

SANTRI AND ABANGAN AFTER A HALF CENTURY OF CLIFFORD GEERTZ

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Abstract

This research paper analyzes the religious phenomenon of culture in Modjokuto or Pare, where Geertz carried out his thesis on the "Religion of Java." Although there are many pesantrens in Modjokuto, there is still a religious tradition associated with Kejawen as a local belief, particularly among rural Muslim farmers. Javanese mysticism, however, plays an important part in muslim abangan. Some rural villages in Modjokuto, both NU and Muhammadiyah, are not very distinct in religious tradition. They have performed slametan, tahlilan, and ziarah as religious rituals. Kejawen's teachings are more observed by traditionalist Moslems in Modjokuto, who commonly refer to abangan as the categorization of Islam in Java. Some claim that abangan refers to the proletarian class and former followers or founders of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Some also said that Islam abangan means adherents of the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga, Syech Siti Jenar, and all the descendants of Sufi masters. In addition, we cannot argue that since the reformation of Indonesia, Islam in Java has changed and has gone forward in a number of ways. As a result, this research paper is trying to explore Islam abangan and its resurgence in detail. I recognize that the resurgence of Islam abangan in Java is somehow intended to address the increasing radicalism and Islamic sectarian. Using an anthropological approach, this research paper attempts to explore what Geertz examined in the "Religion of Java" after a half-century, which needs to be re-examined in the context of contemporary Indonesia.

Keywords: *Abangan; Java; Religion, Modjokuto*

Abstrak

Makalah penelitian ini bermaksud untuk menganalisa fenomena agama dan budaya di Mojokuto atau Pare, di mana Geertz pernah melakukan penelitian untuk tesisnya tentang "Agama di Jawa". Meskipun terdapat banyak pesantren di Mojokuto, namun masih ada tradisi kejawen sebagai kepercayaan masyarakat, khususnya di kalangan petani muslim pedesaan. Mistisisme Jawa, bagaimanapun, memainkan peran penting dalam komunitas masyarakat abangan. Beberapa pedesaan di Mojokuto, baik NU maupun Muhammadiyah, tidak terlalu berbeda dalam praktek tradisi keagamaan. Mereka menggelar slametan, tahlilan, dan ziarah sebagai ritual keagamaan yang tidak bisa dilepaskan. Ajaran kejawen lebih banyak dicermati oleh penganut Islam tradisional di Mojokuto yang biasa menyebut abangan sebagai kategorisasi Islam Jawa. Ada yang menyatakan bahwa abangan merujuk pada kelas proletar dan mantan pengikut atau pendiri Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI). Ada juga yang mengatakan bahwa Islam abangan berarti penganut ajaran Sunan Kalijaga, Syech Siti Jenar, dan semua keturunan tokoh Sufi di tanah Jawa. Sejak reformasi Indonesia, Islam di Jawa telah berubah dan mengalami pergeseran dalam berbagai hal. Karenanya, makalah penelitian ini mencoba untuk mengeksplorasi

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Islam abangan dan kebangkitannya. Bertahannya Islam abangan di Jawa di sisi lain menjadi antitesis pada meningkatnya masalah radikalisme dan sektarian Islam. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan antropologis, makalah penelitian ini mencoba untuk mengeksplorasi kembali mengenai perubahan Agama di Jawa setelah setengah abad Clifford Geertz karena hal ini perlu dikaji ulang dalam konteks Indonesia kontemporer.

