” or purpose motive. For example, the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* done by Kiai Tidjani, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, Nyai Halimatus Sa'diyah, Kiai Halimi Sufyan, Nyai Anisah Fatimah, Kiai Khoiri Husni and Kiai Rusydi Akmal. They all practiced *Tarekat Tijaniyah* due to inheritance or command from their parents or husband. Other practitioners practiced *Tarekat Tijaniyah* because the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* has become a tradition among the people, as experienced by Mr. Jalal and Ustadz Said.

A practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* who practiced the tarekat because of the order from his spiritual teacher was Kiai Nafi'. He was ordered to join *Tarekat Tijaniyah* by Kiai Jamaluddin Abdus Shamad and so did Firdausi, who was ordered by Kiai Syinqithi, while Kiai Akmal Rofi'i was willing to join *Tarekat Tijaniyah* because of



the motivation given by Kiai Djauhari that *Tarekat Tijaniyah* is a provision to face death.

In addition, there are also practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* who joined it for personal reasons, some were due to difficulties in memorizing as experienced by Ustaz Fahmi Yunus, some were due to a call from the soul, as experienced by Ihsan. Some were caused by spiritual guidance through dreams, as experienced by Berril Musthofa and some were guided by dreams of seeing the Prophet and Sheikh Ahmad at-Tijani, as experienced by Kiai Muhajir.

There are also Tarekat practitioners who were motivated to join it because they wanted to compete in supernatural martial art which has been widely practiced by the community, so that with the practice of the tarekat, they could eliminate supra natural martial art which is currently being practiced by the community as experienced by Kiai Djauhari. Unlike the others, Ustaz Fahmi Yunus' motivation to become a tarekat practitioner was due to his intention to throw away the black magic he had practiced. Thus, a person's motive for following *Tarekat Tijaniyah* is not only due to a single motive, as experienced by Ustaz Fahmi Yunus. His motivation was due to the difficulty of memorizing lessons and intention to get rid of his previous black magic.

Likewise, Kiai Djauhari's reasons for becoming a practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* not only he wanted to eliminate the supernatural martial art practiced by the Prenduan community, but also to be closer to God, by reciting zikir as an obligation carried out in *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. Meanwhile, Kiai Tidjani's motive as a practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* was that besides being inherited from his father, another motive was that he could get himself closer to Allah through *Tarekat Tijaniyah* as the medium.

It was the same with Firdausi, besides it was due to the order from Kiai Syinqithi, Firdausi practices *Tarekat Tijaniyah* because of the life he had been living; when she was still in his undergraduate study, he committed many sins. Another motive is to get the blessing of knowledge that he got when he studied at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School because the amaliyah in *Tarekat Tijaniyah* was in accordance with what he got at his previous Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*). The reason for getting the blessing of knowledge taught at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School by joining the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* was also the reason why M. Asep Saifudin joined the Tarekat. There was also a motive to live a quiet life by becoming a practitioner of the tarekat, as experienced by Kiai Fadli Fatrah and Pak Misro'. In addition, in order to recover from any illness, practicing the zikir of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* can be the solution, as told by Nyai Anisah Fatimah.

Thus, what has been experienced by the practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, was the same as the study conducted by Siti Fatimah, et al, regarding the ‘purposive’ and ‘causal’ motives in decision-making by parents in choosing an education institution. The result was that the parents’ motive to send their children to the institution was that they wanted their children to have positive activities and hopefully, their academic abilities increased. While from the causal motives perspective, the practitioners joined the *tarekat* because of the busyness as well as inability of their parents. Those findings were in accordance with Schutz’s theory, that ‘the purposive motive’ referred to a situation in the future, which was about the desire to be achieved. On the other hand, ‘causal motive’ means an action carried out for certain causes or reasons.

In terms of enrolling their children in non-formal educational institution in order to get positive activities, one of the motives was to keep away the children from negative attitude in their environment. In Schutz’s theory it is stated that someone is often influenced by the surrounding situation. He will automatically define the surrounding situation, orient himself and change the situation with his actions. Meanwhile, the parents’ intention to send their children to non-formal educational institution to make their children get better academic scores, according to Schutz, is classified as fantasy of events in the future. The reason is that according to the parents, if their children have good academic scores, it will be easier for them to get a good or reputable school as well. Furthermore, the parents’ motive to send their children to non-formal educational institution due to their busyness and inability, according to Schutz, shows that humans have active awareness, by being aware of what problems they have and how to solve the problems that they are aware of (Fatimah et al. 2015).

