TURKISH TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA CASE STUDY: SULAIMANIYAH GROUP MOVEMENT

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Abstract

Literature on Transnationalism is very much influenced by references which depict transnationalism issue as a threat. Various discussion on transnationalism is very often connected to issues of radicalism, terrorism, criminality, global warming and others which have negative nuance. It is due to these references that the understanding of transnationalism is directed as a dangerous and threatening concept. This study raises the phenomenon of a Turkish Islamic movement known as the Sulaimaniyah Group, run by some Turkish muslim youths in various areas in Indonesia since 2005. By using qualitative approach, this study aims at elaborating more deeply the motivation of the Turkish youths in leaving their homeland and conducting transnationalism activities in Indonesia. In addition, the study also wants to know how their presence is perceived by Indonesian societies. The qualitative data is mainly obtained through observations in some Sulaimaniyah Boarding Schools in Jakarta areas and the surrounding, as well as through deep interviews with the activists and students of the Schools. Research findings indicate that the presence of Sulaimaniyah Group in Indonesia shows the Turkish identity presentation built by a construction that involves historical understanding and response towards globalization.

Keywords: globalization, transnationalism, Islamic movement, Sulaimaniyah Group

Introduction

Globalization which previously emphasized on homogenizing world and as that character was often considered as a threat and a new form of West Imperialism Barat (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003), apparently shows a paradox phenomenon. The homogenizing power of globalization faced a tough resistance from local actors. Giddens (2003) highlights the emergence of fundamentalism groups, be it related with religion, ethnic, nationalist, politics, as the form of local society’s reaction towards daya homogenizing power of globalization.

Globalization has also created space for expression and international contestation by providing supporting structure of condition and opportunity (Beck, 2000). Cultural spaces are no longer limited firmly by political geography border, but wide open, giving opportunities to people all around the world to connect. People no longer move within their own geographical region or nation, but crossing countries’ borders (transnational).
With the advancement of informatics technology and transportation, people all over the world are getting more and more connected, and international relations have increasingly involved individuals and groups to participate in cross border movements. (Porta & Tarrow, 2005, Howard, 2011, Vertovec 2009). Transnationalization, according to Beck (2000: 1), not only occurred in the fields of economy, but also involving ecology, politics, and civil society. This transnational view is line with the view established by Vertovec (2009), which sees international relations phenomenon is not monopolized by countries actors anymore, but transnational actors who do not represent countries. The presence of multinational companies, environmental movement, religious movement, and many others are examples of transnational organization. It is the transnationality, which is the movement of capital, human and technology, that cross countries’ borders, involving non-western countries, and also flowing in more than one directions, as pointed out in the first paragraph, shows new phenomenon of globalization, which is not only having homogenizing power, but also heterogenizing power.

This article depicts one religious activities done by a Turkish group which This demonstrates transnationalization that is occurring in the wave of globalization. I found the transnational activities done by a Turkish religious group, who introduces their organization by the name of United Islamic Cultural Centre of Indonesia (UICCI) in Indonesia. The religious group develops boarding schools/pesantren in Indonesia since 2005. Their main activities include spreading the education of tahfidz (memorizing) and tadris (reading) of the Quran. Until this article is written in 2016, 30 branches of Sulaimaniyah boarding schools have been established all over in Indonesia (https://uicci.wordpress.com/).

The objective of discussing Turkish religious movement in Indonesia that is carried out by the Sulaimaniyah group is to explain how transnationalization can give an idea regarding the phenomenon of the presence of Turkish young people that prefer conducting pious activities and teaching the Quran transnationally, to deciding to stay in their own country. Besides that, it also explains how their presence is accepted by the Indonesian society.