Kata kunci: Abangan; Jawa; Agama; Modjokuto

مستخلص

تحلل هذه الورقة البحثية الظاهرة الدينية للثقافة في موجوكوتو أو باري، حيث نفذ جيرتر أطروحته حول "دين جاوا". على الرغم من وجود العديد من بسنترن في موجوكوتو، لا يزال هناك تقليد ديني مرتبط بمعتقد جاوي كمعتقد محلي، خاصة بين المزارعين المسلمي الريفيين. ومع ذلك، فإن التوف الجوي لعب ورا مما في أبانان الإسلامية. لا تختلف التقالي الدينية لأهل قريه موجوكوتو، سواء أعضاء لجنة محمدية أو نخضة العلماء فيهم يودون طقوس سلاميتان وتليلان وزيارة سوايا. يلاحظ المسلمون التقليديون في موجوكوتو تعاليم جاوي بشكل أكبر، والذين يشيرون عادةً إلى أبانان على أنها تصنيف للإسلام في جاوة. يدعي البعض أن أبانان يشير إلى الطبقة البروليتارية وأتباع أو مؤسسي الحزب الشيوعي الإندونيسي السابقين (PKI). قال البعض أيضاً أن إسلام أبانان يعني أتباع تعاليم سنان كاليجاغا وسيش سبتي جينار وجميع أحفاد سادة الصوفية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، لا يمكننا أن نقول أنه منذ إصلاح إندونيسيا، تغير الإسلام في جاوة وتقدم في عدد من الطرق. نتيجة لذلك، تحاول هذه الورقة البحثية استكشاف إسلام أبانان وعودة ظهوره بالتفصيل. أدرك أن عودة ظهور الإسلام أبانان في جاوة يهدف بطريقة ما إلى معالجة التطرف المتزايد والطائفية الإسلامية. باستخدام نهج أنثروبولوجي، تحاول هذه الورقة البحثية استكشاف ما درسه جيرتر في "دين جاوة" بعد نصف قرن، والذي يحتاج إلى إعادة النظر في سياق إندونيسيا المعاصرة..

الكلمات الرئيسية: أبانان; جاوة; دين; موجوكوتو

A. INTRODUCTION

Starting with Geertz's ideas for his book "The Religion of Java" (1960) and "Modjokuto: The Social History of Indonesian Town" (1965), this research paper aims to look closely at the *abangan* in Modjokuto. After 1965, the debate on *abangan* was the first phase in which the height of the politicization of religions, including Islamization in Java, began to take place as written by Hefner, stating that religious culture was more affected by political growth factors¹. During this analysis, I started wondering why Geertz had selected Pare or Modjokuto to study the religions in Java. However, Geertz's research in Modjokuto or Pare – Kediri East Java was contentious, which clashed with the pseudonym "Modjokuto" Perhaps

¹ Robert W. Hefner, "Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1987, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2056898>.

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for Geertz himself, the name of Modjokuto was a trick to conceal the original position where the political situation in Indonesia at the time was chaotic. In addition, Modjokuto was deemed not only to defend the Code of Ethics of Science exclusively, but also to protect Geertz's informants and respondents.

According to Nono Makarim, Geertz's student at Harvard University, he argued that Geertz had selected Modjokuto as his place of study since, in the 1950s, Indonesia was perceived to be one of the most advanced constitutions in the world, promising human rights and freedom of expression. Another explanation for this being that the country of Indonesia consists of a number of faiths and cultures. In addition, Modjokuto was selected to equate the anthropological tradition in the United States. In addition to these factors, Geertz considered that Modjokuto has a literate heritage and has an ancient belief in the pattern of local society, both urban and rural, where people are almost exclusively homogeneous and the people of Modjokuto are capable of engaging actively in the political movement.²

The three dichotomies on "Religion in Java" "*santri, priyayi and abangan*" have always contributed to countless debates from the past half century to the present³. Unfortunately, in his fieldwork, Geertz did not have much interest in exploring in depth the position of modernist Islamic groups such as Muhammadiyah in Modjokuto, which they have been forming since 1933. "modernist" Muslims in Modjokuto have also succeeded in encouraging education, such as the Muhammadiyah Islamic Madrasah (MIM) Schools, which were established in 1950 and are still more developed nowadays. Maybe Geertz had only a thorough explanation why he did not pay any attention to the "modernist" Islamic classes in his research. Apparently, he chose to use the word *priyayi* as another "face" of nobles who hold Islamic values by combining elements of Hinduism with Javanese ancient traditions.

Many, however, said that Geertz's thoughts were more inspired by his key informants and his close friend during the fieldwork in Modjokuto, a prominent religious teacher in the village, or a *kampung*, where he was a Gontor's *pesantren* alumni who successfully pioneered "English Village" (*kampung inggris*). He is a Muslim scholar who has learned tens of foreign

² See: <http://banyubeningku.blogspot.com/2011/04/clifford-geertz-dan-agama-jawa-abangan.html> accessed on 8 September 2018.

