

Kiai Desa in Defending Pancasila: A Moderation Through Cultural Defence in Traditional Society

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Abstract: This article discusses the models of Islamic moderation implemented by *kiai desa* in Tegal Regency which have a significant role in defending Pancasila from the threat of anti-Pancasila movements. For *kiai desa*, keeping the country which is based on Pancasila is an implementation of the faith to God which should be implemented in the real act in the middle of traditional society, not only doctrinal. This article states two models of moderation done by *kiai desa* in defending Pancasila, i.e. delegation and mediatisation. Through the delegation model, *kiai desa* supplies the values of moderation to *hissantri* or colleagues using political line, whether the Regent or DPRD to defend Pancasila. Meanwhile, by doing mediatisation, *kiai desa* spreads the values of moderation in communal Qur'an reading activities through social media or radio station. When defending Pancasila from the threat of anti-Pancasila movements, *kiai desa* often faces authoritarianism and populism toward them. Authoritarianism of Islam is done by the 'new *santri*' who try to delegitimize the knowledge possessed by *kiai desa* in defending Pancasila. Populism tries to popularize *kiai desa* as the enemies of Islam itself because defending Pancasila which is not 'Islam'. Populism also struggles for sharia country by defending people who support it. This characterization is built by the politicians using the idioms of religion in the middle of this democratic country.

Keywords: *Kiai Desa, Models of Islamic Moderation, Pancasila*

Background of The Problem

Kiai Syarifudin, in *Pondok Pesantren Nurul Huda*, stated that Pancasila is not against Al Qur'an. The statement was said in front of the parents' *santri*, citizens, and the invitees from the village government and also the public figures when he became a speaker in *Haflah Akbirussanah-Khotmil Qur'an Waddurus*.

"Aja ngandel nek ana sing ngomong Indonesia negara thogbut. Aja ngandel nek ana sing ngarani Pancasila bertentengan karo Alqur'an. Sila-sila sing ana neng Pancasila ora ana sing bertentangan karo Al Qur'an".

"Don't believe if there is someone saying that Indonesia is a *thogbut* country. Don't believe if there is someone saying that Pancasila is against Al Qur'an. The principles in Pancasila are not against Al Qur'an."¹

Although Pancasila is officially stated as the country ideology, but some movements which create disintegration by trying to change Pancasila with another ideology or change Pancasila back to Piagam Jakarta still continue to smaller area in

¹A speech in *Haflah Akbirussanah Khotmil Qur'an Waddurus Pondok Pesantren Nurul Huda Grobogan Wetan Village Pangkah District Tegal Regency* on Sunday, May 6, 2018.

Indonesia², including Tegal Regency which consists of 281 villages and 6 *kelurahan*³. In this context, *kiai desa* does his role in defending Pancasila.

In fact, the mechanism of collective memory has been built by the country for defending Pancasila with the commemoration of Hari Kesaktian Pancasila on June 1 every year. Even in 2017, June 1 was officially commemorated as a national holiday. The country held 'Pancasila Week' on May 29-June 4. Unit Kerja Presiden Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila (UKP-PIP) was founded.⁴ Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang (Perppu) No. 2/2017 about Mass Organization was also released. With the Perppu, mass organizations which were against Pancasila must be dismissed. It is because that UU Ormas No. 17/ 2013 was considered not proper to respond the dynamics of mass organizations in the context of NKRI. The spirit of this was in line with the effort to defend Pancasila⁵.

When this research was conducted, Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara (PTUN) Jakarta refused sue which was proposed by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) against Kementerian Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia. It is an arrangement of Surat Keputusan Menteri Hukum dan HAM Nomor AHU-30.AH.01.08 Tahun 2017 about Pencabutan Status Badan Hukum HTI. This decision was based on Perppu No. 2/2017. By the refusal of the sue, SK Menkumham Nomor AHU-30.AH.01.08 Tahun 2017 was considered legal⁶. As an organization which always tries to change Pancasila with *kehilafan islamiyah*, HTI can be officially dismissed. However, as an ideology, it still remains alive and becomes a form of strength. According to Foucault, power is not an institution, because power can be found anywhere, whether in humans relationships or state institutions relationships because power is a strategic situation.

*Power is not institution, and not a structure..., it's the name that one attribute to a complex strategic situation in a particular society*⁷.