This article aims at giving an alternative in understanding the complexity of globalization and transnasionalization which are still suspected as a threat against the loss of local elements as the identity of a nation. Transnasionalization is still discussed in a negative perspective, as stated by Beck (2000), Howard (2011), who view that activites of transnational actors that move across countries borders have loosened it, as it proves that “nation state” became more and more irrelevant. Likewise, articles on the internet regarding internasional terrorist network, children and women trafficking, etc have enriched our perception about transnationalization as a dangerous activity.

This article is a qualitative study which tries to elaborate the phenomenon of the presence of the Sulaimaniyah Boarding Schools in Indonesia as a form of nationalism, but not in a negative perspective, instead, it puts it in a global phenomenon which is natural in marking the globalization era itself. By conducting deep interview with the manager of Sulaimaniyah Boarding School
in Jakarta and also by intensive observation on the progress of their activities through the website they develop, this article aims at elaborating transnational experience of a Turkish religious group in Jakarta. The interview was conducted in 2013. However, long before that year, exactly in 2008, I had the opportunity to be the Indonesian Language teacher for these transnational Turkish actors, who were the motivators of this Sulaimaniyah Boarding School, giving me the chance to ask various things, such as their motivation to come to Indonesia, activities they cultivate and how they develop relations with Islamic groups in Indonesia; including conducting observation in the daily activities of the student (santri) in the Sulaimaniyah Boarding Schools, in Jakarta.

**Understanding Turkey as a Secular Country**

Turkey is a country which was established based on secularism. Secularism had been chosen as the state foundation of Turkey by the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal. This was the consequence of modernity that was developed by the founder of Turkish state. Furthermore, modern Turkey had firmly adopted modernization concept which referred to the West, (westernization). Modernization program of Mustafa Kemal, which was later known as Kemalism, was promoted by making the Turkish Ottoman Empire a historical burden that needed to be removed. Islam as the religious teaching and has rooted in the life of muslims in Turkey was forced to be abandoned, as it was considered conservative, traditional, and contradicted with the spirit of Turkey to be modern. As the implementation, which was the abolishment of the caliphate in the year 1924, the elimination of institutions which previously was the field of production (using the terminology of Bourdieu, 1993) of muslim intellectuals in the Ottoman Dynasty, modernization of educational institutions, the use of latin alphabet replacing Arabic, socialization of western clothing and fashion, etcetera.

In brief, Kemalism reformation program not only absorbing new ideas which were considered modern as it came form the West, but also attempted to create Turkey like the “West”, physically and mentally.

The demand of western modernization, that is secularization, has created clashes between groups who oppose and propose it. The first block, did not consist of people who recently emerged, but they were part of Turkish elite that were raised by the structure of Turkish kingdom, which, according to Zürcher (1998), had facilitated the emergence of secularization since the 18th century, when Sultan Selim III (1789 – 1807) ran a program called Nizam’i Cedid or the New Order. As for the second block is the Islamic scholars, who gained a special position in the government structure of Turkish Ottoman, ever since this Dynasty was established. However, the infiltration of western influence, especially secularization and modernization, which was used by the Turkish Ottoman to strengthen the kingdom, had become a boomerang against the unity of the kingdom. In the end, a figure from the Turkish military, Mustafa Kemal, announced the presence of a new modern state, which is the Republic of Turkey.
After the abolishment of the caliphate, the state eliminated the role of Muslim scholars and controlled religious schools which previously were official educational institutions promoted by the Islamic caliphate of Turkish Ottoman. Furthermore, the state even strictly prohibited Turkish people in the Republic of Turkey to study about religion that they believed. Nevertheless, Kemalist secularism only took place within the border of the state and societies in big cities of Turkey, and actually did not really touch the general society, especially societies in the villages of Turkey. With the repression of secularism conducted by the state, the majority of Turkish society was still a religious society, believing Islam as their religion. This is what Huntington (1996) described that Turkey is “the torn country”, a country that wanted to be secular, but the society is muslim. The condition of Turkey as “the torn country” was written in detail by Zeyno Baran (2010), in her book entitled “Torn Country”: Turkey between Secularism and Islamism.” In addition, the repressive secularism in the style of Mustafa Kemal that obviously was against the muslim, had failed to bring about the advancement that Turkey. Therefore, as put forward by Mehmet Özay (in Yavuz, 2003:18), a Turkish sociologist, the revival of Islamic movement in Turkey actually emerged as a response towards the failure of the secularists in governing the state. One of the Islamic movements in Turkey that attracted my attention is the Sulaimaniyah movement, which did not emerge only as a response towards secularization that was forced in Turkey, but also a collective response towards globalization.

