



*Kiai vis a vis Media Logic:
Revisiting the Power of Internet and *Kiai* in Pandalungan
Muslim Community*¹

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Abstract

Internet becomes an integral part of current Indonesian society's life. Meanwhile, the figure of *kiai* clearly cannot be separated from the history of Indonesian socio-religious life up until recently. Both the *kiai* and Internet are inseparable parts of current Indonesian social reality, in which, each of them possessed their particular share of power and ran according their own logics. Focusing on the case of *Pandalungan* Muslims community, where the *kiai*'s authority is greatly acknowledged, this paper will shed the lights on the logic behind those two powers and the contestation (for authority) occurred between them. This paper concludes that the logic of the *kiai*-ness is the logic of culture and media logic is in the logic of culture. This made the *kiais*' authority is still standing strong in current media life.

Keywords: *Kiai*, Internet, *Pandalungan*, Authority, Media Logic

Introduction

Based on the data released by Internetworldstats.com on 31 December 2000, the total Internet users in the world was around 360.985.492 and on 30th of June 2014, that number fantastically raised up to 3.035.749.340 (42% of total world population) which means that within 4 years the Internet users grow 741%! In the case of Indonesia, according to the same resource, there are approximately 88 million users in 2016, which make Indonesia as the fourth Asian country with the highest Internet user in number in the world. What is more, the fact that Indonesia is the largest

Muslim population in the world gives birth to unique cases of religion's appropriation with digital culture within Indonesian society. Various appropriations and contestations among different conceptions in society occurred as a corollary to Internet's infiltration into Indonesian social realities.

Fascinating facilities provided by the Internet inevitably attract many people (no matter how old are they, where ever they live, what are their jobs, and any other boundaries) to interact with Internet. As if do not want to left behind, the "religious surfers" also join this new huge congregation. This corollary related to what Lorne L. Dawson called as the five promises of the Internet for religion (Dawson, 2001, pp. 3-9): spreading the Word, building new communities, boundary breaking, virtual rituals and fostering a new religious consciousness.

Internet nowadays becomes a new fertile land and even a primary need for the development of religion (Brasher, 2001, p. 11), inter-faith dialogue (Imawan, 2000), and business of religion (Einstein, 2008). Internet emerges as a new challenger in the contestation for authority in Indonesian society. At this point, it is interesting to take Hoover's argument that says 'when the media are becoming more important in society, there are clearly implications for religious authority,' in the sense that 'the media today directly confront religious authorities' ability to control their own symbols and symbolic resources' (Hoover, 2016, p. 5). This paper basically aims to test Hoover's argument by providing the case of *kiai* (who known as the holders of religious authority in Indonesia) *vis a vis* the Internet. One important question raised in this paper is how the *kiai*'s authority, whose leadership very much depends on their domination over the flow information through traditional networks (Mansurnoor, 1990, p. vii), is able to survive in this era when media is ubiquitous and technically born to liberate information? To be able to answer this, first of all, this paper will primarily ask how the Internet and the *kiai*-ness work, or how is the logic of Internet and of *kiai*-ness?

Pandalungan: Culture, People, and Socio-Religious Life

To begin with, I would like to mention that there are at least two important considerations in choosing *Pandalungan* for this research's object: first the unique characteristics of *Pandalungan*, as it will be discussed further in this section, reflects the uniqueness of Islam Nusantara which is kind of friendly Islam to the diverse local practices but still strongly rooted in the theological teachings. This made *Pandalungan* as an interesting example of 'mediatized world' to be tested. Second, in addition to the unique

characteristics that *Pandalungan* has as a culture, *Pandalungan* people's high appreciation toward the *kiai* that cannot be found in any other communities in Java makes the *Pandalungan* *kiais* as the most appropriate key informants for this research.

Due to the limited studies on *Pandalungan*, the exact meaning of and the first time when the word *Pandalungan* appeared are still unclear. In practical level, the word mostly used to describe a new culture emerges due to the interaction of two dominant people, Javanese and Madurese. The word *Pandalungan*, according to Indonesian dictionary, etymologically refers to the word "*dalung*" which means "*dulang besar terbuat dari logam*" (a big tray made of metal). Cultural symbolic understanding of the word is an area contains of diverse ethnic groups with their diverse cultures, which then creates a new cultural typology, a hybrid culture, accommodates the constituting cultural elements (Sutarto, 2006) through the process of what so called "cultural hybridization." What happened to *Pandalungan* in Jember is totally different from *Osing* culture in Banyuwangi. In which *Osing* culture (a term used to describe a new culture emerges from the meeting of two different people; Javanese and Balinese) shows a strong cultural resistance, while *Pandalungan* people known for their accommodative attitude toward their different cultural backgrounds (Sutarto, 2014).

The word *Pandalungan*, according to Javanese-Indonesian Dictionary, also means 'unmannerly talking (to somebody)' (Utomo, 2007, p. 481). This understandably refers to the language style used in the area which sounds a little bit rude, or it might refer to the mixing kind of Madurese-Javanese language used in the area. The geographical areas of *Pandalungan* culture refer to some particular regions in the North Beach and Eastern parts of East Java Province where most of the residents are culturally Madurese. Administrative regencies of *Pandalungan* culture are including Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Situbondo, Bondowoso, Jember and Lumajang.

Historically, the emergence of private farms in Jember regency, first initiated in 1859, created significant social and economic changes in the society, and even established a new status for Jember as an independent region. This new status made the central government initiated a governance restructuration and encouraged infrastructural developments, for most the construction of roads and railways. All of those developments in Jember regency, in the end, open up a massive migration of Madurese, Javanese and people from other ethnics to this region (Arifin, 2012). The immigrant ethnic groups usually bring and develop their cultures of origin to their new place, not only to treat their homesickness, but also to establish interaction

and solidarity among them to preserve their ethnic and cultural identity. This is what happened to those Madurese and Javanese immigrants.

The interaction of those two immigrants, along with the interaction of their cultures, then creates what later known as 'Pandalungan' culture. By this, the word *Pandalungan* refers to a new cultural identity, *Pandalungan* culture, not to people's identity. This because, as Nurrochsyam found in the field, that there are still Madurese people who do not appreciate and support *Pandalungan* culture. Also, there are still Javanese people who do the same (Nurrochsyam & Wildha, 2011, p. 230).

What is more, this interaction was not only a process of the blending of two cultures, but also of preserving each different culture in their new environment, Rahardjo called it as "an orchestra of multiculturalism." Javanese community living in the south part of Jember regency, for example, until recently still practice some products of Javanese culture, either in language, art, or other traditions. In that area we can still find people preserving the *Reog* art performance which originally come from their ancients in Ponorogo. In term of education, they still prefer to have formal education rather than *pesantren*, although there are a lot of *pesantren* in the area.

