

Social Representation of Coastal Javanese Islam: Portrait of Pekalongan Indonesia

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Abstract:

This study aims to understand in-depth the representation of Coastal Javanese Islam in Pekalongan with cultural approach. This approach puts Pekalongan people onto its social world center, in order to understand how they identify and interpret the world, particularly the articulation of economic activity protected by culture and mediated by Islam tenet. The research method used was qualitative one. Data was obtained through observation and in-depth interview, and analyzed descriptively, by focusing on social practice of batik business performer as the basic vehicle, meaning competition place, and contributing to Islam. The result of research shows that the role of Islam in Pekalongan social life is very strong and dominant represented in dialectical Islam with the manifestation of symbolic spiritualism. Therefore, Islam functions not merely as an effective means of solving life problem, including batik business, confirming Geertz's argument that religion serves not merely as ethical foundation, but moral vitality source. Culture is an important power in social life. This finding declines Weber's thesis that Islam does not have theological affinity supporting economic growth, because empirical fact in Pekalongan Indonesia shows that Islam spirituality becomes an effective means of solving business problem.

Key Words: *Dialectic, Economy, Representation, Spiritualism, Symbolic, Santri*

INTRODUCTION

Pekalongan Batik Town has been established to be Creative City by UNESCO since 2014. Pekalongan is also called *santri* city, just like Geertz (2014:285) and Suryo (2000) social categorization, called *santri civilization* by Benda (1985: 18). The two identities of Pekalongan – Batik City and Santri City – have been studied by many authors: empirical phenomenon of batik industry related to environment (Lucas, 2002: 181-209; Purnomo,

2010; Rudiyantri, 2011; Saraswati and Purwanti, 2014; Sasongko, 2010; Maghfur, 2018), the efficiency of batik production process (Hendradjaja, 2004; Purwanto, 2009; Nurdalia, 2006), the economic relation of batik to law (Hidayat et al, 2015; Rusda and Purwoko, 2015; Surayya, 2005; Mratihayani, 2013), the relationship between economy and politic in Indonesia (Savirani, 2015) and the relationship between batik economic activity and community religiosity (Maghfur et al, 2006; Sofiani, 2013; Rismawati et al, 2015; Susminingsih, 2015).

However, these studies position the actor behavior only as the unit of observation, but have not studied yet the representation of community behavior that is symbolic in nature and meaningful to the actor. The meaning is closely related to ideas and values stored in the actor's cognition as the output of the understanding on Islam value dialectic with Coastal Javanese culture where they live. Meanwhile, this study employed cultural approach by positioning Pekalongan community onto social world center, to conceive the community's Islamic pattern through how their identification and interpretation on world, particularly the articulation of economic activity protected by culture and mediated by Islam tenet. So, this study focuses on economic, cultural, and Islam roles in Pekalongan community life. Data source was obtained through observation and in-depth interview with batik business performers in Pekalongan being the unit of analysis selected using purposive sampling.

In explaining economic, cultural, and Islam relation as the determinant in Pekalongan, the analysis focuses on social practice as the main instrument, where the competition for meaning occurs, and having contribution to Islam, particularly Islam tenet understanding and actualization in economic activity. Recalling that Islam religion is upheld by Pekalongan community as moral and spiritual sources and undoubted ideological lens, it means that Islam plays very strong and dominant role in social life process. So, there is a close relationship between religion and economic behavior in Pekalongan community's life. Therefore, culture can be considered as an important power and becomes value reference in social life, just like the role of Protestant ethics among Calvinists considered by Weber as the basic power to generate work spirit and catalyst of economic growth in the presence of modern capitalism (Weber, 2001).

Although Weber saw Islam having no theological affinity supporting economic growth as it emphasizes on anti-secular Sufistic life. However, some empirical studies on Islam community show the findings in contradiction with Weber's perspective. Factually, some studies showed that Islam have basic values that can be used by a Muslim as the reference in running business (Castles, 1982; Abdullah, 1994; Sulthoni et al, 2011; Mu'tasim, 2013; Fauroni, 2014; Yuliani and Octaviani, 2014; and Atho'llah, 2016). Considering the findings of those previous studies, this study positions Islam community to be the subject of research, to see the role of religion in economic behaviour of Pekalongan community to make Islam symbolic power represented in their life understandable and the Islamic pattern describable.