**Sulaimaniyah Movement: A Pious Movement in Turkey**

I used the term pious in reference to the term used by Mahmood Saba (2004) in his book “Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject”, to call the movement of muslim women in the mosques in Kairo. The term pious movement became a new analysis in the terminology of social movement which was generally considered as an organized political movement that attempted to topple or change a state, as demonstrated by the political religious movement such as Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt. The use of the term pious also meant to show a moral reform movement by preserving what was considered as traditional Islamic practice that used to be implemented during the caliphate era of Turkish Ottoman. The activities of Sulaimaniyah group that became the focus of this article is indeed far from the attitude of opposing the state, let alone involving in the political practice, proven by the reluctance of the members of this Sulaimaniyah Group movement in discussing politics.

The name of Sulaimaniyah Boarding School refers to the name of the founder of the Islamic movement, that is Ustadz Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan, who lived during the years of 1888 –1960. Ustadz that lived through three important periods in the history of the Caliphate Turkish Ottoman and the Republic of Turkey, namely, the period of Tanzimat (1839 –1871) Young Turkey (1908—1923), the period of Kemalism (1923 –1939), and the Post Kemalism period (1939—until his death Ustadz in 1960).
Ustadz Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan is a Muslim scholar who were born in the Hezergrad village, in the Province of Silistra, Bulgaria, which was part of Turkish Ottoman region at that time. He came from a very religious family. His father, Usman Efendi, was a religion teacher in the region. He inherited the name Tunahan as a noble title in the Turkish Ottoman, as his grandfather from his father whose name is Sayyid Idris, married a daughter of Sultan Mehmet II’s brother. That is why he received the noble title Tunahan, a title that was given to a Sultan’s family. Sulaiman Hilmi also inherited the title sayyid which rooted to the lineage of Sayyidina Husein bin Muhammad SAW and the title syarif from his mother side that rooted from the lineage of Sayyidina Hasan bin Muhammad SAW. This was an inheritance that had an important position, as in the concept of Bourdieu (1993) was called cultural capital. A person that has a linkage to the lineage of the Prophet had a respected position in the life of a Muslim society, especially the traditional Muslim.

The Islamic knowledge of Ustadz Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan was built in a learning tradition that was developed many centuries ago in the Ottoman empire. Sulaiman Hoca (that was he called as a teacher in Turkey) was educated in Fatih “Medrese” in Istanbul and Suleimaniya Medrese, until he reached the highest title in the hierarchy of Islamic knowledge in Turkey and became a “Dersiam,” a title equivalent to professor in that time, which was 1918.

However, in line with the achievement, Turkish Ottoman was in the midst of crisis among the strength in the palace circle, the bureaucrats who got secular education, and the Muslim scholars that attempted to gain a position in a various transformation carried out by the Sultan, and the military that became stronger but struggled intensively to change the constitution, and even the form of the state. Modernization that was carried out by Turkish Sultans from generation to generation and worlds’ political interests after the World War I (1918) had placed Turkish Ottoman in a worrying position among the power of western countries that were ready to tear Turkish Ottoman apart.