In the north part of Jember, on the other hand, we found people still preserve Madurese cultures. Madurese language in that area is used for their daily communication. Beside Madurese kind of *ludruk*, the people love to see the performance of *hadrah* as a kind of *pesantren* music art performance. Islamic religious gatherings (*pengajian*) is an important agenda for them, not only because they can get some religious advices but also they can meet the *Kiais* or *Gus* (son of *Kiai*) who believed might bring blessing (*baraka*) for their lives.

While the center part of Jember, at the central city, there is totally different kind of social dynamism. Here we can find Tionghoa community preserve and develop their art performance, the Barongsai, as their distinctive art (Raharjo, 2006).

What happened in *Pandalungan*, as it is previously mentioned, best explained by the anthropologist and sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987), who analyzed the cultural hybridity of colonial society in Brazil. He described Brazil as a country 'where different racial and cultural contributions had met and generated a specific ethos and culture, full of harmonic and creative social relations' (Ackermann, 2012, p. 7). In the context of *Pandalungan*, we can clearly see those 'specific ethos and culture, full of harmonic and creative social relations' in various aspects in different regions.

Pandalungan as culture not only influence the existing traditional arts of society but also the people themselves. In their everyday lives, *Pandalungan* people known for their high appreciation toward diversity. At the same time, they are also known for their straightforward attitude. As it is concluded by Sutarto, that the social ethics, manners, and characters of *Pandalungan* people deeply rooted in their original cultural values, be it of Javanese or Maduarese culture. Below are general characters of *Pandalungan* people (Sutarto, 2006):

1. Most of them are traditional agrarian, means that they are in the half way from traditional to industrial society. Therefore, traditions and myths are still have dominant place in their everyday lives. We can see this from the Javanese people living Jember regency, one of the most potential area among other *Pandalungan* cities to be industrial city (Kominfo Jatim, 2011), who are still practicing Javanese traditions like for example *kenduri*.³



Figure 1.
Kenduri held by the community in the mosque to celebrate *Isra' Mi'raj* in Lumajang

2. They are still in the stage of primary orality, this can be seen from the fact that they like talking a lot, *ngrasani* (to disgrace someone), afraid of being different from common values. One of the clear token of this I found during my field work is the tradition of “*Jagongan*” (a Javanese term used to describe an activity of having a conversation about anything, in a group of people from evening to the next day’s morning).
3. Open and adaptive. Koesoemawati and Darjosanjoto, explained that open attitude of the people, can be shown from the community’s settlement pattern where they found usually there are no fences between houses. The other is the existence of the village road/alley which used for on foot or by bicycle that connected to the main road as the spine road of settlement/village (Koesoemawati, Junita, & Darjosanjoto, 2012).

4. Expressive, transparent, and straightforward. A little bit harsh and temperamental. Those characteristics particularly attached more to Madurese community than Javanese. Although, I do agree with Su'udi who argues that even though there is an general impression that the way Madurese talk is somehow expressive and straightforward, even harsh, but deep down in their heart, there are values of openness, honesty, togetherness, sincerity, and modesty (Su'udi, 2008, p. 147).
5. Paternalistic: decision making concentrate into the hands of particular respectful figures. This character, in my opinion, is influenced by the concept of leadership in Javanese and Madurese cultures, which according to Endraswara, leadership in Javanese tradition has at least four characteristics; *monocentrum*, metaphysical, ethical, and syncretic. *Monocentrum*, shortly, means leadership in Javanese culture concentrates in the hand of a single figure. The King considered as a central resource of power. Metaphysical means that assigning a leader has always something to do with metaphysical things, like *wahyu*(revelation from God), *wangsit* (mystical message), etc. Ethical means that it is based on ethical considerations, good and bad for the society. Syncretic means that it is influenced by some other concepts from religions, particularly Islam and Hinduism (Endraswara, 2015, pp. 7-11).

In relation to that, it is interesting to find 'the hierarchy of obedience' as it is explicitly described by Madurese' *adagium*: "*Bhuppa'*, *bhappu*, *ghuru*, *ratoh*" (father, mother, teacher, government). This *adagium* implies that for a Madurese people, their parents (father and mother) are the first that they should obey. The teacher, or usually religious teachers (the *ulama*), are the next priority in obedience after the parents. Then the last is the obedience to government.⁴This hierarchy of obedience, based on my talks to Madurese people in the field, resides strongly in their heart wherever they are living.

It is important to mention here, that the obedience understood by Madurese people is kind of compulsory and total obedience. The first means that there will be social sanctions for those who cross the line. And the latter means showing highly respect attitude in every detail of someone's interaction with those four figures, like choosing the appropriate language and gestures while talking, not to talk if we are not asked for,⁵ or even obligation to kiss *Kiai*'s hand.

6. Having a solid family bonding. In their study on inter-ethnics interaction in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, Rahardjo and Guritno found that

Madurese' community still preserve their solid kinship system even when they live outside their hometown (Rahardjo & Guritno, 1998, pp. 76-82).

So far we can see that the meeting of two different ethnics gives significant impact on the establishment of a hybrid and, at the same time, multicultural *Pandalungan*. This then creates a question will that meeting of two ethnicities gives impact on the people's religious practice in the area. Based on my field work in *Pandalungan* area, I would like to argue that *Pandalungan* as a culture, or in more general sense, the meeting of ethnicities, has indeed influence the existing traditional arts of society and the characteristics of the society itself, *together with* their religious practices.

Javanese people, with their *kejawen* system of belief,⁶ often classified as *abangan*, while Madurese people, with their strong attachment to Islam⁷ and particularly to Nahdlatul Ulama organization,⁸ often considered as *santri*, these two kinds of way of practicing Islam in *Pandalungan* area, I found, blended together creating what might be called as "*Pandalungan Islam*". Having said this, the hybrid nature of *Pandalungan* does naturally give birth to hybrid religious practices. Practically, those practices take the form of a combination of two traditions (*kejawen* and Islamic religious tradition) in one particular religious ritual. From my field work in Lumajang area for instance, during the death ritual, I found local people provide *sesajen* (offering) in the room that belong to the dead person on his/ her bed. While at the same time, in the other part of the house, there are other people do *tahlilan* ritual lead by a *Kiai* and it ends with praying together for the dead person's happiness in after life.⁹

Another form of "*Pandalungan Islam*" also can be found in the ritual of *slametan salin kemul* preserved by particular community in Jember area. It is *slametan nyewu*, kind of honoring the thousandth day of a dead person by providing particular offering consists of *sandingan* (snacks and coffee), *sajen* (contains for example: coconut, banana, egg, and flower), and *sortana* (contains for example a set of dress, pillow, umbrella, plate, spoon, glass, and kettle).¹⁰ From the above description we can argue that *Pandalungan Islam* is a harmoniously-diverse Islam. It is a kind of an accommodative Islam toward local culture but still rooted in Islamic tradition. This makes *PandalunganIslam* one of the clearest representatives of the Islam Nusantara. In the following section, we will

see how this unique Muslim community deals with the Internet. Before that, we need to understand the great power of Internet in Indonesia.