²One of the histories of debating Pancasila was *Dekret Presiden* issued on July 5, 1959. In that *dekrit*, President Soekarno, once again, compromised by mentioning in the beginning of his *dekrit* that, "Piagam Jakarta menjawai UUD 1945 dan merupakan satu rangkaian kesatuan dengan konstitusi". However, the status of 'the seven words' was still unclear and still being controversy. At that time, Islamic groups wanted to not separating country and religion, but the other groups wanted to separate country and religion clearly (secular country). The complete version; read Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna; Historisitas, Rasionalitas dan Aktualitas Pancasila*, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011, pg. 94

³<https://tegalkab.bps.go.id/statictable/2015/01/22/35/jumlah-desakelurahan-menurut-kecamatan-di-kabupaten-tegal-tahun-2016.html>. Accessed on May 01, 2018.

⁴Now: Badan Pembina Ideologi Pancasila (BPIP)

⁵At least, there were three significant things that had changed from UU 17/2013 to Perppu 2/2017. First, the removal of the procedure of adjudication before a dismissal of a mass organization which needed months to complete. So that, the dismissal could be completed only in days. Second, the punishment for a crime was just for being a member of a forbidden mass organization. Third, about "the teachings which are against Pancasila". If in the content of UU 17/2013 stated that what are against Pancasila are the teachings of atheism and communism/ Marxism-Leninism, The explanation of Perppu 2/2017 added the other teachings which have purposes to change Pancasila and Undang- Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945. The complete version; read Aziz Anwar Fachrudin, 2018, *Polemik Tafsir Pancasila*, Yogyakarta; CRCS UGM, pg. 1-2

⁶<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/07/13054551/ptun-tolak-gugatan-hti>

⁷ Otto Sukatno, *Seks Para Pangeran; Tradisi dan Ritualisasi Hedonisme Jawa*, Yogyakarta; Benteng Budaya, 2002, pg. 66

The conceptualization of Foucault is also in line with the Javanese cosmology about the balance concept of the ideal country. Ideal country is seen as a fertile land and has many citizens with the emphasis on the stability, order, and peacefulness. It also has a meaning of being calm spiritually which is the basic harmony of humans and the world⁸. From this definition, Javanese, especially, uses non-formal, non-structural, and non-party instrument to achieve ideal country. The instrument is in the form of cultural strength which becomes fundamental in creating togetherness and harmony in religion, politics, social, or economy as stated in the spirit of Pancasila. The cultural approach of *kiai desa* in implementing moderations to defend Pancasila becomes one of the some interesting elements to be discussed.

Background of The Problem

1. How is the model of cultural defence provided by *kiai desa* as the tutors of *Pondok Pesantren and Majelis Taklimin* Tegal Regency in defending Pancasila?
2. What kind of threats are faced by *kiai desa* as the tutors of *Pondok Pesantren and Majelis Taklimin* Tegal Regency in defending Pancasila?

Limitation of The Problem

This research describes the role of *kiai desa* who becomes the keeper of *pondok pesantren* and *majlis taklimin* constructing the religious moderation for defending Pancasila through cultural approach. It is based on the habits which show the uniqueness and originality of *kiai desa* in delivering religious point of views in defining Pancasila as the country ideology.

Previous Studies

In his research, Sigit Priatmoko explains that one of the formulas is intervening Islamic educational system in four aspects i.e. formulating Islamic educational policies, reorienting visions and curriculum, filtering teaching materials, and controlling or evaluating comprehensively and sustainably⁹.

NU also has an important role in the acceptance of Pancasila as the only principle. NU accepts it consciously. In fact, NU understands the national principle with being open-minded and not being distorted by radical religious principles. Accepting Pancasila means that we accept Indonesia as the country-state concept where we as the citizens live. Although in other observations, there is such pressure and power resistance

⁸Denys Lombard, 2008, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya Bagian III (Warisan Kerajaan-kerajaan Konsentris)*, Jakarta, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, pg. 132.

⁹Sigit Priatmoko, 2018. *Pengarusutamaan Nilai-Nilai Islam Moderat Melalui Revitalisasi Pancasila Dalam Pendidikan Islam, proceeding 2nd Annual Conference for Muslim Scholars (AnCoMS)* Seri 2, Surabaya; Kopertais4 Press, pg.11

in accepting this only principle. However, this decision was absolutely founded in the highest level of democratic discussion in the organization, i.e. through *muktamar*¹⁰.