DISCUSSION

Pekalongan as Coastal Town

Geographically, people living along North Beach of Java Island are called coastal community (*masyarakat pesisir*). This area is divided into two: west coast or *pesisir kulon* (including Demak, Kendal, Batang, Pekalongan, Pemalang, Wiradesa, Tegal, and Brebes) and east coast or *pesisir wetan* (including Cengkak Sewu, Surabaya, Gresik, Sedayu, Tuban,

Lasem, Juwana, Pati, Kudus, and Jepara) (Marbangun, 1994: 105; Thohir, 1999: 1-3; Koentjaraningrat, 1994: 222-228; Syam, 2005: 166). In this category, the geographic location of Pekalongan belongs to *pesisir kaulon* area.

Historically, Pekalongan is originally a regency experiencing territorial reform, thereby changing into city and regency. Pekalongan Town as the center of government is divided into 4 sub districts with 27 kelurahans, with 296,593 populations and 45.25 km² - wide area. The center of government is located in Mataram Street No.3, one complex with Mataram square. Meanwhile, Pekalongan Regency consists of 19 sub districts divided into 272 villages and 13 kelurahans. Regency territory is 836.13 km² wide, with population of 891,442 people. Government center is located in Kajen (Regency Capital), exactly in the center of Regency territory, about 28 km in the south of Pekalongan Town.

Pekalongan have also ever been residency capital, including some regencies: Brebes, Tegal, Pemalang, Pekalongan, and Batang (Castles, 1982: 73). The traces of residency history still can be seen around Jatayu square – in the downtown. In the west of square, there is old Dutch-style architecture with green open space and big trees grow shady around it resembling the city forest. This building was formerly Pekalongan Resident's official house, with the residency office in the east – currently functioning as batik museum.

Ex-Pekalongan Regency veranda (*pendopo*) is located in one same complex and integrated into the regent's official house in Nusantara Street No.1, in the south of town square (*alun-alun*) facing to the north. Two banyan trees grow big in the town square area opposite the regent's official house. Across the street, in the west of square there is Masjid Jami', an oldest mosque in Pekalongan that has been established since 1852. The architecture of mosque is reminiscent of Islamic centers in Middle East combining Javanese architecture and *kauman* kampong (hamlet) located around the mosque Castles, 1982: 73; Geertz, 2014: 188). Javanese merchants' residence is located around Kauman – as suggested by Koentjaraningrat (1994: 75 and 233), and Kauman Pekalongan is also one of batik production centers known nationally, called *Kampung Batik Kauman*.

The representation above reflects a Javanese ethic stating that *pranyata nagara kang ngungkuraké pagunungan, nêngênaké pasabinan, ngèringaké patêgalan lan ngayunaké bandaran gêdbé* (Haryanto, 1995: 227). In Javanese ethic, the regency complex in coastal area is located in the south of street, while *pendopo* and regent's house faces to north – facing the see. There are banyan trees inside the square area and a large masjid (mosque) was established in the western part of square with *kauman* kampong behind it (Kartodirjo et al, 1987: 28-29). Empirically, the pattern can be seen in both Pekalongan Municipal and Pekalongan Regency – it marks the Javanese cultural transformation still proceeding from one generation to the next. Even currently veranda (*pendopo*) building is constructed facing to the north (*ngungkuraké pagunungan*) in both Pekalongan. Superficially, a change can be found in the function of field and town square. If in the past the square is used only as the place to organize official events such as ceremony, leather puppet performance, for the troops to assemble, and etc. Therefore, the function of square now shifts to the public facilities that can be utilized by all classes of society. Although, everything changes rapidly, more widely, and abstractly, it is difficult to represent exactly anything change and how the changing process is. The only way possible is to reconstruct it – plaiting a variety of facts, interpreting them, until the idea is generated concerning anything usually occurring and still occurring until today. All of these are useful to establish the frame and definition of a subject matter, that Pekalongan is coastal city having changed in all aspects of life;

therefore it is difficult to label it specifically. What can be seen factually is a transitional process occurring, a preparation for dressing itself to adapt to the identity assumed as the World Creative Town.