The Power of Internet in Indonesia

To begin this subsection, I would like to propose the definition of Internet used for this research as “not merely a tool used for information and communication purposes, but it is an integral entity of current society’s life with mutual interplay exists between them. It has its own unique religious, social, and structural dynamism which are interacting and intersecting the contemporary dynamism of human’s reality.” In the context of our current discussion on the power of Internet in Indonesia, this definition urges us to see the impacts of Internet in a large scope of Indonesian social realities as the result of its mutual interplay with the society. In other words, to see the power of Internet in Indonesia means to see dynamic negotiation between Internet and Indonesian social realities. Accordingly, this subsection will elucidate that dynamic negotiation through various research that been done in various places in Indonesia.

It is interesting to find the fact that the Internet in Indonesia which established in 1990s, the same period with the neighboring countries, is historically unique. Unlike its story in neighboring countries (like Malaysia, Singapore, and Filipina and Thailand), Internet in Indonesia was not initiated by the government but it is the little community known as Paguyuban Network (Paguyuban Net) who initiated its establishment.¹¹ The Pioneer of Internet in Indonesia, Onno W. Purbo clearly mentioned that “Internet in Indonesia was built on the spirit of togetherness, of the people, for the people, by the people” (Kompas Tekno, 2012). This, in my opinion, implies not only that Indonesian people are actually capable of creating and developing such technology, despite of how the government see this technology, but also shows how Indonesian people are eager to be connected to each other and to the world for the better of the people. From this, we found a lot of works been done to integrate the Internet in various aspects of the Indonesian people’s lives. At the same time, it also proves that Internet has huge potentials to empower Indonesian people.

Semuel A. Pangerapan, chairman of the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) in his forward to the report on “Profile of Internet Users in Indonesia 2014” published by APJII, mentioned that in 2014 even though there is still an urgent need to develop network infrastructure, Indonesian archipelago is increasingly connected. Hence, most of Indonesian people can not bear being unplugged from the Internet-based communication activities. Internet penetration in Indonesia was

rising from 24.23% in 2012 to 34.9%. However, we still cannot deny that at large, internet users in Indonesia geographically are not evenly distributed: 78.5% of the total Internet users in Indonesia living in the western part of the region and most of them are living in urban Indonesia.

With regard to age factor, almost a half of the total users are between 18-25 years old. In other words, the digital natives are now dominating the Internet in Indonesia. That is why we found the educational background of the Internet users, be in eastern or western part of Indonesia, be in rural or urban areas, is those graduates of Senior High Schools and higher.

The advancement of mobile phone technology makes Internet users in Indonesia (85%), in rural and urban areas, depend on their mobile phone to access the Internet. This also supported by the increasing number of purchasing and buying rate of the smart phone in Indonesia. The survey also reveals that female Internet users are higher than males. As it is the case of Jakarta region where there are 73% of the users are female, while there are only 23% male Internet users in the region.

With regard to the motives, the survey found that the main reasons of using Internet for Indonesian people are to be engaged in social media or using it as communication tool (72%), Internet is a source of daily information (65%), to catch up with the latest developments (51%). Those three main reasons of Internet usage can be seen from their four main activities in Internet: using social media networks (87%), looking for information (69%), instant messaging (60%), and looking for news updates (60%).¹²

The aforementioned general facts on Internet in Indonesia clearly support our previous argument that Internet for Indonesian people nowadays becomes an integral part of their daily lives which at the same time acknowledge the power of Internet for Indonesian people. In the following, we will see this in more details from different aspects of society's life.

Let me begin from one of the most important aspects of society, the economy. A collaborative research done by Indonesia Internet Service Provider Association (APJII) and Central Bureau of Indonesia Statistics (BPS) on "Indonesia Internet Usage for Business Sector" in 2013 reveals positive findings: more than 75% of the existing business sectors in both urban and rural areas have used computers. Food processing industry at this point, seems to be more adaptable in the use of computers, shown from its higher percentage than any other business sector (77.75%), followed by hotel (74.59%), and restaurant/ food stalls (68.92%). What more surprising is the fact that the entire business enterprise sectors in the province of North

Sulawesi have used computers and the internet (100%) followed by West Kalimantan (94.12%) in the second place. Meanwhile, Jakarta as the center of government, the number of enterprise usage of computer and internet relatively high (90.83%) and the province with the lowest of number of computer and Internet usage was North Maluku (40%) (Marius & Pinontoan, 2013). For me, those data should be read as the promising computer and Internet capacities to develop and makes positive changes to the industries. This actually is not limited to those popular industries like hotel, food, and restaurant, what is more, Internet also gives significant impact on music industry in Indonesia. Moore in this context sees that Internet has reshaped music industry praxis, particularly artistmarketing and promotion. It is also a primary resource for artistic inspiration, providing musicians and producers with unprecedented access to recording artists worldwide. Finally, for the nation's top musicians, the Internet can lead tonational and even international recognition, by means independent of –and evensuperior to–the production, distribution, or promotional support Indonesia's major record labels can provide (Moore, 2013).

The benefit of e-marketing is also perceived by the small and medium enterprises (SMEs) entrepreneurs in Jambi and Bengkulu. In her research on electronic marketing using social networking application, Kautsarina found that socialmedia has huge potential to help them in product marketing and services particularly because social media's ability to cover large areas with more effective cost. According to her, through social media, the actors of SMEs can do marketing activities, like for instance, introducing products, communicating with customers and potential customers, and expanding business networks. This includes uploading photos to give a general description of the products to customers, writing online status about the products, writing a description or review of the product. Social networking applications most used by the actors are Facebook, Email, Blackberry Messenger (BBM), buying and selling sites, Twitter, and personal websites(Kautsarina, 2013).

Another aspect of Indonesian society that highly impacted by Internet is politics. A study at Indiana University, which compared the use of social media in political participation in five countries in Asia (Indonesia, Taiwan, China, Thailand, and Japan), found that Indonesia was the country with the highest share of social network users (71.6 percent) who use social media to obtain news. This proportion was higher than in China (68.3 percent), Japan (64.4 percent), Thailand (61.2 percent), and Taiwan (55.7 percent)(Kuskridho Ambardi, 2014.). Despite of the debate on the

neutrality of the Internet in Indonesia with regard to politics,¹³ Indonesian politics indeed have benefited from the coming of Internet. Like for instance, those bloggers,¹⁴ social activists,¹⁵ even the radical religious groups,¹⁶ all of them enjoyed and thanked the Internet for its significant contribution to their various activities. We can also find the impact of Internet in a micro level politics, like the impact of governor election's online news to shape public opinion. Takariani's research on the significant impact of online news in shaping university student's opinion in Garut, West Java on the image of the candidates who participate in the election, shows that the online media news regarding the candidates' visions, missions and their work programs, positively contribute to the students' opinion on those candidates which can be seen from their confidence, steadiness, and their active participation during the election (Takariani, 2013).