There was another study that used Schutz’s phenomenological theory in the research conducted by Rizal Ikhsan and Leonardo Pranata. The study was about selfie motives among students who were the members of UNP Cantik Instagram Group (GUC). The findings showed that the students’ motifs for taking selfie photos were because of three things, namely: First, getting self-satisfaction and entertainment. In this case, when their selfie expressions were responded positively by others, they would feel satisfied and entertained. Second, the selfie motive was because they wanted to build self-image. They often shared photos and expressions because they wanted to build a good self-image. Third, they wanted to attract the attention of others, such as getting attention from the opposite sex and being known by other students (Ikhsan & Pranata 2018).

The research findings above are different from the findings of this study although they both used Alfred Schutz’s phenomenological theory. In this study, the practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, although some

were motivated by the desire to get peace of mind, but it is not in terms of mental satisfaction for entertainment. Hence, peace of mind from the results of *dhikrullah* (remembrance to Allah) has different results and goals.

In addition, the motives for becoming *Tarekat Tijaniyah* practitioner were not because they wanted to build self-image and attracted the attention of others. The findings in this study indicated that the practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* actually practiced it secretly and individually. So even though their capacity as practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, they did not necessarily show it in social life as what Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi did, although both were practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* and on the other hand, as leaders and caretakers of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, they were both true professionals. And so were the other practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School despite their capacity as caregivers in their institutions. This means that the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* was really a private practice, not for showing it to the public.

According to Schutz, the process of meaning begins with the sensing process a continuous process of experience. Meaning will only be obtained if it relates to experience intrinsically. Something can be meaningful based on what has been experienced. In addition, sometimes human actions are carried out based on the fantasy of future events. In other words, Schutz's theory describes that the 'purposive motive' refers to a state in the future, which is related to the desire to be achieved. Meanwhile, from the perspective of 'causal motive' it means an action that is carried out for certain causes or reasons.

In this study, the reasons of becoming a practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* were not because of those two motives. Some of them became the *tarekat* practitioners because they had problems or because the commands were either direct commands from their teacher or from the dream they had experienced before. On the other hand, some of them became practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* due to their future expectations or the best results they would get after becoming a *Tarekat Tijaniyah* practitioner.

Thus, the findings of this study argued Alfred Schutz's theory of social phenomenology that a person's actions are based on the overall motives namely past motive (causal motives) and future motive (purposive motive). It turned out that sometimes people joined *Tarekat Tijaniyah* due to one of the motives only although there were some of them joining the *tarekat* because of both motives.

The most fundamental change in the practice of the *Tijaniyah* order at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic boarding school, between the Kiai Djauhari period and the period after it, was very visible in the leadership period of the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic

boarding school under the tutelage of Kiai Tidjani. Kiai Tidjani's life experience which resulted in changes in the practice of the *Tijaniyah* Order at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School. The practice of the *Tijaniyah* Order under the leadership of Kiai Djauhari and Kiai Tidjani, has differences. Practicing the *Tijaniyah* Order for Kiai Tidjani is a personal practice, although he is a leader in the pesantren he cares for, it does not necessarily oblige all his students to follow the *Tijaniyah* Order. Of course, this was different when the pesantren was raised by his father. Kiai Djauhari who motivates and directs all his students to become followers of the *Tijaniyah* Order.

Thus, the findings of this study argue that a person's actions (the overall motive) have past motives (because motives) and future motives (so motives) as in Alfred Schutz's theory of social phenomenology. However, in the practice of the *Tijaniyah* Order, sometimes they enter the tarekat because of one motive. Although there are also those due to these two motives, so that they are included in the *Tijaniyah* Order.

The most fundamental change in the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School between the period of Kiai Djauhari and the next period was seen under the leadership of Kiai Tidjani. This was because of Kiai Tidjani's life experience which gave big effect on the change of the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School. There were differences in the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* under the leadership of Kiai Djauhari and Kiai Tidjani. For Kiai Tijani, implementing *Tarekat Tijaniyah* was a personal practice. Although he was the leader of the pesantren he took care of, it did not make him force all his santri (students) to practice the *tarekat*. On the contrary, under his father Kiai Djauhari's leadership, all the santri were motivated and directed to practice *Tarekat Tijaniyah*.

On the other hand, although there had been big change made by Kiai Tidjani, he had succeeded in integrating the values of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* into the education implemented in Al-Amien Islamic Boarding School he cared for, as seen by integrating the amaliyah of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* into the curriculum of the pesantren he led, even though formally the students were not the practitioners of the tarekat. The efforts made by Kiai Tidjani were a form of continuity in the practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School. It could be seen by the obligation to all students to perform *farḍu* (obligatory) prayers in congregation, as well as the obligation to perform *Tahajjud* prayer. Students who failed to comply with these two obligations would get punishment. As taught in the teachings of the *Tarekat Tijaniyah*, *Tijaniyah* followers are required to always be *istiqamah* to perform prayers in congregation as well as to perform *Tahajjud* prayer (Husnain 1909).