³ Clifford Geertz, "Geertz--Thick Description.Pdf," *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1973, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412984591.n6>; R. Handler, "Clifford Geertz: Culture, Custom and Ethics," *American Anthropologist* 105, no. 4 (2003): 871–72, <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2003.105.4.871>; Richard W., "More on Geertz's Interpretive Theory," *The University of Chicago Press Journal* 25, no. 5 (1984): 692–93; Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 2013, 1–46, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315017570>; Eldar Braten, "Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account Varieties of Javanese Religion," *American Ethnologist* 28 (2001): 937–38, <https://doi.org/doi:10.1525/ae.2001.28.4.937>.

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languages. In summary, from the genealogy of Geertz's ideas on Islam in Java, this research paper is intended to re-examine the dichotomy of *abangan* in Modjokuto and how the religious activity of *abangan* deals with modernization and globalization. I think that after Indonesia's constitutional court accepted indigenous beliefs in November 2017, it seems *abangan* is more revived than diminishing today.

This qualitative research is focused on a socio-anthropological methodology that focuses on ethnographic approaches in which author engage in group day-to-day practices and include specific informants and respondents as resource evidence ⁴. In addition to ethnography, this research is related to historical literature by archives and documents. Data gathering methods from studies and interviews include religious figures, scholars, practitioners, social workers, etc. as influential sources. The tools and opportunities of individuals are dependent on disparities in age, ethnicity, religious background, history, social and economic status.

The study of the data gathered from fieldwork relies not just on the critical text and meaning, but also on the sociological approach to the local population ⁵ As a tool for understanding current social phenomena in society from a philosophical and psychological point of view, particularly from a social and historical point of view. Many scholars suggest that, in order to apply these approaches, researchers need to consider the meaning, not based on the subjectivity but objectivity of the researcher ⁶. The rationale for using phenomenology as an alternative method for analyzing and researching human existence in the study of *abangan* in Modjokuto.

⁴ Scott Reeves, Ayelet Kuper, and Brian David Hodges, "Qualitative Research Methodologies: Ethnography," *British Medical Journal* 337, no. 7668 (2013): 512–14, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.alO20>; Annette Watson and Karen E. Till, "Ethnography and Participant Observation," in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, 2010, 121–37, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857021090.n9>; Dwight Atkinson, Hanako Okada, and Steven Talmy, "Ethnography and Discourse Analysis," *Continuum Companion to Discourse Analysis*, no. 2005 (2011): 85–100, <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-59140-732-4.ch027>; Hubert Knoblauch, "Focused Ethnography," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung* 6, no. 3 (2005), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>; John D Brewer, *Ethnography, Qualitative Methods in Organization Studies*, 2000, https://doi.org/10.1007/SpringerReference_300852.

⁵ Steve Bialostok, "Rebecca Rogers (Ed.), An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education," *Language in Society* 35, no. 5 (2006): 788–92, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404506370340>; Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*, 2003, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230288423>; Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen, "Critical Discourse Analysis," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29, no. 1 (2000): 447–66, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.29.1.447>.

⁶ Martin Heidegger, *The Basic Problems of Phenomenology, The Basic Problems of Phenomenology*, vol. 6, 1975, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09697250126422>; Edmund Husserl, "General Introduction to a Pure Phenomenology," *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy*, 1982, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2104360>; Anne Flood, "Understanding Phenomenology.," *Nurse Researcher* 17, no. 2 (2010): 7–15, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-6599\(92\)90238-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-6599(92)90238-8); Smith Woodruff, "Phenomenology," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2013, 1–13; Atkinson, Okada, and Talmy, "Ethnography and Discourse Analysis."