The educational aspect in Indonesia, what is more, also feels the impact of the coming of Internet. Daud's research on the Internet and academic culture in Aceh confirms this fact. One of his important findings is that the Internet can open the academia to the outside ideas and cultures. He further concludes that open access to communication and information as it is provided by the Internet, is necessary for academics to develop a modern academic culture.¹⁷ Similar research being done in a Senior High School level in Yogyakarta shares the same conclusion. Based on quantitative analysis on the Internet usage by 184 respondents from Senior High School students and their academic achievement, the author found that the majority of the respondents who have high academic achievement are those who have a high intensity in using the Internet as a learning tool.¹⁸

The above exploration on the impacts the Internet created on some particular aspects of society: economy, politics and education, is only few of wider impacts of Internet on Indonesian social life. All of them for me act as a clear token of the power of Internet in Indonesian people's lives. For this research, the next big question should be asked at this point is how actually the Internet and a *Kiai-ness* work, or in other word, how is the logic of *Kiai-ness* and of Internet. Before that, we need to understand how can be someone considered as *kiai* or conditions of the *kiai-ness*.

The Authoritative *Kiai*: What and How?

The world of *kiai*, according to Gus Dur, is a unique and complicated world at the same time. It is complicated in the sense that the term is not simply equal to those groups of traditional *ulama*,¹⁹ for there are a lot of

other elements might be attached to this term. Current socio-religious developments, together with the extensive access to Islamic scholarship, in Indonesian society, makes the term not only limited to the traditional old *ulama* but also to those modernist Muslim scholars. It is complicated also because the pattern of a *kiai*-ness itself is not as rigid as other titles in Indonesian society. Thus, it is important to raise fundamental questions of how can someone called as *kiai*? What are the supporting factors for someone's *kiai*-ness, and on the opposite way, what are the things that might tear someone's *kiai*-ness down?

To begin with, I would like to provide Joseph Raz's explanation on the types commonly used for explaining the nature of authority. There are at least three types of it:

1. The basic standard explanation consists of identifying the conditions that are in fact either necessary or sufficient for holding effective (*de facto*) authority. In addition to this, Raz reminds us not to abandon other important considerations: under what conditions people can obtain or hold authority, under what circumstances a community is likely to accept the authority of some persons, and what these conditions are for, what it is to have authority or to be in authority.
2. The second type is by describing the necessary or sufficient conditions for holding of legitimate (*de jure*) authority. Accordingly, the concept of authority is to be explained by explaining how claims to authority can be justified. Moreover, they do not presuppose the claims to authority can in fact ever be justified, but merely point out how they are to be justified.
3. Some people believe that authority must be defined by reference to rules: that a person has authority means that there is a system of rules, which confers authority on him. Here, Raz urges us to clarify which rules confer authority and which do not (Raz, 2009, pp. 5-10).

Learning from the above three types, this subsection will elucidate the notion of religious authority of the *kiai* within one of three important considerations: the conditions of the *kiai* for holding the authority (including the circumstances a community is likely to accept their authority. The data gathered in this section based on the interview conducted on June and July 2015 with eight *Kiais* who have particular qualifications: coming from the different districts of *Pandalungan* areas, are the leaders of the *Pesantren*, well educated, actively engage in social activities, have a formal

position in Islamic organization, and familiar with Internet (in its different degrees). They are:

1. KH. Adnan Syarif, Lc, MA (leader of Pesantren Kiai Syarifuddin, Lumajang)
2. Kiai, Dr. Abdul Wadud (leader of Pesantren Manarul Qur'an, Lumajang)
3. KH. Mohammad Darwis, M.PdI (The vice head of *Syuriah* in *Majelis Wakil Cabang* NU district Kedungjajang, Lumajang)
4. KH. Muhyiddin Abdussomad (leader of *Pesantren* Nurul Islam, Jember)
5. KHR. (Kiai Haji Raden) Ahmad Azaim Ibrahimy (Leader of Pesantren Salafiyah Syafiiyyah Sukorejo, Situbondo)
6. KH. Zuhri Zaini (Leader of Pesantren Nurul Jadid, Paiton, Probolinggo)
7. KH. Asy'ari Fasya (leader of Pesantren Nurul Thalabah, Bondowoso)
8. KH. Abdul Malik Sanusi (leader of Pesantren Nurul Syam, Bondowoso)

In Javanese rules of language, the term "*kiai*" originally used to indicate three different positions:

1. As an honorific title for some particular items that are considered as sacred; for example, "*Kiai Garuda Kencana*" used for a Gold Carriage in the Yogyakarta palace;
2. As an honor for the parents in general
3. As an honorific title granted by the society to an expert in Islam, who has or be a leader of the *pesantren* and teach the classical books to their *santri* (students). This last definition is the one used for this research.

With their expertise in Islamic knowledge, the *Kiai* often seen as individuals who can understand the greatness of God and the secrets of the universe, thus they seems to have an unaffordable position, especially by the lay people (Dhofier, 1982, p. 56). However, a *kiai*-ness is not something formal religious educations can confer, it is society who voluntarily offer (Simuh, 2003, p. 66). Therefore, it is in my opinion, more on a religious societal recognition gained through someone's works of Islamic teachings' social manifestation. In short, it is an appreciation from society to someone's social piety. To explain more on this, here I would like to analyze *PandalunganKiais'* views on this subject.

According to *Kiai Zuhri Zaini*, the word *kiai* derived from Javanese language which may be associated with *sheikhin* Arabic, which literally means old people. In that context, the term '*kiai*' correlates with '*ki*' (*keh*, *ka-eh*, and *kai* in Madurese language). In everyday use, '*Kiai*' is no longer means 'old people' (in terms of age), "*tetapi dimaknai 'sesepuh' yakni orang disepuhkan, dituakan, ditokohkan sekalipun usianya tidak sepuh (tua).*" (but understood as 'elderly' or people who are respected and appreciated even though they are still young).

At this point, *Kiai Azaim Ibrahimy* explained further that the degree of '*kesepuhan*' is always related to the maturity in thinking. He emphasized that:

"makna kesepuhan itu bukan dari usia, tapi cara berfikir, menyikapi berbagai persoalan di masyarakat."

"kesepuhan should be understood not in term of age, but maturity in a way of thinking and dealing with various problems in society."