Since the leadership of Kiai Tidjani, the Islamic Boarding Schools has entered a new phase. Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School is then classified as one of the modern Islamic boarding schools. This is because the management of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School administration is continuous and very modern. The organization has been running well with clear and directed orientation and obsession, strong discipline, systematic, directed and futuristic curriculum and the most outstanding characteristic of this modern Islamic boarding school is that it has its own curriculum (Hefni 2012; Qudsi 2016; Rofie 2017; Safraji 2013).

Since the leadership of Kiai Tidjani at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, it has begun to be based on modernist Islamic values, so that this has an effect on the traditions and systems that run at the pesantren institution. The modernist Islamic values are to return to the holy Qur'an and hadith. The most concrete evidence of which is the establishment of Ma'had Tahfidh al-Qur'an Al-Amien Prenduan. On the other hand, Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School continues to practice Islamic boarding school in general, one of which is the routine of reading the diba'an, which is a majlis event as a form of actualization of love for the Prophet Muhammad (Atiqullah 2013; Tobroni 2014; Zainullah 2017). In practical political matters, Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School under Kiai Tidjani's leadership chose a neutral attitude and character with the motto, "standing above and for all groups" (Djauhari 2008; Kuswandi 2011; Kuswandi & Hasyim 2007).

After the death of Kiai Tidjani in 2007, the leadership of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School was handed to his two younger brothers, Kiai Idris (2007-2012) and Kiai Maktum (2012-2015). Those two brothers of Kiai Tidjani did not become the followers of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. Kiai Idris' educational background was a graduate of KMI Gontor, while Kiai Maktum's educational background, after graduating from KMI Gontor, he continued to Islamic University of Medina and took a master's degree at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt.

Currently, Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic boarding school is under the leadership of Kiai Tidjani's eldest son, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi. Like his father and grandfather, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi was also the leader (muqaddam) of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. Kiai Ahmad Fauzi received a more diverse education, after completing his primary and secondary education in Saudi Arabia, he continued his studies at Al-Amien Islamic Boarding School and Modern Gontor Boarding School, then completed his undergraduate program at Al-Azhar Cairo Egypt and completed his master's and doctoral programs in Omdurman Islamic University Sudan (Kuswandi & Rifa'ie 2018).

Al-Amien Prenduan Boarding School, under the leadership of Kiai Ahmad Fauzi. The implementation of the motto, "standing above and for all groups" does not

only apply to the attitude of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School in terms of practical politics. According to Kiai Fauzi, the neutrality of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School also applies in terms of tarekat organization. The practice of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* in the pesantren he cares for is personal or private, not in the capacity as a caregiver and leader at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School.

## CONCLUSION

Kiai Djauhari's family background is from the family of a The Kiai of the pesantren who was a practitioner of *Tarekat Naqsabandiyah*. Kiai Tidjani is the son of Kiai Djauhari, the founder of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School and a practitioner of *Tarekat Tijaniyah*. Meanwhile, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi is the son of Kiai Tidjani who used to be the leader of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School and the practitioner of the *Tijaniyah* Tarekat. Kiai Djauhari's education was at Annuqayah Guluk-guluk Islamic Boarding School, Tebuireng Jombang and Sidogiri Pasuruan, then he studied al-Qur'an in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, Kiai Tidjani graduated from Gontor and Saudi Arabia. Kiai Ahmad Fauzi went back to Al-Amien Prenduan and Gontor Ponorogo Islamic boarding school after his basic education in Saudi Arabia. Later, he studied in Egypt and Sudan. Besides his religious activities, Kiai Djauhari was also active in politics by joining the Masyumi Party. It was different from Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi who both chose a neutral stance in politics. Both prefer non-political organizations such as Madura Islamic Boarding School Ulama Gathering Board (BASSRA). Kiai Djauhari's obsession, although his educational background was traditional pesantren and tarekat practice, he was obsessed with modern pesantren such as Gontor Islamic Boarding School. Meanwhile, in the period of Kiai Tidjani to Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, although Al-Amien Islamic Boarding School had implemented a modern system like Gontor, it still integrated the values of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* into the education of the pesantren. In the period of Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, the practitioners of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* at Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School, had various motives. But in general, it can be inferred that their motive was to get merit and the remission of their sins. While the dominance of the "purposive motive", was the influence of the family and the surrounding environment.

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