B. DISCUSSION

1. Redefinition of the Abangan

According to Geertz, *abangan* was associated with the identity of poor and subordinate Javanese citizens, especially farmers and laborers. Although Post-Geertzian has various *abangan* opinions. It was discussed in the post-Geertz studies on Islam in Java⁷, many accepted that the word *abangan* had modified in terms of context. Islam *abangan* is a pattern of syncretism and assimilation of a *kejaw* combined with Hinduism and Buddhism. Post Geertzian observed *abangan* is a specific model of Islamisation or *dakwah* in Java. During Sukarno, the word *abangan* indicated proletarians and supporters of the *PKI* (Indonesian Communist Party). The dichotomy of *abangan* contributes to an ambivalence of interpretation, particularly after the collapse of the New Order regime. Nowadays, *abangan* has become a belief system among villagers in Modjokuto, both the middle class and the lower class of society.

However, Geertz's study of *abangan* is often understood as individuals who do not obey the Islamic laws or shariah and the customs of *santri*. Hefner argued that *abangan* was a non-standard Islam⁸. "In some *abangan* communities, a few of the spiritis of heaven and earth might have 'Hindu' names, but these figures were drawn from Javanese epics and shadow plays, not a formalized tradition of Hindu knowledge. *Abangan* also performed rituals of a less normatively Islamic cast, including a variety of household, village, and curing rites"⁹. Some *kiyai* or *ulema* from Salaf *pesantren* in Modjokuto say that *abangan* is part of the *sufism* taught by Syech Siti Jenar. *Abangan* can be seen as a critique of the bureaucratic aspects of the structure and power relations within the *pesantren* and feudal society. *Abangan* can be related to the hierarchical system of *santri* and *priyayi* as a counter-part of the Javanese people, particularly farmers and *wong cilik* in Modjokuto. Most religious leaders in Modjokuto also say that *abangan* means adherents of the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga, Syech

⁷ Andrew Beatty, "Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in the Javanese Slametan," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, no. 2 (1996): 271–88, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3034096>; Hefner, "Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java"; M.C. Ricklefs, "History of Indonesia," in *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1300.*, 1991, 12–14; Martin van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," in *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*, 2008, 217–45, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt46n10w>; Mark R. Woodward, "Javanism, Islam and the Plurality of Ethnography," *Anthropological Forum* 6, no. 3 (1991): 339–63, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.1991.9967417>; Braten, "Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account Varieties of Javanese Religion."

⁸ Robert W. Hefner, "Where Have All the Abangan Gone," 2011, 75.

⁹ Robert W. Hefner, "Where Have All the Abangan Gone?: Religionization and the Decline of Nonstandard Islam in Contemporary Indonesia," in *The Politics of Religion in Indonesia: Syncretism, Orthodoxy, and Religious Contention in Java and Bali*, 2011, 71–91, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203817049>.

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Siti Jenar, and their descendants, including groups named *kebatinan*, *pengayat*, etc., who are not accepted as pure Muslim are still identified with *abangan*.

Throughout mysticism (Sufism) which epistemologically means Islamic practices it leads to purify soul and mind of human beings to achieve the truth in *hakikat* and *makrifat*¹⁰. In this context, Sufism is synchronized with *abangan*, although Geertz's view in his dichotomy of *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan* in Java that according to Hodgson point of views, tends to be influenced by Muslim modernist thinkers. Hodgson analyzed a sharp and critical arguments on the category of Islam in Java regarding the concept of polytheism. Hodgson emphasized that the term "*abangan*" is seen out of Islamic norms and *shariah*. Hodgson criticized Geertz's ideas that more accepted the definition of modernist group about the term "*shirk*" when he categorized *abangan*.¹¹ The social and religious dichotomy in Modjokuto reveals that Geertz's understanding of the two divisions of *santri* and *abangan* applies to the character of traditionalist Muslim communities, while *priyayi* is more Islamic and Hindu syncretism with Muslims across the palaces¹².

Unlike Geertz, Koentjaraningrat argued that Geertz's ideas of Java religions are the most important works in Indonesian studies, but Geertz has shortcomings in the study of Javanese culture from a variety of aspects such as the religious structure, Javanese theology and mysticism that cannot be understood by non-Javanese people.¹³ In contrast to Geertz, Koentjaraningrat preferred using the term "*Agami Jawi and Santri Islamic Agami*".