With this *kesepuhan*, a *kiai* will be able to maximize his role in society, which is the most important factor of a *kiai*-ness as it is confirmed by *Kiai Zuhri Zaini* who sees that a *kiai*-ness does not merely refer to someone's position in a boarding school but his dedication to the society. He emphasized the main point of *kiai*-ness by saying:

"seorang Kiai adalah orang yang karena kemampuan dan perannya dalam membimbing dan memecahkan problem kemasyarakatan, ia dituakan dan ditokohkan serta menjadi tempat bertanya dan mrngeluh dalam berbagai masalah. Tentu ia harus mempunyai visi kemasyarakatan dan keagamaan serta kepedulian dan kepekaan sosial disamping semangat pengabdian yang tinggi."

Kiai is someone who, because of his ability and role in solving social problems, being respected and became the place where people come to ask for help. Surely, he should have social and religion visions, plus high social care and sensitivity besides devotion. While position as the leader of boarding school will reinforce the existence of *Kiai*.

By this, social sensitivity and dedication to submit his entire life serving society are the most of important factors determine someone's *kiai*-ness. This of course should be supported with knowledge, experience, and skill in communication and organization. While position as the leader of boarding school will reinforce the existence of *Kiai*. What is more, *Kiai*

Malik Sanusi added that a *kiai* should be able to (*ngimami*) lead not only the *pesantren* but the people in general, in various activities in society; from religious rituals²⁰ to other larger social activity. So *kiais'* ability and commitment, raised from their own personal call, to solve people's problems are essential factors for the society to accept him before becoming a *Kiai*. In this regard, *Kiai* Zuhri Zaini admitted that:

Penguasaan ilmu yang luas dan banyak atau gelar akademik dan gelar haji hanyalah penunjang tetapi bukan modal utama ketokohan seorang Kiai. (Walaupun) memang dalam sektor sektor tertentu diperlukan gelar akademik terutama di formal.

The knowledge competence and educational degree are nothing more than just supporting factors, but not the main idea for someone to be *Kiai*. (even though) we do realize that in some sectors, especially the formal one, academic degree is still needed.

Going the same line, *Kiai* Malik Sanusi also said that:

"walaupun misalnya dia alim tapi hanya masuk perguruan-perguruan tinggi maka dia lebih pada cendekiawan bukan Kiai."

"Even if someone is knowledgeable but he only comes to the universities, (instead of serving the society), he is considered more as intellectual than a *Kiai*."

It is worth noting here that what the *kiais* mean by knowledge for *kiai*-ness is more on Islamic sciences not the "secular" one. *Kiai* Muhyiddin in this regard clearly argues that the *kiais* should have sufficient knowledge, in the sense that they know the basic of *aqidah*, *shariah* (*fiqih*), and *tasawuf*. In practical level, it means that the *kiais* according to him, at least, should be able to read Arabic, then explain, interpret, and convey the meaning of it. In addition to that, the educational background (the school or *pesantren*, the *kiai* graduated from) which most of them considered as supporting factor for *kiai*-ness, undoubtedly in this context plays significant role in how society gives respects to the *kiais*. *Kiai* Darwis said for instance, compared to other *pesantrens*, people in *Pandalungan* area will treat the alumni of Sidogiri *pesantren* better than any other alumni. Because the graduates of Sidogiri *pesantren* in the eyes of the society are *alim*(knowledgeable), particularly known for their better understanding of the Islamic old classical books or

the *kitab kuning* than the graduates of any other *pesantren*. Let alone those graduates of western academic institutions, I found for myself as an alumni of what so called 'modern *pesantren*,' namely Pondok *Pesantren* Darussalam Gontor in East Java, a different treatment compared to those alumni of NU-based *pesantren*. This evidently can be seen from how the society talk about and appreciate or even glorify the *kiais* and alumni of those NU-based *pesantren* while they never talk about the *kiai* or other national important figures graduated from Gontor *pesantren*. Shortly, they never take any other figures outside those NU-based scholars into account. This, from a larger context, refers to a long historical-deep tension among traditional and modern Islam.²¹

That cynical attitude toward particular alumni of *pesantren* grows even greater to those alumni of western academic institutions. In many open religious gatherings (*pengajian*) that I attended in the field, I often heard the preacher devaluating those alumni of western universities and even considered however smart they are, their knowledge will be theologically useless because it is *baraka*-less or blessed-less. The only reason for that, according to the preachers, is that western university, institution, scholars, or the West in general, are not authoritative to teach Islam and learn it from them. "Being smart is not everything unless you are blessed," is a message that always being emphasized by the preachers.

This factor of sufficient knowledge for *kiai*-ness, according to *kiai* Darwis, is what differentiates knowledge-based *kiai* from genetic-based *kiai*. While the former prerequisites acquisition of sufficient Islamic knowledge, the latter depends more on kinship and marital status. As it is being accepted in the tradition of *kiai*-ness, the children of *kiai* naturally will be the heirs of his 'kingdom.' Society's appreciation to a *kiai* then not limited to the figure of *kiai* himself but to all of his family members. For not only the *Kiai* themselves who are believed as having divine characteristics, the position of *nyai* (*Kiai*'s wife) in a *pesantren* also shares the same consideration. She is a revered figure, and serves as something of a foster mother to young *santri*. In *pesantren* where there are female *santri*, she plays a leading role in their religious training. Moreover, the children and subsequent descendants of *Kiai* are believed to inherit his sacred characteristics (Smith & Woodward, 2013, p. 11).

In Madura, *Kiai* Darwis told me, we call a young *kiai* as *lora*, or *bindere*, because he's still young. If he's married, people will call him *kiai*, or some are still called as *bindere*. This tradition, in my opinion, is not only a kind of maintaining identity for the family of the *kiai*, but also it is a form

of preserving and defending their power and authority. Therefore, most of the *kiai* will marry their children to another *kiai*'s family, or another *kiai* with a higher status level. All of the *Kiais* interviewed for this research came from a *kiai*'s family and married to the daughters of another *kiai*'s family.

Kiai Muhyiddin mentioned that in *Tapal Kuda*, it's a must to have *nasab*(kinship) of ulama's family so the people will appreciate. This *nasab* is significant factor for *kiai*-ness, even more I prefer to call it as a shortcut to a *kiai*-ness. If someone even with no *nasab* of *kiai*-ness, then marry to a family of *Kiai*, he or she will automatically regarded as *gus* or *ning* (a term usually used to indicates a son of *Kiai*) who automatically becomes culturally authoritative to inherit a *kiai*-ness.

In addition to the previous three factors (*kesepuhan*, knowledge and *nasab*), being a *hajj* (having done a pilgrimage to Mecca) is one other supporting factor for a *Kiai*-ness. Even though most of the *Kiais* interviewed here see that it is not an obligatory for a *Kiai* to be a *hajj*, but as it is mentioned by *Kiai* Darwis that being *hajj* still becomes the ideal factor of how someone can be called as *Kiai*, because pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the Five Pillars of Islam and people, particularly in *Tapal Kuda*, give more respect to someone who is a *haji*.