Javanese Islam and Coastal Culture

The presence of Islam in Java, particularly Pekalongan, is inseparable from a long history of Islam's entry into archipelago. Considering the historical record, Islamization method used in Indonesia was through peaceful way (*penetration pacifique*) (Madjid, 1995: 67), without preceded by military expedition imposing Islam religion with violence (Ricklefs, 1995: 19). For that reason, Islam was more acceptable to the community as the peaceful religion with "gentle" characteristic and dominant Sufistic element. This condition is inseparable from Javanese geographical location becoming the meeting point of international marine trading in both East Java and Central Java (Gresik-Surabaya and Jepara-Demak) (De Graaf and Pigeaud, 1989: 11). This trading network meeting point is the strategic track for East and Middle East traders, making the coastal area the place where varying traditions coming from many different areas met.

Islam proselytizers along north beach, according to De Graaf and Pigeaud, came from South East Asia's east beach and some of them use Chinese name. As a result, Javanese coastal areas were visited by immigrants, particularly traders (merchants). These immigrants affected the structure of Javanese population and it can be seen mostly in coastal area (De Graaf and Pigeaud, 1989: 301-303). In addition, cultural contact between comers in coastal areas in Islam beginning period resulted in trade-off between local culture and external culture, thereby leading to dialogical process between the two. Eventually, Islam coming to Java was no longer Arab-tradition Islam, but it was the dialectic with Javanese tradition.

On the other hand, geographical condition of coastal area has very hot weather on the day but very cold at night or around early morning. The extreme change of temperature is the geographical consequence in coastal areas. Therefore, according to De Graaf and Pigeaud, there was difference between coastal and inland Javanese people since a long time ago (De Graaf and Pigeaud, 1989: 301-303). This difference, according to Thohir (2006: 37), has implication to community pattern and culture.

The culture of coastal community is different from *negarigung* and *mancanegari* culture. Although the three are located in Java Island, territorially coastal area is far from the Javanese (Mataram) Kingdom center. Consequently, coastal people have opened, simple, and egalitarian characteristics, compared with *negarigung* and *mancanegari* Javanese people tending to be gentler (softer) (Thohir, 2006: 37). This character resulted from dialectic between coastal Javanese culture and Islamic values reflected on the community life.

Another difference can be seen from the religious characteristic of *negarigung* and *mancanegari* communities that is syncretistic, and acculturative coastal that is acculturative. Non-static acculturation occurs between Javanese culture and Islam because community as the supporter of culture is dynamic in nature. So, acculturation occurs dialogically and results in dialectic Islam, or called reciprocal acculturation by Madjid (Madjid, 1995: 546). In addition, trading contact with Middle East trading network affects the belief system and becomes the reference to coastal Javanese people's behavior based on Islamic values (Thohir, 2006: 37).

The implication of the encounter between coastal people and comers particularly in trading area makes them opened, as an adapting strategy to survive in economic activity and their receptivity to Islam tenet from the merchants. Consequently, coastal area

becomes Islam growth base and has strongest Islamic feature (Ricklefs, 1995:11) or puritan (Thohir, 1999: 4). The religiosity expression of coastal people also has typical characteristic, as suggested by Madjid (1995: 544) that geographical and cultural condition affects the community's religiosity expression.

Theoretically, the relationship between geographical and cultural conditions of people has been long studied by Muslim scientists. For instance, Ibn Khaldun explained the relationship of geographical and climatologic effects and soil fertility condition of an area to community culture. In the frame, Ibn Khaldun divided earth into seven climatologic areas with their own characteristics having implication to the people's behavior in the area (Khaldun, 1981: 57-115). Syahristani (1992: 10) also revealed that human civilization is affected by the condition of area they reside. Nation residing in eastern hemisphere has culture different from those residing in western. Similarly, those living in southern area are different from those in northern.

Factually, Ibn Khaldun and Syahristani's views are found in Geertz's (1975: 25-29) study in Indonesia and Morocco. Geertz observed and compared Islam characteristics of the two states by illustrating two prominent figures: Sunan Kalijaga from Indonesia and Sidi Lahsen Lyusi from Morocco. Both figures represent two cultural characters of respective states with different climatologic as seen from their attitude and behavior. Sunan Kalijaga is represented as cool, tranquil, and peaceful, while Lyusi has stringent character. Both figures, according to people, represent their Islamism pattern, the one as *wali* and another as *sidi*. Both of them represent trusteeship (*kewalian*) element and have supernatural (sacred) ability as the result of *sufi* tenet, although Sunan Kalijaga tends to be syncretistic, while Lyusi to be aggressive.