“The Javanese variant of the Islamic religion called 'Agami Jawi or Kejawen' is a multiple Hindu-Buddhist, and its ideas appear to be supernatural, and is mixed into one body of the belief system and is known as an Islamic religion. 'Kejawen' religion culture structure is taught through oral tradition, but there are significant sections in the process of Islamization in Java that show historical traces of holy and moral literature.”¹⁴

Different from Koentjaraningrat, the term *abangan* is defined by Ricklefs on his publication of “The birth of the term *abangan*”¹⁵ saying that “*abangan*” was firstly raised by

¹⁰ Ismail Hasan, “Tasawuf: Jalan Rumpil Menuju Tuhan,” *An Nuha* 1, no. 1 (2014): 1–25.

¹¹ See: <http://sulthonazizkepuhrubuh.blogspot.co.id/2011/12/islam-abangan-definisi-yang-menuai.html> accessed on 9 September 2018.

¹² Mark R. Woodward, “The “Slametan”: Textual Knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam Source,” *The University of Chicago Press Journal* 28, no. 1 (1988): 54–89; Mark R. Woodward, *Java, Indonesia, and Islam* (London: Springer, 2011); Woodward, “Javanism, Islam and the Plurality of Ethnography.”

¹³ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1984).

¹⁴ Koentjaraningrat.

¹⁵ M.C. Ricklefs, “A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200,” *Creative Print & Design Ltd (Wales), Ebbw Vale*, 2001, 480.

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Dutch Christians, Heozoo in 1855. Ricklef argued that “*abangan*” means profane people¹⁶. Likewise, the *abangan* groups are people who keep ritual meals or *slametan*, but are not *slamet* or protected, since they do not completely follow Islamic laws or *shariah*. Later, the word *abangan* has been more grounded after Clifford Geertz published his thesis on Modjokuto. Ricklef also argued in his study that *abangan* is not only common to Muslims, but also to other religious groups, such as Christian culture.

The binary opposition of *abangan* is *putihan* identified as santri or people affiliated with pesantren following the Islamic laws and *shariah*. According to Harthoorn, *abangan* and *putihan* are phenomena which emerge in response to the spread of Islamic revivalism¹⁷. This group was quite strategically built since the disparities between the *abangan* and the *putihan* in the Dutch colonial era contributed to the separation of the social and economic classes of the Javanese society. Ricklefs stressed *abangan* vis-à-vis *putihan*, where two Christian missionaries from the Netherlands, Heozoo and Ganswijk, misread the comprehension of *abangan* and *putihan* of the Javanese culture. Ricklefs also did not explicitly accuse the distribution of *abangan* and *putihan*, since the Dutch missionaries in the 1800s told them they were in the vicinity of Semarang, Kediri and Malang. It was a major error, according to Ricklef, to infer the difference between *abangan* and *putihan*. Categories of *putihan* and *abangan* were very popular among the people of Javanese at that time¹⁸. The word *abangan* and *putihan* is like a "myth" created by Dutch missionaries to form the Javanese culture in order to increase economic and political influence. Meanwhile, according to Sapardi Djoko Damono (1989), the *abangan* itself has etymologically distinct interpretations from the viewpoint of Javanese culture as follows:

“According to Javanese oral tales, the term *abangan* is believed to come from the Arabic word "aba'an." The Javanese language reads the letter 'ain to be 'ngain.' The meaning of the words is more or less "inconsistent" or "those who leave." Hence, ulema used to assign nickname to people who convert Islam but do not follow Shari'a (Javanese: *sarengat*) is *aba'an*, which is called "*abangan*". So, the word "*abang*" here is not from the Javanese word "*abang*" which means red, but from the Arabic word "*aba'an*".”¹⁹

¹⁶ MC Ricklefs, “The Birth of the *Abangan*,” *Islam Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Und Kultur Des Islamischen Orients* 1, no. 1964 (2006): 35–55, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003673>; Ricklefs, “A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200.”

¹⁷ Ricklefs, “A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200.”

¹⁸ Ricklefs, “A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200.”

¹⁹ Lihat: <http://www.modifikasi.com/showthread.php/636413-Mengenal-apa-itu-Kejawen-dan-apa-itu-Abangan> accessed on 9 September 2018.