Another common factor for *kiai*-ness, is *pesantren* leadership. There are, according to Solahudin, two inherent attributes of a *Kiai*: Islamic scholarship and *pesantren* leadership.²² According to *Kiai* Wadud, it is common in *Kiai*'s family, that while the son of *Kiai* will inherit his father's *pesantren*, the *Kiai*'s son in law will establish another *pesantren* to lead. Based on my observation on this aspect, I found some times the establishment of *pesantren* was not based on a deep thinking and a detailed planning of the kind of *pesantren* will be established, there was no clear vision of what will be the unique thing the *pesantren* could contribute to the society. With its capitals, *pesantren*, supposed to contribute innovations to Indonesian education field, particularly religious one. In my opinion, this creates discrepancy between *pesantren* and Indonesian education's reality in general.

In a *pesantren*, the *kiai* becomes a single leader who holds almost absolute authority which makes him the most respected one in that environment (Dirdjosandjoto, 1999, p. 156). He is the sole power center that controls the environment and at the same time, is the role model for the *santri*. He is like a king whom all of his commands become valid constitutional laws in his kingdom. He has the right to impose penalties on students who violate the terms of his commands according to normative rules applied in *pesantren*. None of the students who can resist the power of

the *Kiai* (in his *pesantren*) except the other *kiais* who have a greater influence (Dhofier, 1982, p. 56). Society's great trust in *Kiai* and his ability to solve social, psychological, cultural, political, religious problems, are of many factors put the *kiai*'s position in line with the elites and be part of social and political structures in society (Qomar, 2002, p. 29). Even more, I see it is not an exaggeration here to say that the *kiai* has the same cultural position with the position of the feudal nobility who commonly known as *kanjeng*, whom considered as having the things that are not owned by anyone else in the society (Wahid, 1974, p. 20). This clearly seen from the presence of Javanese kingdoms aristocratic characteristic which can also be found in the traditions of being respectful in the *pesantren*. In such manner, it will be hard to separate feudalism from *pesantren*'s tradition as it is hard to pull out feudalism from a kingdom's setting (Qomar, 2002).

A more mystical factor supporting someone's *kiai*-ness is *mukashafah*, which literally means a disclosure. *Mukashafah* in the context of *kiai*-ness means the *kiais*' ability to unveil God's message in anything happened to society, as the result of their closeness to God.²³ According to *Kiai* Darwis, not all *kiais* have this divinely power. Thus, a *kiai* who has a *nasab* of *ii*-ness and has a high level of *mukashafah* will be more respected by the society than those knowledge-based *kiais*. Even most of the respected *kiais* are knowledgeable and do have high level of *mukashafah*, like for instance; the *Kiai* of *Kiais* Shaikhona Kholil Bangkalan and from *Pandalungan* area there are *Kiai* Zaini Mun'im (former leader of *pesantren* Nurul Jadid), *Kiai* Zainul Hasan (former leader of *pesantren* Genggong) and *Kiai* As'ad Samsul Arifin (was a leader of *Pesantren* Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo). Society's high respect to those *Kiais* who have this ability refers to their belief that those *kiais* are *waliyyullah* (God's custodians).

As I mentioned before that *Kiai*-ness have a strong relationship with the NU organization.²⁴ This also influences on how people sees someone's *Kiainess*, means that beside having a *pesantren*, a *kiai* should have a structural position in NU organization. Those who have a structural position in *syuriah* position (supreme leader level) in NU organization will automatically considered as *kiais* even though they do not have *pesantren*. Unlike those who have position in *tanfiziyah* (daily executor), they will not considered as *kiais* only if they have *pesantren*.

To conclude what have been said so far, there are at least seven elements (the first two are the essentials, and the rests are complementary) build someone's *kiai*-ness or conditions of *Kiai*-ness:

1. *Kesepuhan* (maturity in thinking and dealing with social problems),

2. Social piety (sensitivity and dedication to serve the people)
3. Knowledge (including the kind of knowledge, which is preferably Islamic and the source or the educational background where he got his knowledge),
4. *Nasab* (kinship), which is a shortcut to *Kiai*-ness.
5. Being a *hajj*,
6. Establish and lead a *pesantren*
7. *Mukashafah*
8. Structural position in NU organization. Particularly a position in *syuriah* not *tanfiziyyah*.

Finding *Kiais'* and Internet's logics

What makes the Internet so special compared to other ever existing media of communication? Why such a lively welcoming attitude showed by the world community to the presence of Internet? In addition to its user-friendly nature and the availability of variety of information on it, Internet has various different features that are not owned by other media. Grossman et al (1999) as quoted by Hopkins (2003)—wrote about the Internet and formulate its structure as follows:

1. The structure of the Internet is decentralized (it has no central authority); It is a network of networks that is designed without a gatekeeper.
2. The Internet is global; it provides direct access to information from around the world.
3. The Internet is "abundant"; it is able to accommodate the virtual communicator with an infinite amount.
4. The Internet is financially affordable; because people can send messages to hundreds or even thousands of people via e-mail at reasonable cost, also we can communicate each other through particular web pages for free.
5. Internet is "user-controlled"; the user has a full power to control what he/ she wants and does not want to access. According to the authors, these properties apply not only technically but also in the context of the meaning of the message received. This means that users have full authority how to interpret the messages on the Internet.

In addition to the easy access, the availability of various information, as well as an economical cost, the Internet has the power of interactivity. With this interactivity, according to Patricia Wallace, the Internet is able to

present the psychological nuances through the symbols that only applicable in cyberspace.²⁵ That is why we often found today people treat the Internet as if it is their life.²⁶

Various promising features of Internet had attracted various segments of society to "migrate" to the virtual world. Regardless of age, occupation, gender, or within any limit, people flocked to enliven the virtual world. Do not want to left behind, those "religious surfers" also helped enliven the world of cyber. Because indeed, according to the Lorne L. Dawson, a lot of things that can be done by the Internet for religion, among them are:

1. Spreading the word

With the facilities provided by the Internet home page, we can share information about our beliefs and in a second that information will be spread to the entire world. Any person anywhere in the world will technically be able to access it.

2. Building new communities

Internet enables us to always be in touch despite distance and time difference. This is very beneficial for students of religion to join together and form a new community in cyberspace which even impossible to be done in the real world.

3. Breaking the space and time's limitation

The greatness of the Internet to provide capability in destroying the time and space boundaries is extremely important for the practitioners of religion in terms of opening the widest religious discourse through inter-faith dialogue. Anyone from around the world, without being distracted by the limitation of space and time, can participate in the dialogue held in this virtual world.

4. Ritual virtual

Internet does not only consist of scattered numbers, letters and pictures that can be read and seen. With the advancement of 3D animation, for example, the Internet can be a place to conduct religious ritual. As it is the case with Islamic ritual activities held in Second Life virtual world.²⁷

5. Developing a more open understanding of religion.

With an abundance of religious information coming from a variety of understanding, the nature of religious seekers would be able to compare a variety of information so as to provide and develop a more open religious awareness (Dawson, 2001, pp. 3-9).