Geertz's explanation is inseparable from climatologic fact indicating that Morocco is a dry desert country with tribalism life. Otherwise, Java is a peaceful and tranquil farming area. The empirical fact indicates that an area's geographical condition has an implication to its community's religiosity expression, just like what occurs in Pekalongan.

Religiosity Representation of Pekalongan People ***Islamic Expression of Pekalongan People***

An indicator of Pekalongan people's religiosity that can be seen empirically based on Ibn Khaldun, Syahristani, and Geertz's perspective is dressing tradition indicating obedient Muslim or *santri* identity. Most Pekalongan men wear *sarung* and *kopiah* in their daily activity, while women wear veil. Fashion style is one of factual religiosity expressions. In local cultural perspective, *sarung* and *kopiah* have been the symbol of people's Islamism intrinsically containing universal Islam values such as the obligation of covering aurat and local instrumental values, the material of *sarung* as clothing itself. Thus, the relationship between Universal Islam values and local instrumental values in the form of *sarung* clothing indicates the presence of Islam and Javanese cultural dialectic.

In addition, the form of dialectic Islam in Pekalongan people can also be seen in Javanese custom, the content of which has been "Islamized". This dialectic is not given but occurs dynamically through social interaction between actors in social intercourse and represents the power of Islam values actualized into empirical behavior within society. An example is *slametan* rite in Javanese custom to ask for peace or wellbeing (*salamah* – deriving from the same stem of *Islam* and *salam*) for the deceased (Madjid, 1995: 550). Referring to *Ushul Fiqh*'s convention, *al-'adah muhakkamah* (the custom is legalized) or *al-'adah syari'ah muhakkamah*, means custom or community's habit or local culture is the legal source of

Islam (Al-Khallaf, 1937: 90). However, the addressing of *slametan* is almost not found in Pekalongan people. Alternatively, they call it *tablilan* – deriving from word *tabli* with suffix *an* – indicating Arab language absorbed into Javanese language.

Tablilan is an activity of reading *lafadz La Ilaha Illa Allah* collectively on days-3, 7, 40, 100, and 1000 after an individual's death, like *slametan* pattern in Javanese tradition. However, because community life is dynamic in nature, *tablilan* pattern is not only static as the part of death ceremony but also routine activity in *masjid* and *mushala* every Thursday night (Friday eve). *Tablilan* is also conducted in turn in people's houses to fill in the citizen *arisan* (gathering) event. In addition *tablilan*, there is also *yasinan*, an activity of reading Surrah Yasin of Quran collectively with *tablilan*-like place and pattern.

Another rite coloring Pekalongan people's Islamism is *istigasab*, the activity of reading *dzikir* for the sake of realized expectation in life. Although it can be conducted individually, the implementation of *istigasab* is usually conducted in congregation. There is no certain pattern when *istigasab* is conducted just like *tablilan* or *yasinan*, as it is adjusted with individual's need and related to the life problem to be solved. Sometimes, Pekalongan people attend this activity outside the town, e.g. in one of *pondok pesantren* in Cirebon. *Istigasab* is held in the *pondok* every *Jumat Kliwon* (Kliwon Friday) eve led by a *kiai*. The participation of Pekalongan people, particularly batik business performers in *istigasab* is related to the dynamic of business they run. An entrepreneur told that he *sowan* (sees) the *kiai* in Cirebon to solve his business problem in batik sector. The *Kiai* recommends him to attend *istigasab* every *Jumat Kliwon* eve for 41 times successively. Pekalongan-Cirebon distance does not hinder him from achieving his objective. Through his diligence, spirit, and persistence, he successfully attended *istigasab* completely corresponding to the *Kiai*'s advice. Unconsciously, the problem he faces is solved gradually. It indicates the strong influence of a *kiai* in solving economic problem with spiritual approach.