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Eric Wolf on his book entitled "Farmers: In the Anthropological Review" (1966) supported Geertz's ideas regarding with the three dichotomies of Religion in Java (*santri*, *priyayi*, and *abangan*). Religious pattern of farmers is *abangan* while the opponent is in the *priyayi*. The rich class of traders and peasants in Javanese society are generally classified as *santri*.²⁰ *Santri* and *abangan* are religious and social pattern to classify Javanese society based on social and economic classes. The literal meaning of *santri* is "students in religious schools" although in contemporary discourse the term *santri* refers to the people who uphold shariah-centered interpretation of Islam that Ricklefs defined as mystic synthesis in Java²¹. *Santri* are those who practice the five pillars of Islam (*Sholat*, *Hajj*, *zakat*, etc.) while *abangan* is people who rejected Islam's pillars but they still practice communal meals or *slametan* and sometimes they also practice *tahlil* like *santri*. However, since reformation the definition of *abangan* and *santri* are changing especially the term *abangan* has shifted in wider space and social class²². The definition of *abangan* nowadays can not only be seen as social category of rural farmers but we can also find 'abangan' in urban communities.

2. Abangan, NU, and Pesantren

The inhabitants of *abangan* and *kejawen* have a close relationship with *NU* (*Nahdlatul Ulama*), *pesantren*, and nearby sugar factories. While they have different positions, as farmers and labor *abangan* and *kejawen* communities agree that their role is to maintain environment, culture and social harmony. With supernatural and divine strength, spiritual *kejawen* are also trusted as guardians of "safety" The Sugar Factory in Ngadirejo is one of the examples, and it's about 39 km from Modjokuto. Here *abangan* and *kejawen* employed as farmers and laborers have a significant role to play in the economic distribution of sugar cane plantation. The mode of processing and sale of sugar factories in this small town preserves a reciprocal system as part of the Javanese culture. In several examples, the mutual exchange arrangement continues to be practiced by *abangan* and *kejawen*. During the Dutch colonial period, most farmers and sugar factory workers, after earning pay, spent their money just for pleasure, such as alcoholic drinks, and did not apply the idea of long-term economic or financial sustainability.

²⁰ Eric R. Wolf, *Petani, Suatu Tinjauan Antropologis* (Jakarta: CV. Rajawali, 1966), 187.

²¹ Mark M. C. Ricklefs, "An Unhelpful Contribution to the Study of Javanese Islam," *Asian Studies Review*, 1991, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03147539108712734>; Woodward, "The " Slametan ": Textual Knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam Source"; Ricklefs, "The Birth of the Abangan."

²² Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Geertz's Trichotomy of Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi: Controversy and Continuity," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 11, no. 2 (2017): 329, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2017.11.2.329-350>.

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Farmers who used to be part of the Union of Indonesian Farmers (*BTI/Buruh Tani Indonesia*) and sugar factory workers are very strong with *abangan* and *kejawen*. It's unusual to see *santri* working in businesses or factories. The sugar factory in Ngadirejo used ceremonial rituals to connect sugar production activities to "mystical power" and this practice is for the purpose of good production. People believe that the sacred "rites" that such rituals have been performed since the factory was first built. One of the rituals is *Giling Manten*, which is planned to preserve the fertility of sugarcane land and the sustainability of sugar production. The practice of *Giling Manten* as a local heritage has been active since the Netherlands. The purpose of this ritual refers to the socio-cultural interaction between indigenous peoples and the sugar factories founded by the Dutch. This tradition can also be interpreted as a motive for the development of a cohesive and unique economic structure that combines farmers, workers and factory owners.