The explanation by Hiroko Horikoshi about the status of *kiai desa* which states that their status formally are not governmental employees, but their social status tend to be more dominant culturally should have been emphasized in this research. They are more respected and their opinions tend to be listened more than governmental employees, like village leader or *lurah*¹¹. This research has sent the writer to enter *kiai desa*'s point of views to understand the meaning of his status in defending Pancasila.

Syaiful Arif in Tashwirul Afkar Journal in his article entitled "Islam, Pancasila dan Keindonesiaan: Tawaran Jalan Tengah" explains that the relationship between Islam and Pancasila respects each other in the frame of keeping their own independences but also supporting for the sake of better country life. This toleration principle is called the twin toleration. It is based on the state of being respectful between religion and Pancasila in the form of keeping them autonomous but also supporting each other at the same time¹².

These previous studies show some serious relationships related to the role of the *kiai desa* and the existence of Pancasila as the country ideology in the term of local area. By catching the terrorists in Balamoa and Talang who are the part of Jamiyyah Anshorut Tauhid, *kiai desa*'s urgency in defending Pancasila through cultural way was reminded.

Object of The Research

The object of this research is *kiai desa* who becomes the tutor of *Pondok Pesantren* *majelis taklimin* Tegal Regency. In some points, the writer takes the advantages with the *jamiyyah* and organisations which are followed by *kiai desa*. They mostly join *Jamiyyah Muttabiil ulama*, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) and Nahdlatul Ulama as his organisations.

Research Methodology

This research tend to rely on social-cultural discussions about cultural defence. One of them is by discussing Kent Greenwalt's theory through his writing entitled "The Cultural Defense; Reflection in Light of the Model Penal Code and the Religious Freedom Restoration Act"¹³. The data obtained by the observations of *kiai desa*'s life and his relationship with traditional society, whether in communal Qur'an reading activities

¹⁰Muhamad Mustaqim, *Politik Kebangsaan Kaum Santri: Studi atas Kiprah Politik Nahdlatul Ulama*, Jurnal ADDIN, Vol. 9, No. 2, August 2015, pg. 346

¹¹Hiroko Horikoshi, *Kyai dan Perubahan Sosial*, Jakarta: P3M, 1987, pg. 193.

¹²Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila dan Keindonesiaan; Tawaran Jalan Tengah*, Jurnal Tashwirul Afkar Edisi No. 37 2018, Jakarta; Lakpesdam PBNU, pg. 32.

¹³ Kent Greenwalt, *The Cultural Defense; Reflection in Light of the Model Penal Code and the Religious Freedom Restoration Act*, Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law, Vol. 6, pg. 299

or in political activities. Interviews are also being integral parts in this research by making *kiai desa* as the respondent¹⁴.

As the emphasis, traditional society is the Moslem society in Tegal Regency which does practices and cultures as stated in Nahdlatul Ulama's theoretical framework. According to Martin Van Bruinessen, in the context of traditional Moslem society, traditions and transformations are not two contradictive things¹⁵.

The facts in the field, traditional Moslems who refer to the previous *ulama's* masterpieces tend to make more progresses and flexible compared to the Moslems who admit that they are modern but tend to be narrow-minded and outdated seeing the social, religious, and political dynamics. This kind of tradition possessed in the characteristics of *kiai desa* who gathers in *Jammiyyah Muttabiil Ulama (Jamu)*, NU and MUI. From those organizations, the writer got the supply of the primary data, along with the documents and field observations as the secondary data.

Discussion

Cultural defence is different with defending culture. Cultural defence can be defined as the model or the way to defend through cultural approach. It can also be defined as the self-protection through emphasizing cultural works¹⁶. The philosophical basic from the effort of cultural defence are enculturation, the ideas which are more or less describe that culture creates cognitions and habits¹⁷.

Cultural works become the integral parts in responding or preventing religious or political influence from the outsiders indicating the demolition or change cultural identity which is the anchor of certain society's civilization. The description of the society's religions in Tegal Regency can be seen by the following table¹⁸

¹⁴History has proven that cultural defence has ever be applied by Israel by identifying themselves as the blessed and sacred country. So that, the identity should be kept forever. See: Robert B. Coote dan David Robert Ord, *in the Begning: Creation and the priestly History*, Minneapolis; Fortrees Press, 1991.