Kiai's strong influence can also be seen in *dalailan* rite, the activity of reading *shalawat* by which the *kiai* gives *ijazah* (certificate) through *Dalail al-Khairat* written by Syekh Muhammad Sulaiman al-Jazuli. In a *pondok pesantren salaf* in Pekalongan Regency area, *dalail* is held every Tuesday night or Wednesday eve, at 10.00-11.30 a.m. People with different background attend this event, including governmental official, bureaucrat, batik business performer, farmer, *pondok pesantren* caretaker, teacher, lecturer, and etc. They also come from different age group (20-75 years), and from all Pekalongan areas and even from outside Pekalongan. This rite is centralized in the *kiai*. *Kiai* starts the even with reading *kitab* (holy book) followed by community (*jama'ah*), and then continues with explaining any thing related to the theme delivered. Next, *dalail* kitab is read in group or *muẓakarab* by origin area of individual *jama'ah*. The presence of *jama'ah* in *dalail* rite is "compulsory" in nature, as it is one of requirements to take the examination and to get *ijazah* (certificate) from *kiai*, fulfilling the presence frequency routinely in one-full year duration or at least 80% of presence. Having gotten *ijazah* from the *kiai*, *jama'ah* can implement the knowledge they have gotten individually at home. This rite aims mainly to get *syafa'at* (help) from Prophet Muhammad SAW and to get life wellbeing in both world and hereafter. Pekalongan people also actively attend *pengajian* event held weekly or monthly in *masjid* or *mushala* of respective areas. This *pengajian* pattern is uncertain because individual *masjids* and *mushalas* held *pengajian* at different time and with different material. *Pengajian* can be held on Wednesday morning by studying *fiqih* book with a *kiai* in an area. *Jemaahs* attending are relatively large in number and have varying age. Some other *mushalas* hold *pengajian* on Friday eve after *shalat isya'* and in the morning after *shalat shubuh*. In this routine *pengajian*

– locally called *ngaji kuping* – *jamaahs* only sit down and listen to material delivered by kiai. They often seem to be sleepy and even do not understand what the kiai say. However, attending the *pengajian* is ‘compulsory’ to them, for the sake of *ngalab berkah* (expecting blessing).

In *Pondok Pesantren salaf* in Pekalongan Regency area, routine *pengajian* is held for adult women on Tuesday morning. Thousands *jamaahs* coming from many areas in Central Java attend this event. Everyone comes from many directions by foot, motorcycle, car, public transportation, and even *delman* (two-wheeled buggy) going to the same place. So many people pass by surrounding the *pengajian* location and many sellers vend their commodity on the right and left of street, so that traffic jam is inevitable. An interesting view that can be seen during *pengajian* is the bottled water brought by *jamaah* and put in front of their seat with opened cap. Some others put the bottles around sound system where the voice gets out. They expect the kiai’s blessing through water they bring with, because *dzikir*, *shalawat* and other *kalimat thayyibah* (good sentences) are read during *pengajian*.

All religiosity expressions apparent in Pekalongan people are inseparable from their understanding on the meaning of blessing not merely abstract in nature but also understandable concretely as the form of goodness from anything they endeavor. An informant explained that blessing can be good fortune or livelihood, unceasing *sanggan* or improving economy, well-maintained family health, obedient children, inner tranquility, and all fulfilled wants. Their conception of blessing makes them spending time to attend *pengajian*. In addition to the *kiai*’s blessing, Pekalongan people also *ngalab berkah* from *habib*.

The role of Haba’ib in Pekalongan

Majority Pekalongan people are Javanese, but some of them are Arab and Chinese - I use term *Tionghoa* rather than Chinese ethnic just like the one used commonly, because *Chinese* refers to the Citizen of China or *People’s Republic of China* (PRC) state. Meanwhile, *Tionghoa* people in Indonesia are not Chinese citizens but Indonesian, and *Tionghoa* ethnic is one of ethnic diversity in Indonesia-, whose populations are almost equal. This ethnic diversity makes Pekalongan the multicultural community, by Savirani (2015: 85) called Indonesian synthesis with diverse ethnics and cultures, but living harmoniously. Arab ethnic is divided into two groups: *haba’ib* and non-*haba’ib*. *Haba’ib* is Arabs identifying themselves as the straight descent of Prophet Muhammad SAW. *Haba’ib* is engaged in religiosity affairs, while non-*haba’ib* in trading area and establishes Al Irsyad foundation contributing to education and health sectors in Pekalongan, e.g. Siti Khadijah Hospital.