The *Giling Manten* rite, involving laborers, farmers, religious leaders and local populations, is a style of development policy in which the role of elements of community and communities plays an important role. *Giling Manten* normally performs multiple rituals, such as: (1). *Slametan* or shared food (2). Choosing a healthy sugar cane (3). Slaying the Buffalos (4). Producing dolls and food offerings for the bride. This magical rite is designed to preserve the vitality of sugarcane cultivation and sugar factories. This practice was first formulated by *Mbah Wongso* (a village elder) well-known as a spiritual figure who was able to communicate with the sugar factory guards.²³ As mentioned in the previous section, *abangan* and *kejawen* are closer to NU taking these two cultures together. However, the growth of *pesantren* after 1965-1966 plays an important role in the Islamisation of *abangan* and *kejawen*. "The involvement of *NU* in political practice ended in 1984 and the second round of *NU* which was full of glory was over with disappointment".²⁴

Farmers' societies and staff who were *abangan* and *kejawen* after 1966 finally got closer to NU and *pesantren*. As ex-members and followers of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), *abangan* and *kejawen* have more social and religious links with the NU. The four values of *dakwah* within the NU organisation have been active in adopting *abangan* and *kejawen*. (1). *Tasamuh*, which means a tolerant approach in reaction to differences of opinion (2). *Tawazun*, which means a balanced mindset in the name of Allah and humanity

²³ Rhizal Achmad Fauzi and Artono, "Sejarah Tradisi Ritual Giling Manten Di Pabrik Gula Ngadirejo, Desa Ngadirejo, Kecamatan Kras, Kabupaten Kediri," *AVATARA, e-Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah* Vol. 4, no. No. 2 (2016): 468–481, <http://jurnalmahasiswa.unesa.ac.id/index.php/avatara/article/view/14886>.

²⁴ See: <https://daerah.sindonews.com/read/1031062/29/nahdlatul-ulama-politik-santri-dan-geger-1965-1966-1439122847> accessed on 9 September 2018.

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(3). *Tawasut* and *I 'tidal* which mean fair and right attitudes to avoid bad deeds (4). *Amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, which means promoting positive deeds in order to discourage acts that weaken the ideals of life. These four ideals of *dakwah* are the national, spiritual and religious capital of the United States. In fact, the *dakwah* model of NU being more embraced by *abangan* and *kejawen* is also seen as an obstacle to missionary "Islamic purity" that avoids the local custom of Javanese culture such as *ziarah*, *khaul*, *slametan*, etc²⁵. While *santri* was the opposite of *abangan* and *kejawen* before the tragedy of 1965, the *abangan* and *kejawen* in Modjokuto remain were "symbiotic mutualism" Many *abangans* and *kejawen* sent their children to *pesantren* to study.

It is clear that we can differentiate between *abangan* because *kejawen*, and both categories do not follow shariah; they still have parallels in terms of practice and ritual. While there are small and large *pesantrens* in several villages that were founded after 1965, *kejawen* as a belief system is well-maintained by *abangans* in Modjokuto. Local communities in Modjokuto, represented by *kejawen*, such as *Sapta Darma*, *Hardapusara*, *Susila Budi Darma (Subud)*, *Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal (Pangestu)*, *Paguyuban Sumarah* and several others, exist. The oldest *kejawen* is *Hardapusara*, founded in 1895 by Kyai Kusumawicitra of Purworejo-Central Java, while *Sapta Darma* is the youngest *kejawen* founded in Modjokuto in 1950s. *Sapta Darma* has wider communities that are approximately 4 million followers in several regions like East Java, Central Java, West Java, East Kalimantan, and South Sumatra. There are also many practitioners of *Sapta Darma* living in New Zealand, Malaysia and Japan. According to Kamil (1990), the largest number of followers of *Sapta Darma* are in Central Java, such as Pati, Klaten, Purworejo,²⁶ and now the base of association of followers of *Sapta Darma* is in Yogyakarta. Many of them are peasants and laborers, like the *abangan* people, and the representatives of this group are mainly *priyayi*.

Decision of the Indonesian Constitutional Court (MK/Mahkamah Konstitusi) on 7 November 2017 that recognised indigenous faiths or aliran *peghayat kepercayaan*, including *kejawen*. It's a positive sign of a religious life in Modjokuto. This opens up a broader field of religious equality for minority communities. However, the current *abangan* and *kejawen* in Modjokuto have more recently formed on the soil. In the case of Modjokuto, modernisation and globalization are leading to current *abangan* and *kejawen*. Religious life, faith, and cultural transition and globalization have been explored by academics from diverse

²⁵ Ahmad Zahro, *Tradisi Intelektual NU: Lajnah Bahtsul Masa'il 1926-1999* (Yogyakarta, 2004).