¹⁵ Martin Van Bruinessen, *NU: Tradisi, Relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru*, Yogyakarta; LKiS, 1994, pg. Introduction.

¹⁶ Tedi Kholiludin, *Menjaga Tradisi Di Garis Tepi*, Semarang; eLSA, 2017, pg. 52

¹⁷ Tedi Kholiludin, *Menjaga Tradisi Di Garis Tepi*, Semarang; eLSA, 2017, pg. 54

¹⁸<https://tegalkab.bps.go.id/statictable/2015/01/22/69/persentase-penduduk-menurut-kecamatan-dan-agama-yang-dianut-di-kabupaten-tegal-2016.html>

Persentase Penduduk Menurut Kecamatan dan Agama yang Dianut di Kabupaten Tegal, 2016

Percentage of Population by Subdistrict and Religion in Tegal Regency, 2016

Kecamatan <i>Subdistrict</i>	Islam <i>Islam</i>	Protestan <i>Christian</i>	Katolik <i>Catholic</i>	Hindu <i>Hindu</i>	Budha <i>Buddha</i>	Lainnya <i>Other</i>
010 Margasari	99.55	0.29	0.10	0.01	0.05	-
020 Bumijawa	99.98	0.01	0.01	-	-	-
030 Bojong	99.99	0.01	-	-	-	-
040 Balapulang	99.80	0.11	0.07	-	0.02	-
050 Pagerbarang	99.98	-	0.02	-	-	-
060 Lebaksiu	99.96	-	0.03	0.01	-	-
070 Jatinegara	100.00	-	-	-	-	-
080 Kedungbanteng	99.84	0.06	0.08	0.02	-	-
090 Pangkah	99.64	0.18	0.17	-	0.01	-
100 Slawi	95.61	1.55	1.45	0.62	0.48	0.28
110 Dukuhwaru	99.86	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.03	-
120 Adiwerna	99.27	0.63	0.06	0.01	0.02	-
130 Dukuhturi	99.88	0.05	0.05	-	0.01	-
140 Talang	99.62	0.22	0.16	-	-	-
150 Tarub	99.95	0.03	-	-	0.02	-
160 Kramat	97.83	0.67	1.10	0.20	0.14	0.05
170 Suradadi	99.96	0.03	0.01	-	-	-
180 Warureja	99.89	0.08	0.02	-	-	-

Sumber: Kantor Kementerian Agama Kabupaten Tegal
Source: Religion Department of Tegal Regency

From the table, Moslems in Tegal Regency are the majority which ideally influence the relational pattern of religion and country. As far, the campaign of the movements which refer to the radicalism, which are considered as the movements against Pancasila in this research, have been seen few times. Although the movements can be handled, these incidents become an alarm indicating that the radicalism or fundamentalism symptoms really happened in Tegal Regency. Here are some incidents related to the radicalism: the catching of the terrorists in Balamoa and Talang; the sweeping of HTI office by Ansor of Tegal Regency; the bomber in Thamrin was Tegal Regency resident; the prevention of the distribution of *kebilafab* leaflets by Ustadz Syarifudin.

From the different angle, an interesting phenomenon happened in the Tegal Regent Election of 2018-2023 periods, in which Umi Azizah-Sabilillah Ardie won with gaining 70.94% votes. It becomes the proof that the relation of religion-country is strong. The formation of the couple is not only initiated by Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) as the supporting party, but also involves Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) of Tegal Regency. In Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) of Tegal Regency, Umi Azizah is the chief of Muslimat NU. One of the Badan Otonom (Banom) NU which deals with NU female movement. Therefore, NU felt responsible fully to guard Umi Azizah in the Tegal Regent Election of 2018-2023 periods. Not only as the political machine of PKB, but NU also tends to be solid in supporting Umi Azizah-Sabilillah Ardie. In the rural areas of Tegal Regency, NU moved massively in supporting the couple. Umi-Ardie are believed as the couple who are able to run the religious moderation in the context of Pancasila. This configuration explains that in the middle of Islam which is moderate

structurally, there is radicalism threatening Pancasila in the local region. Here is the role of *kiai desa* in doing his cultural defence for defending Pancasila through delegation and mediatisation models.