The proclamation of the Turkish Republic on 29 October 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had eliminated the supremacy of the caliphate. The emergence of Mustafa Kemal and his Kemalism program that was supported by modern educated bureaucrats and also the secular military had directed the modernization forms in Turkey with the main target to disassemble various institutions that were the Islamic symbols and removed the Muslim scholars group. It was during this reform era or even as the result of Kemalism revolution, Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan saw how Islam as a teaching that had entrenched in the society was taken away systematically and repressively by Kemal regime. Sulaiman Hoca struggled against various pressures and restrictions imposed by the state through the hands of the military.

When Turkey was in a very concerning condition, as the government did not hesitate in seizing and imprisoning, even executing Muslim scholars that were still teaching religion to the Turkish society, Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan approached individuals and persuaded them to listen to his preaching about Islam. Hoca looked for poor labors and invited them one by one to follow his preaching like
two people having conversation on a train travelling between Istanbul and Ankara for six hours just to teach the values of Islam and the nobility of Quran. The person that he invited and taught Islam would be given a daily wage to compensate his earning in the farm or as a labor. He was willing to take a taxi and travel around the city in order to explain about Islam to the driver.

His one-to-one concealed preaching had been conducted during the time of Kemalism, which strictly prohibited the teaching and religious activities in groups. When the repression of Kemalists gradually loosened after the death of Mustafa Kemal on 10 June 1939, and especially after the Democrat Party led by Adnan Menderes sucessfully won the first Post-Kemal election in Turkey in the year 1950, the struggle of Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan to preserve the teaching of Islam to the Turkish society bore fruit. The Sulaimaniyah group became the group that had a number of followers categorized as significant in the constellation of Islamic groups in Turkey.

The Sulaimaniyah group, or in Turkey known as Sulaimancilar, became a group that had many followers in Turkey. The activities of this group was to preserve and keep Islamic learning tradition that had been inherited by muslim scholars in the Sultan’s circle during the Caliphate of Ottoman Turkey. The repressive attitude of the Turkish government towards Islamic groups in Turkey raised an anti-politics attitude and character within the followers of Sulaimaniyah. In addition, the continuous clashes between the dynamism of secularism and Islam in Turkey had placed them as secular muslims, meaning that they are muslims who do not want to get involved in the state affairs, as the state do not want the religious life they preserve to be displayed publicly.

The freedom of conducting religious teachings that were often shut by the government of Turkey had made them look for solutions out of this isolation and closure forced by the government. The opportunity that they seized was globalization and liberalization carried out continuously by the Turkish government, opening geographic borders and paving the way for finding cultural production field beyond the country’s borders. It was due to this pressure and closure of cultural field production towards the Islamic groups in Turkey that had pushed them to carry out transnationalization, crossing countries’ borders in order to look for cultural production spaces that could accept their presence and activities. Furthermore, during the glory of the Turkish Ottoman, their predecessors in Turkish history had provided them with the character of transnational attitude, which is the character and mental readiness to be in various different cultural situations.

The efforts of Sulaiman Hoca to motivate their followers, in line with their historical background, had born fruit. Nowadays, Sulaimaniyah became Turkish muslim group that spread almost all over the world (diaspora). This achievement surpassed the diaspora of their predecessors during the Turkish Caliphate in spreading their political influence. It was also different in terms of spirit, whereas their predecessors tend to use the military in spreading their power and competing for areas of control. The Sulaimaniyah group moved in the spreading of culture (soft power), by not using hard power (the military). The glorious history of the
Turkish Ottoman that spread and expand his authority geographically was transformed into activities in spreading Islamic cultural tradition that was inherited by the religious life protected and preserved previously by the Turkish Ottoman Caliphate.