²⁶ Kartapradja Kamil, *Aliran Kebatinan Dan Kepercayaan Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: CV. Haji Masagung, 1990).

backgrounds²⁷ where the community is constantly dealing with severe economic challenges and technical advances. Recently, it is popular for *abangan* and *kejawen* to preserve their life with shamanic practices and go to 'sacred sites' to search 'wealth' or *pesugihan* and 'supernatural powers' or *ilmu kesaktian*. Shamanic practices are seen by *abangan* and *kejawen* as a sacred legacy that is also problematic with a *pesantren* tradition.

Besides shamanic rituals, *tarekat* as a mystical movement through *pesantren* is also popular with *abangan* and *kejawen*, followed by older people over 50 years of age, most of whom are farmers and traders. Martin van Bruinessen claimed that *tarekat* was a Sufi group under the guidance of a Sheik who extended his teachings to his disciples. *Tarekat* is also meant as a path taken by a Sufi candidate to attain *ma'rifat*. Sheik Yusup Makassar (1623-1699) was the first person to bring this prayer to Indonesia. Its distribution ranges from Makasar, Kalimantan, Sumatra, Central Java and East Java²⁸. Assimilation, acculturation, syncretism, are indeed as key success story in the spread of religion in Java.

C. CONCLUSION

Speaking of the religious life of society in Modjokuto, it reveals that Islam and *kejawen* are well maintained as a belief system. The Mystic Synthesis of the Javanese Culture is emerging in Mataraman areas such as Madiun, Kediri and the Brantas River valley.²⁹ Back in the political situation before 1965, residents in this small town were religiously and economically difficult to identify. *Santri* and *abangan* were politically engaged with NU and PKI/*Partai Komunis Indonesia* (Indonesian Communist Party) but some were still loyal to Masyumi, while *priyayi* appeared to support the PNI (Indonesia Nationalist Party).³⁰

Due to the unstable political climate in the late 1950s and the 1960s, there was a religious polarization in the framework of society. Religion and politics were starting to happen at the time. What is happening now, most of the people known as an *abangan* after the catastrophe of 1965 became more religious. Much of the *abangan* now follows local

²⁷ Sudhir H. Kale, "Spirituality, Religion, and Globalization," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146704269296>; George Ritzer, *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization, The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470691939>.

²⁸ Dadan Suherdiana, "Model Dakwah Fardiyah Tarekat Qodiriyah Wa Naqsabandiyah," *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 4, no. 14 (2009): 689–98; Qoriah A. Siregar, "Tasawuf Dan Tarekat (Dimensi Esoteris Ajaran Islam)," *Jurnal Sositologi* 11, no. 27 (2012): 240–42; van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia."

²⁹ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*.

³⁰ The Masyumi were not too dominant compared with PNI, PKI, and the NU Party. But usually supporters of Masyumi were living in urban where urban people were predominant as *priyayi*.

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traditions. At least hundreds of local beliefs exist regularly in Kediri, although at least some local beliefs are practiced by many people in Modjokuto/Pare:

1. *Sapto Darmo*
2. *Penghayat*
3. *Kejawen*
4. *Kepercayaan*
5. *Suwong*
6. *Jawa*
7. Etc.

Indeed, the revival of Islam *abangan* is a new religious phenomenon that can be differentiated in a variety of categories. In the first place, religious *abangans* are still participating in religious practices such as *tariat*, *tahlil* and *ziarah*. While they are known as *abangans* who become *santri*, they cannot read the Qur'an and do not often pray five times a day. Second, deterministic *abangan* means that they do not totally follow the customs and practices of *santri*, but often participate in communal ceremonies, pray for *idul fitri* and *idul adha*, even though they do not fast during *ramdhan*, *ziarah* and *slametan*. It's *abangan-kejawen*. The *abangan-santri* and *abangan-kajawen* are farmers from the lower to the middle classes. I think that the fertile movement of *abangan* at this time is, possibly, a form of resistance to modernity and globalization. I think that this can be interpreted as an organic prevention of the flow of religious radicalism and the growth of the trans-national Islamic movement after more than a half century of Clifford Geertz.

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