Delegation Model

KH. Chambali Usman, the tutor of *Pondok Pesantren Al Abror Yomani*, who is also Rois Syuriah PC NU Tegal Regency as an *ablussunnah wal jamaah* figure often asks the citizens to love the country. For KH. Chambali Usman, loving NKRI, Pancasila, is the right way which had been passed by the ancestors. As a *kiai*, he has many *santri* who have been spread widely in this country. Those *santri* are hoped to be the agents in spreading his teaching values in defending Pancasila.

In KH. Chambali Usman's point of view, loving the country must be stated together and well-organized through the political agents to succeed. One of the ways is by having a regent who is tested and proven in implementing the sentence *hubbul wathon minal iman*¹⁹. So that, public space can be handled by the agents who work in public areas formally but have a close relationship with *kiai desa* in Nahdlatul Ulama.

This cultural defence model which is stated by the writer as the delegation from *kiai desa* toward *santri* or colleagues to defend Pancasila through formal and structural ways. Through this model, *maqashid syariah* which is *asad-dhoruriyatul khamsah* transmitted as the values translated in the appropriate policies for NKRI in formal and structural spaces. The updated example was the involvement of *kiai-kiai desa* in the winning of Umi-Ardie in the Tegal Regent Election of 2018-2023 periods.

In another chance, *kiai desa* in *Pondok Pesantren Ma'hadut Tholabah* never shows Islamic style which is shown by the radicals. *Kiai desa* who has thousands *santri*, alumni, and also influences in the society have a central role in the process of choosing ideology. The society around *kiai desa* and *santri* which is spread in various sectors still holds onto *kiai desa's* advice and has a beneficial relationship. According to one of the tutors of the *pondok pesantren*, KH. Aqib Malik, this is caused by the position possessed by *kiai desa* which is strategic in the society.

Kiai desa interacts more with *santri* and the society directly. His interactions are such as teaching Islamic values and even guiding daily worshipping, being the place to consult about anything, being asked for a prayer when one of the society's family members is sick, and often about something that considers private thing.²⁰ In doing religious things, *santri* and the alumni still hold onto their tutors' genealogy. By doing such model, the relationship between *santri*-the alumni and their tutors still exists in seeing Pancasila as the ideology. There is no clash between Islam and Pancasila. This point of view and movement will still exist between *kiai desa* and *santri* when alumni become public figure.

¹⁹ Khutbah Iftitah Halaqoh 999 Ulama se- Kabupaten Tegal in NU building on May 6, 2018

²⁰ Interview with KH. Aqib Malik *Pondok Pesantren Ma'hadut Tholabah Babakan Jati Mulya Lebaksiu Tegal Regency*.

The next point of view is given by Kiai Abdul Aziz, the tutor of *Pondok Pesantren Nurul Huda Grobog Wetan* and also the tutor of *Jamiyyah Muttabil Ulama*. According to him, Pancasila is final. What are written in Pancasila are Islamic values. *Jamiyyah Muttabil Ulama* becomes one of important parts in this research. As a unification consisting *kiai-kiaias* the tutors of *pondok pesantren* and *majlis taklim*, this *jamiyyah* holds meetings consisting the discussions of *Ihya Ulumiddin* juz 3 (*tasamwuf*), *Maroh Labid/Tafsir Munir (Tafsir Quran)*, *Asybah Wannadhoir (kaidah fiqh)*, *Tarikh Tasyri' Islami (amaliyah nahdliyah reference)*, *Nihayah azZain (ushul fiqh)*

Kiai Aziz stated that the first *silah* 'Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa' is in line with '*Qul huwa Allahu abad*'. The second *silah* 'Kemanusiaan yang adil beradab' is in line with the verse '*Inna Allah ya'muru bil 'adl*', The third *silah*, 'Persatuan Indonesia' is in line with the order '*Wa'tashimu bi hablillahi jaman wala tafarroqu...*'. And in the fourth *silah* 'Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan perwakilan' is in line with the order '*Wayyawirhum fil amr*'. The last, the fifth *silah* 'Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia' is in line with the order '*I'dilu huwa aqrobu littaqwa...*'. This does not mean that Kiai Aziz only uses *sotak-atik gathuk*, but in fact the spirits which are in those verses are also stated clearly in each of the *silah*.