Sulaimaniyah Boarding Schools in Indonesia

The Sulaimaniyah Boarding Schools were managed under the umbrella of the United Islamic Cultural Centre of Indonesia (UICCI) or Yayasan Pusat Persatuan Kebudayaan Islam di Indonesia, which was established in 2005 in Jakarta. Up to this date, the boarding school and the boarding school and the Foundation that are based in Rawamangun, Jakarta, already have 21 branches in Indonesia, namely in Banten, Aceh, Medan, Surabaya, Kalimantan, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Temanggung, Klaten, Bandung, Sukabumi, Bogor, Palembang, Sumenep, Lumajang, etc [https://uicci.wordpress.com/]

The term pesantren or boarding school is actually an Indonesian specific term. Ethimologically, the term pesantren originates from the word pesantrian, meaning a place to educated santri, or students who learn religion. In Indonesia, pesantren was the pioneer of the existence of formal education institutes. In the Islamic terminology, of course, the term pesantren will not be found. However, the education model of pesantren as initially developed is the form of education known as “medrese” (madrasah), referring to madrasah, a formal education system developed in Iraq during the era of Abbasiid. In Indonesia, the term “madrasah” is used to refer to an Islamic educational institute that is later known as sekolah. In other words, the word “madrasah” in Arabic is the synonym of the word “sekolah” in Indonesian language or school in the English language. The naming of madrasah in Indonesia shows that the curriculum used is Islamic curriculum, to distinguish with the general science curriculum (science originated from the West) that is given in general schools. However, the term madrasah itself does show that education system with Islamic lessons or materials are given using the West system, (school system) and therefore is different from the “medrese” system that was developed based on the Islamic learning tradition.

As for “medrese”, the system is preserved in Indonesian educational institute by the name of “pesantren” or boarding school. For this reason, the pesantren system has similarities with the medrese system that is known in the Islamic educational institute in the muslim world. In Turkish context, “medrese” as a term and a system is a tradition Islamic educational institute that was developed many centuries ago in line with the development of Islam during the Dynasty of Turkish Ottoman. It is this medrese education model, as a traditional Islamic education model, that has given birth to great Turkish Islamic scholars who have made Islamic life rooted in Turkish society. In the course of Islamic and Secularism development, medrese that were shut down many times by a regime as they were considered as obstacle against advancement and modernization in Turki, were reopened by a regime that saw the Turkish society was strongly tied to the oldest education system.
It was in this course of dynamism that the medrese was preserved by the Sulaimaniyah group. With the ups and downs of Turkish government’s policy, the system became the only traditional education system that could connect modern education development in Turkey with its history (Islamic history). As stated previously, secularization that was forced in the life of Turkish society, had led Turkish people to be involved in general education, which did not allow the teaching of religion. This condition was noticed by Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan and his followers, who later on developed a supplement education model that gathered Turkish young generation who attended formal education in Turkish general schools in institutes called dersane (boarding school).

It is this Islamic education model of medrese and dersane that were brought to Indonesia, by using a common Indonesian name, ‘Pesantren’. With the pesantren education model that emphasizes long life education, the Pesantren of Sulaimaniyah applies education system for Indonesian young people whose ages ranging from junior to senior high school as well as university level.

The name “pesantren” was used not only as it was close to Indonesian culture and the people are already familiar with this term, it was also directed to those who understand Islamic education culture as well as to introduce Sulaimaniyah Hoca that was unknown among the scholars in the Islamic world by Indonesian people. By using the term pesantren, this group also covers the Indonesian muslim society who still have the spirit in reviving Islamic learning tradition using traditional pesantren model, which emphasizes the charisma of the pesantren leader. The biography of Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan Hoca that is closely connected to the family of the sultan in the Ottoman Dynasty and, more importantly, his genealogy that rooted to the prophet Muhammad SAW, has made this figure well accepted in the traditional muslim societies in Indonesia. Therefore, it is not surprising that their activities are legalized through cooperation with Ministry of Religious Affairs in Indonesia.