The structure of Internet and various facilities provided by the Internet for religion-as mentioned previously- gives a general sense of how it

works for religion, or its logics for religion, which summarized in the term connectivity. If we take a more detailed look into how the internet technically works, we will see clearly how this connectivity becomes its key term to describe the whole process of the work.

Jonathan Strickland from “How Stuff Works” explains that Internet as a system, there are at least two main components to understand it: *hardware* (which includes everything needed to create a network of networks between devices from cables, routers, servers, cell phone towers, satellites, radios, smartphones and other devices). As a malleable system, the Internet creates lines of connections connecting all of the devices and allowing them to talk to each other through the second component of the Internet known as the protocols. These protocols are the things that guide where the information should travel until it appears in a web page in our laptop screen using a right IP address.²⁸

Strickland’s explanation implies that as a network of networks, the fundamental thing inside how the Internet works is connectivity. For there will never be the Internet without connection. This connectivity is the one make the Internet alive. Technically, however sophisticated the devices we have, it will not able to do the Internet’s job only if we connect them to its network. Having said this, sociologically speaking, however great and powerful the Internet is, it will not give you any little effects if you are disconnected from it. This applies to any aspects of human life including religion. Means that the Internet will not be able to influence religion only if both are connected one another.

This Internet’s logic of connectivity is different from the logic of the *kiais* or the logic of *kiai-ness*. Based on my interview with five *kiais* of traditional pesantren in *Pandalungan* areas, I found that there are two main elements build someone’s *kiai-ness*: *kesepuhan* (can be seen from the *kiais*’ ability to solve society’s problem through deep and mature thinking) and social piety (reflected in the *kiais*’ sincere services to the people and their sensitivity to respond society’s needs). These two elements, together with other complementary elements, then build society’s trust in the *kiais* and willingly confer them with a solid authority, the charismatic authority, which makes the *kiais* as their reference not only for their religious matters but also for their social and even individual matters. This submissive attitude shown by the society toward the *kiais*, according to Weber, based on an emotional form of communal relationship. Here is basically the logic of *kiai-ness*, namely relationship.

Relationship is not only and different from a connection. At this point, it is interesting to take Rosenblatt’s explanation on the difference

between connection and relationship. According to him, 'It's hard to visualize a relationship, but it's easy to see connections. Connections look like action – action that puts people in contact with each other. It might be you answering the door when I knock, your boss texting you to come in on the weekend, or me talking with my son about his PE class before bedtime.' (Rosenblatt, 2010). The connection can be characterized as: 1. Have a beginning and an end; 2. Transactional; 3. Intentional; 4. Time-constrained. It is clear that connection is only the first step to relationship, as he mentioned that when the connection matures, it becomes less transactional and more relational. This relationship, furthermore emerge overtime with repeated connection between people.

If we go back to what have been said about the conditions of *kiai*-ness, it is clear that what *kiais* have with the society is a form of relationship and that is how *kiai*-ness is working. That is the logic of *kiai*-ness. It has a beginning but has no an end, it is emotional not intentional, it is relational not transactional, and it is not limited by geographical and time boundaries.

Conclusion

This paper is an effort to investigate the issue of the *kiai*, as the representative of Indonesian Islam, *vis a vis* the current world's civilization as represented by the emergence of the advance media technology. Both the *kiais* and Internet are two important elements of current society. Each has its own particular power in Indonesian society. Unlike the Internet, which is considered as a new comer in Indonesian's social life, the existence of the *Kiais* is deeply rooted in the history of Indonesian socio-cultural life. From our discussion on the power of Internet and the conditions of *kiai*-ness, this paper concludes that each of those *kiai* and Internet works based on different logics; the logic of Internet is the logic of connectivity while the logic of the *kiai* is based on relationship. Some notes from the facts in *Pandalungan* Muslim community where to a great extend support this argument. The Internet's logic of connectivity is still not good enough to replace the strong relationship being established among *kiais* and society. Accordingly we find that *kiai*'s authority is still standing strong in current media life. It finally confirms that media logic is not as powerful as it is believed, because the logic of *kiai* is the logic of culture. Media logic at this point is working under the logic of culture.

Endnotes:

¹This research is part of my dissertation project at the Graduate School of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta. For this, I would like to thank Dr. Siti Syamsiyatun and Dr. Jeanny Dhewayani for their intellectual and mental supports as the supervisors for this research.

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³*Kenduri* is one of the traditions among Javanese community held by someone who has particular *hajaj* (intention). He/ she usually invite people from neighbouring houses to gather in his/ her house to pray for his/ her welfare and may God fulfill his/ her intention. *Kenduri* is also held to celebrate particular religious events. For a complete description of the Javanese traditions, please see: Gesta Bayuadhy, *Tradisi-Tradisi Adiluhung Para Leluhur Jawa* (Yogya: Penerbit DIPTA, 2015).

⁴Please refer: Nurfaizin. "Runtuhnya Hubungan Patronase Kiai-Santri dalam Ruang Politik Lokal (Studi pada Pemilukada Kabupaten Pamekasan Tahun 2013)," *Master Thesis* at Pasca Sarjana Sosiologi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta. 2014.

⁵ Please refer: Tim, *Tatakrama Suku Bangsa Madura* (Badan Pengembangan Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Deputy Bidang Pelestarian dan Pengembangan Budaya, Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta, Proyek Pemanfaatan Kebudayaan Daerah, Derah Istimewa Yogyakarta, 2002).

⁶For more details on *kejawen*, please refer to: Suwardi Endraswara, *Agama Jawa: Ajaran Amalan dan Asal-usul Kejawen* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Narasi, 2015).

⁷As it is argued by Syamsuddin that religion for Madurese people is Islam and this has been imbedded in and colors their social lives. From the fact that there are various Islamic religious events in a whole year, according to him, we can see how religious life is something that deeply integrated in their social lives. See: Muh. Syamsuddin, "Agama, Migrasi dan Orang Madura," *Jurnal Aplikasi Ilmu-Ilmu Agama*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (December, 12007), 160.

⁸This because, according to Noteboom, being Muslim, and a member of nu (Nahdatul Ulama), has become part of the Madurese cultural identity (Noteboom, 2015, p. 136)

⁹According to my local informant, there are a lot of *kejawen* forms of religious rituals still practiced by people, particularly those *abangan*, like for instance; putting a live chicken into someone's grave together with the dead body believing that the dead person will not feel lonely inside a grave. The other example is making a *lemas* (a small boat-like made of young coconut leaf) as a place for offering in the day of someone's dead. This *lemas* symbolically understood as a vehicle for the dead person to go to afterlife.