The significance of Bruinessen's statement can be seen through the transformation of traditional *kiaian* responding religious and political dynamics. Cultural defence model done by *kiai* is also transformed. Not only in the form of *khutbah* or speech done routinely or on the commemoration of Islamic events, but also by delegating to the society or his *santri* in the practical politics. It means that *santri* who has *kiai desa* as his tutors can be considered as the agents in defending Pancasila institutively. For example, Umi Azizah is represented as the chief of the government who is *kiai's santri*. Umi Azizah who is the candidate of the Regent is able to realize the dreams of *kiaian* realizing *hubbul wathon minal iman* through governmental area. So that those representatives from PKB and PPP in DPRD. In this model, constitutional consciousness of *kiai desa* to defend Pancasila not only by holding communal Qur'an reading activities, but also by transforming it in the political structure and governmental area.

Mediatisation Model

Traditional society in Tegal Regency represented by NU becomes the majority which is faithful to Pancasila and NKRI. New religious, political, and cultural point of views which are against the majority are handled seriously by *kiai-kiai* in Tegal Regency. *Kiai-kiai desa*, referred to Bruinessen, are an intellectual group which masters Islamic literatures in various themes and methods. So that, for them, reading the contexts of a country should be based on *maqasid syariah*. This is a method to trace the *syari'* purpose in justifying human problems universally. The terminology of *Al-Dharuriyat alkhamsah* becomes a consideration to maintain essential needs for human beings (Djamil, 1995:40). It means that the benefits which depend on human life and society existence. If there is no benefit, then it will cause instability, destruction, and suffering in

the world and the afterlife. Pancasila covers what is really wanted by sharia because orientating to the guarantee of basic human needs.

However, there is an actual problem in understanding sharia textually which seems partial. Sharia version of NKRI, for the example, fulfils the concept of religious-political movement in this country. Another cause of this movement is the feeling of being the majority which is translated as the owner of this country. These odds are, in fact, structurally and culturally limited sharia movement which is defined normatively. It also shows that there is systemic support to manifest sharia concept campaigned as a certain political group. Social applicative logic method, in turn, reduces the competences of sharia in responding positively toward social dynamics which are relatively developed. So that, *kiai-kiai desa* have done a religious intensification which is friendly through media. Some *pondok pesantren* in Tegal Regency, for example *Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Kalibakung*, have a radio station as a distributor to share communal Qur'an reading activities or other religious activities done by that *pondok pesantren*. In *Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Kalibakung*, cultural defence for Islamic moderation has improved by broadcasting a communal Qur'an reading activities named *Almaqashid* through Darussalam Fm in 88.1Mgz. According to KH. Ghilman NS as one of the tutors, *Pondok Pesantren Darussalam* commits to Pancasila and NKRI as the effort in implementing *ablussunnah wal jamaah* teaching²¹.

Pondok Pesantren Ribath Nurul Hidayah is different from Darussalam. It has a channel to broadcast lively the communal Qur'an reading activities held by this pondook pesantren. Habib Sholeh al Athos, the tutor of *Pondok Pesantren Ribath Nurul Hidayah*, is *santri* of KH. Maemun Zubair Sarang, Rembang. KH. Maemun Zubair gives his speech in communal Qur'an reading activities actively to make citizens loving NKRI and Pancasila. This is an emphasis to show how pesantren becomes important element in NKRI autonomy. Ribath's followers consisting thousands of people, wheteher in the real world or in the cyberspace, have strategic roles in autonomous patterns to implement *ablussunnah wal jamaah* teaching and love this country.

As stated by Schmid dan Price (2011), "*ulama-ulama* because of their wisdom can contribute positively in this new struggle, where the information domains are a battlespace." Anyone can focus on the spread of a narration by himself. This can be done by academic researchers or analysts and intellectuals who are familiar with politics, history, and theology of Islam. However, this kind of analysis spread is better given to a modern Moslem, whether moderate or radical, who has bigger credibility with relevant targets.²² The role of IT workers or technicians becomes main subject to do this kind of mediatization.

The Challenges Faced By *Kiai Desa* in Defending Pancasila

²¹Interview with KH. Ghilman Nur Syidin, *Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Kalibakung Balapulang Tegal Regency*

²²Moh Yasir Alimi, *Mediatisasi Agama Post Truth Dan Ketahanan Nasional; Sosiologi Agama Era Digital*, Yogyakarta; LKiS, 2018, pg. 278

Kiai Marsus Satori, one of *Kiai*in Suradadi, eastern Tegal Regency, explains how terrible modern children in consuming information related to religious teaching. *Kiai* Marsus has ever felt a 'betrayal' from his ex-*santri* who dares with him by having only certain information which has been proven. He thinks that the religiosity in Tegal Regency is worrying because of *santri* who loses his manners to their *kiai*. It is caused by the role of social media which supplies religious teaching instantly so that *santri* becomes very brave to challenge their *kiai*. What is received by social media seems more correct than what is stated by their *kiai*.