When I asked why they develop pesantren activities, an education model that is actually developing well in Indonesia, especially when I actually remind them that Indonesian society is muslim in majority, whose society is still eager to enliven religious activities including developing pesantren models in Indonesia, I received 3 significant answers from them:

1. Their attempt to spread Islam in Indonesia and almost to any other countries was a desire stem from the history of their ancestors, the Ottoman Dynastty, that was glorious in spreading Islam to many parts of the world.
2. They offer an education model of memorizing Quran that they claim as a method of Turkish Ottoman, which is different from other methods of memorizing Quran in other muslim countries. They found out that Indonesian society has not known this method, which is true, as in the development of Islam in this country, the method of teaching the Quran in Indonesia referred to method in muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Pakistan.
3. They also offer the characteristic (akhlak) of Turkish Ottoman muslim, which pays attention to politeness, social values, especially cleanliness. The concern about cleanliness is given high importance, by giving examples on how Indonesian society do not pay much attention about this subject.

During my observation on the life of santris in the boarding schools, I noticed that the muslim characteristics they develop were really implemented. I have also got good impression and response from the parents who left their children at the Sulaimaniyah boarding school, especially related with their pride in the ability of their children in memorizing the Quran in a relatively short time.

Since its establishment in 2005 up to this date, the presence of Sulaimaniyah boarding schools have received positive responses from the society as well legality from the Indonesian Government through the legalization and support of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Each year, there are 25 Indonesian santris who are accepted from the test among 500 candidates that applied. Besides in Indonesia, the same boarding schools also exist in many other countries, whether in muslim or non-muslim countries, estimated to spread in 150 countries around the world. This has increased the confidence and gained high appreciation from the society and government in Indonesia.

An acknowledgment was also given by an Indonesian muslim figure and the Head of Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng, Jombang, East Java, K.H. Salahuddin Wahid. The scholar that is also known as Gus Sholah appreciated the brief learning system in the Pesantren Sulaimaniyah. In the first year, santris memorize the Quran with an average time of 9-10 months, the fastest student can do it in 5,5 months. In the second year, santris learn Turkish and Arabic. In the third and fourth year, they learn in Turkey and earn a diploma equivalent with Aliyah degree which is acknowledged by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs. Another thing that was appreciated by him is that all santris do not pay to study in the pesantren (KH Salahuddin Wahid (Gus Sholah) – Pengasuh Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng, Jombang, Jawa Timur. (https://uicci.wordpress.com/testimoni).

In addition, the superiority of Pesantren Sulaimaniyah lies on the cultivation of “akhlakul karimah” or good character, as displayed by the students and their attention toward cleanliness, tidiness and self reliance after living in Sulaimaniyah boarding schools. Related with this, former Social Minister of Indonesia, Salim Assegaf Al-Jufri, gave appreciation on the pesantren’s system that focuses on improving attitude. Besides politeness and good attitude/character that spread all over the world, it will also raise Islam itself. In the context of Indonesia, the teaching of good morals and its implementation will build the character of the nation (https://uicci.wordpress.com/testimoni).

**Theoretical Discussion**

The classical view on secularization theory, which developed in the year 1950 and 1960, and had a simple perspective that modernization will automatically lead to the deterioration of religion both in the society and
individual level, faced serious criticism from the rising of religious groups phenomenon. The deterioration in religion, which means the decline of the faith of society toward the supremacy of religious institutes and scholars, was indeed desired by the architects of secularization in the Western Europe. Secularism in the West, especially in the Western Europe, together with the concepts of modernization, liberalization, rationalization, had and wanted to eliminate the role of church, as the religious authority in the life of society, and especially of the state.

The view of classic theory that secularization is a necessity and will eliminate religion was criticized by theorists like Berger and Martin, who doubted the concept of secularization, due to the various phenomena in which vitalities of religion went parallel with modernization, occurred beyond Europe. Even Berger (1999), stated that in today’s world, both Europe and America had never been so religious as before. The thesis of David Martin (1991), in his article entitled “Issue of secularization: prospect and flashback”, stated that theories of secularization is always understood as a one-way principle, and the ignorance on complexity of history, needs to be corrected. Having such and understanding theory of secularization, had even pushed Martin to write an article entitled, “Heading toward the elimination of secularization concept” (Martin, 1965). Martin was indeed a theorist that doubted the necessity of secularization. Furthermore, the development of secularization in America showed a different situation with a secularization in Western Europe. In the United States, secularization took place in a situation where religious activities increased significantly, that is with the global Christianization and the phenomenon of the rising Islamic societies due to the openness policy of this country towards migrants from southern regions. This situation is difficult to explain using the principle of secularization in the European context (Turner, ibid.).