¹⁰Please refer: Siti Khomsiyah, "Tradisi Selamatan *Salin Kemul* di Desa Rowotengah Kecamatan Sumberbaru Kabupaten Jember," *Skripsi* at Program Studi Sosiologi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Jember, 2013.

¹¹Further history of Internet's development in Indonesia can be found here: http://opensource.telkomspeedy.com/wiki/index.php/Sejarah_Internet_Indonesia:Awal_Internet_Indonesia

¹² The data extracted from *Profil Pengguna Internet Indonesia 2014* published by Asosiasi Penyedia Jasa Internet Indonesia (APJII, 2015)

¹³As discussed by Hill in his article on the case of Indonesia's first democratic election in 1999 and the Internet. And Lim in her article on the intersection between Internet, identity and political power. See: David T. Hill, "Communication for a New Democracy: Indonesia's First Online Elections," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (2003), 525-548 and Merlyna Lim, "Informational Terrains of Identity and Political Power: The Internet in Indonesia," *Antropologi Indonesia*, Vol. 73 (2004).

¹⁴See for example Lim's article on Indonesian Blogosphere, where she sees that the Internet has provided the bloggers to the global reach of the blogosphere all over the world and does facilitate the rapid flow of information, images, and ideas. However, according to her, these flows do not automatically enable the embodiment of the global community. Global narratives are recontextualized and mediated by national and local contexts and are always in contestation with micro narratives that come from the diversity of everyday life experiences. See: Merlyna Lim, "Life Is Local in the Imagined Global Community: Islam and Politics in the Indonesian Blogosphere," *Journal of Media and Religion*, Vol. 11 (2012), 127-140.

¹⁵See for example Molaei's article on the contribution of social media to the success of social movements in Indonesia highlighting the social activists usage of Internet particularly in the cases of "Coins for Prita" and "Support Bibit-Chandra," further discussion on the subject, please see: Hamideh Molaei, "Discursive Opportunity Structure and the Contribution of Social Media to the Success of Social Movements in Indonesia," *Information, Communication & Society*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2015), 94-108. Unlike Molaei who sees a significant contribution of the Internet to the success of social activism, Lim argues that there are certain prerequisite conditions need to be fulfilled in order for the social media activism reach its goals. Further explanation on the subject, please refer to: Merlyna Lim, "Many Clicks but Little Sticks: Social Media Activism in Indonesia," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (2013), 636-657.

¹⁶Iqbal's work on the *salafism* and the Internet in Indonesia at this point clearly supported this by saying "it is inappropriate to label religious fundamentalism as an anti-modern movement; it might be true that it is ideologically ultra-orthodox, but it is technologically a modern movement," See: Asep Muhamad Iqbal, "Salafism and the Internet in Contemporary Indonesia," *Thesis at Sociology Department - Flinders University* (2008). See also: Jennifer Yang Hui, "The Internet in Indonesia: Development and Impact of Radical Websites," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 33 (2010), 171-191.

¹⁷See: Darni M. Daud, "Impacts of the Internet on Academic Culture in Aceh, Indonesia," *Dissertation at Oregon State University* (2000).

¹⁸Muhammad Mujib, "Pengaruh Penggunaan Internet terhadap Hasil Belajar Siswa Sekolah Menengah Atas di Kota Yogyakarta," *Skripsi Fakultas Ilmu Tarbiyah dan Keguruan Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta* (2013). A similar research been done to see the impact of the use of Internet in learning particular subject also shows a significant relation between Internet usage and the positive learning output. See: Dwi Rani Pratiwi, "Pengaruh Pemanfaatan Internet Terhadap Hasil Belajar Siswa Kelas XI pada Mata Pelajaran Teknologi Informasi dan Komunikasi di SMA Negeri 1 Pengasih," *Skripsi Program Studi Pendidikan Teknik Informatika Fakultas Teknik Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta* (2012).

¹⁹According to Dhofier, the title of “Kiai” usually used to refer to the scholars from Muslim traditionalists. See: Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), 55.

²⁰According to Kiai Abdul Wadud, a Kiai should be able to lead religious rituals, especially NU-based religious rituals. As I found it in the field, that in Tapal Kuda area, particularly those areas where most of the people are affiliated with NU, there are a lot of religious practices regarding various events in human’s lives from their birth to the death. All of those religious rituals lead by a Kiai.

²¹As we know that, historically, the establishment of modern pesantren initiated by the modernists, create a particular tension between them and those traditionalists, which considered as a form of counter thinking to old traditional Islamic learning center.

²²Other related attributes supposedly possessed by a Kiai including *ahli ibadah* (totally devout), and *muballigh* (Islamic preacher). They may also act as a kind of consultant on religious matters. See: Dindin Solahudin, *The Workshop for Morality: The Islamic Creativity of Pesantren Daar at-Tauhid in Bandung, Java* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), 41.

²³This definition I conclude it based on some talks with the *Kiais* on the subject. A more comprehensive explanation of this term, please refer to Abu> ‘Abdillah Muh}ammad ibn Abi> Bakr ibn Ayyu>b ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah, *Mada>rij al-Sa>liki>n bayna Mana>zil ‘Iyya>ka Na’budu wa Iyya>ka Nasta’i>n* (Beirut: Da>r al-Kita>b al-‘Arabi>, 2003), Vol. 3, 209, sub chapter *al-Mukashafah*.

²⁴In his research on the relationship between Pesantren, Nahdhatul Ulama, and *Kiais* in Madura, Pribadi sees a strong tie between NU and *Kiai*. He argues that The NU has provided the *Kiais* with extensive networks which link *Kiai* to the wider world. The organization has also introduced *Kiai* to the world of politics and social welfare. In turn, the NU has enjoyed a large number of villagers to the political party and later on to NU-associated political parties such as the PPP, the PKB or the PKNU. Further explanation on this, please see: Yanwar Pribadi, “Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama and *Kiai* as the Core of Santri Culture,” *Al-Jami’ah*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 2013 M/1434 H.

²⁵The internet is not free from psychological elements. Its users can show their anger, love, fight, and many psychological expressions through “emoticons.” See: Patricia Wallace, *The Psychology of the Internet* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 18-19.

²⁶As it is suggested by the Media Equation Theory, proposed by Reeves and Nass, which argues that people treat communication media as if they were human. See: Byron Reeves and Clifford Nass, “The Media Equation,” in Em Griffin (ed.), *A First Look at Communication Theory* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2003), 403.

²⁷See for example: Krystina Derrickson, “Second Life and The Sacred: IslamicSpace in a VirtualWorld,” in V. Sisler (Ed.) *Digital Islam* (2008)

²⁸Jonathan Strickland, “How does the Internet work?” 7 May 2010. HowStuffWorks.com. <<http://computer.howstuffworks.com/internet/basics/internet.htm>> 5 June 2016. Another important reference in this subject, please see: Joshua Eddings, *How the Internet Works* (Ziff-Davis Press, 1994).

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