Another fact shows that the President Election also becomes a battlefield. Sharia version of NKRI becomes a face of one of the candidate of the president which is believed to become an alternative model to get constituents' votes. The further consequence is that they dare to say that those *kiai-kiai* who are against them are wrong. "Sing ora nomer loro berarti salah" becomes an idiom to blame *kiai-kiai* who do not support them. This causes the writer to say that it is an authoritarian attitude to hit *kiai-kiai desa* in the middle of this electoral democracy²³. Borrowing Khaled Abou elFadl's term, what is faced by *kiai-kiai desa* is an authoritarianism done by 'new *santri*' who neglect the decision making method in Islam.

Another challenge faced by *kiai desa* is what is called by Robert W. Hefner as populism. Populism is a mobilization strategy by creating enemies and considering himself as a public figure. Enemies' creation is done to make a social threat toward all of people.²⁴ Populism destroys cultures, values, and social institutions which have the spirit of living together. Enemies' creation is also used to make a politician become a public figure. Without having strong mass basis, based on the enemies' creation, a politician becomes a new figure. Populism creates a tense in the middle of civilians. This tense is created by unclear news or information, This destroys their relationship through unclear facts or hoaxes.

Conclusion

In implementing cultural defence as the effort of Islamic moderation in defending Pancasila, *kiai desa* uses two models, i.e. delegation and mediatisation. The first, delegation model makes *santri* or *kiai*'s colleagues as agents to make *kiai*'s dreams come true based on religious literatures which are authoritative about how important Pancasila is in this plural country through formally or structurally ways. It can be done through the position of a Regent or DPRD. This is a form of *kiai*'s transformation in responding political, social, and religious dynamics. *Kiai desa*'s wisdom with its *ushul fiqih* becomes a constitutional consciousness which is delegated by his agents through political way.

The second is mediatisation model. In fact, this model has not been familiar for *kiai desa*. However, some *kiai desa* have used it as broadcasting method of their

²³told by KH. Marsus Satori Suradadi Kabupaten Tegal

²⁴<https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/101445/peneliti-amerika-yakin-indonesia-mampu-hadapi-ancaman-populisme>

communal Qur'an reading activities through social media or radio station. For social media, *Pondok Pesantren Ribath Nurul Hidayah Bedug, Pangkah* has used youtube channel. Meanwhile, through radio station, *Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Kalibakung, Balapulang* broadcast lively its communal Qur'an reading activities, i.e. Almaqoshid through Darussalam FM. This mediatisation is used as the effort to spread *ablussunnah wal jamaah* teaching in the middle of the society, in which the teaching is for responding the political dynamics in this country based on methodological tools and discussions so that it will not create radicalism which is against Pancasila.

The challenges faced by *kiai desa* is created by the moral and cultural legitimacy which has been broken as the effect of pragmatism facilitated by politicians. From external factor, there are authoritarianism and populism. The first, authoritarianism related to religion faced by *kiai-kiai desa* in defending Pancasila. The moderate attitudes of *kiai-kiai desa* has been a foundation in defending Pancasila which is hit by the attitudes of the 'new *santri*' which like to accuse *kiai desa* as a person who is not based on Islamic sharia. The second, populism is a mobilization strategy applied by a certain politician. Populism is creating enemies on one side to create a heroic figure on another side. *Kiai desais* 'created' to be an enemy as the effect in defending Pancasila, because Pancasila is *thogut* and should be changed by sharia ideology. The legitimacy of *kiai desa* is destroyed and the figure who struggle for sharia has to be hailed. This figure is created by the politicians by using religious idioms in the middle of this electoral democratic country.

In the end, *kiai-kiai desa* have to still keep their distance from political structure, but at the same time they cannot just walk away. The cultural role played by *kiai-kiai desa* which supplies moderation models should always be done to keep Islamic moderations in Pancasila frame exist in Tegal Regency through governmental programs. Besides, vocational training in IT skills and competences are required for *kiai-kiai desa* themselves and their *santri* as the operators. It is needed to explain that *ablussunnah wal jama'ah* teachings are not against Pancasila.

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