Turner (2010) explained that the debate on secularization centered on the phenomenon showing that even modernization is going on and continuously spreading all over the world, religion cannot disappear. Contemporary view on secularization tries to give a new alternative in understanding the secularization phenomenon and the existence of religion in a modern world. Contemporary theorist proposed a thesis that European secularization model is not the only prototype to be spread to other parts of the world. Secularization in Europe is typical Europe which is hard to find in other non-European societies.

As explained by Mancini and Rosenfeld (2014) who stated that secularism model in Turkey followed secularism in France, where the militant secularist model bent on keeping religion completely out of the public sphere. However, this model is in fact not the same on the implementation. Laïcité (sekularisme) in France was implemented in a social and political environment who was already secularized. Meanwhile, Laïcité in Turkey was implemented to push a shift towards modernism and secularism in a country where religion is a very dominant issue. The consequence from the difference of this social-political setting can be proven when we see in the practice of banning of headscarves in the 2 countries.
France had to face the minority of religion followers, while Turkey had to face the majority of the dominant society.

Although secularization in Turkey obviously referred to the European countries with their westernization, it was clear that history and cultural character played a role in the event in Turkey. Secularization was indeed ongoing and carried out very consistently by Turkish leaders from time to time. However, secularization program that was facilitated by the state did not cause the disappearance of religious life in the Turkish society. The existence of figures such as Sulaiman Hilmi Tunahan had proven to preserve the traditional culture in the country.

In its development, Turkey became a secular country and at the same time, religious. Islam was one of the Turkish identities together with the identity of secular facilitated by the state. The two identities often clashed and fought fiercely. Among the said clashes is those who choose to be secular live together with the religious society. The same thing applies to the religious society, who need to position themselves in a secular environment. Through this secular mentality, religious life is preserved both in private and collective lives by keeping the distance with the state.

The presence of Sulaimaniyah group became an example of the preservation of religious life in Turkey, not only as a religion, in a universal context. The religious practice that is preserved, is a religious life that is considered as the inheritance of the glorious era of Turkish Ottoman and will continue to be enlivened as a historical pride. With this historical pride, the Sulaimaniyah group preserves the Turkish identity, which is tradition, unique, and typical of Turkey.

The presence of a Turkish religious group who conducts activities transnationally, also shows that globalization has further pushed the attempt to preserve identity. Not only preserving it, identity is also promoted across countries’ borders. What is displayed by the Sulaimaniyah group with its transnational movement, in line with Turner’s view (2010), that religion often acts as the identity guarantor, religion has given the resources for the protection of national culture, local or an ethnic group.

**Conclusion**

The presence of Pesantren Sulaimaniyah is one of the proofs that globalization went on divergently, spreading and offering heterogeneity. Transnationality, which is the feature of globalization became an instrument for the display of ideology and local identity. History, modernization and secularization in Turkey that was carried out by pressing and closing the freedom of religion, in turn created muslim generation that continuously moved to preserve their Islam and pushed them to look for opportunity available in the cultural production spaces. This way, locality was closely tied to globality. Similarly, secularity went in parallel with the religious strengthening.
In the context of Indonesian society which is complex, their presence encountered with the traditional Islamic patterns. With the ability in managing capital that is owned by the religious group, they intelligently offered cultural production that was accepted by the Indonesian society who tend to have the spirit of preserving Islamic tradition.

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