An example of religious activity involving *habib* is the celebration of Islam Holy Day, particularly the celebration of Prophet Muhammad SAW’s birthday (*maulid*). In this event, Pekalongan people invite Habib Luthfi as the resource person. Habib Luthfi is a *mursyid* in tarekat Syadziliyah very popular in Pekalongan, Central Java, and even throughout Indonesia. Around Habib Luthfi’s residence there is a meeting hall called Kanzus Shalawat on which all activities are concentrated, one of which is *klivonan* – indicating one of day *neptu* in Javanese calendar corresponding to its implementation day, *Klivon Friday*. *Jama’ahs* of *klivonan* come from many areas throughout Indonesia. Buses connecting different cities in different provinces, public transportation, and private care fill the parking lot in highway around the organization of event. They come and fill the room, and even all roads in front of Kanzus Shalawat building are replete with people wearing white clothing. Consequently, the highway is closed totally and the traffic jam is inevitable due to traffic flow diversion. To enter into the venue, *jamaahs* are willing to walk some kilometers. The similarity seen in

all jamaah lies not only in their white clothing but also in how they bring water in the bottle during the event, and put it in front of them with opened cap. The view presented on our eyes strengthens the identity of Pekalongan as santri city.

In addition to the activity held in Kanzus Shalawat, habib Luthfi also receives guests coming to his residence. The guests assemble in the waiting room; most of them bring water in the bottle. Habi Luthfi goes down from the second floor, and the guests attending kiss Habib's hand, then tell the problem they face, while Habib listens to them thoroughly. While listening, Habib takes the water brought by the guests, open the cap, and whispers something to the bottle to bless the water to be drunk by the guests at home and tells them how to drink it, how many time, and when, and what pray they should read. Most guests coming are those finding trouble in business.

Another rite related to habib occurs during *nisfu sya'ban* (the night in the mid of Sya'ban month). Pekalongan town becomes very crowded with people passing by riding motorcycle, driving car, and walking wearing *sarung* and *kopiah*. They go to *Sapuro*, late Habib Ahmad's grave complex to take part in *khaul* commemoration. The mass also assembles in house of Habib Ahmad's son, Habib Baqir, a respected religious leader influential in political activities in Pekalongan.

To some people, an individual close to such religious figures as *kiai* and *habib* is categorized into *santri*. Their proximity is inseparable from most of their followers' perception that *kiai* is the ideal Muslim model they want to achieve due to their faith and piety. Meanwhile, more than that, habib is considered as the straight descent of Prophet Muhammad SAW. *Kiai* and *habib* are endowed with knowledge and God's mercy differently from common Muslims. It is in line with a businessman (H. Zain, interview: 29-12-2016) saying that "An individual's Islamism perfectness is not seen from his/her status, race, ethnic, or hajj, but his creed and piety". These creed and piety distinguish religious leaders from other Muslims.

An individual's proximity to religious figures also departs from the wish to *ngalab berkab* (expecting blessing). Most people also use the reason to hold *manakiban* or *dulkadiran* by inviting *kiai* or *habib*, just like Mr. H. Yasin's experience (interview: 9-12-2016). Pekalongan people's proximity to religious figures is also inseparable from business problem. An example by given by an expounder (Umar, interview: 26-8-2016) that "businessmen will run to religion when they deal with business trouble, despite formerly never being close to religious figures like *kiai* and *habib*". A businessman approaches *habib*, *kiai*, and *ulama* (Islam scholar) to solve their business problem. Therefore, the proximity to religious figures makes them called *santri* businessmen.

Such condition indicates *santri* businessman as a dynamic rather than static process, because to be a *santri*, he orients more toward active behavior in approaching religious figures, despite with very personal reasons. An individual's activeness can also be seen from *dzikir* implementation as modeled by religious figures, thereby making him an optimistic person. From the example above, this optimism is transferred by habib through predicting various opportunities expectable and emphasizing on hard work and good deed to establish relation with God. Thus, the role of *habib* in solving problem gives more motivation to generate an individual's ability of trying continuously and persistently, rather than how small human being is before the fate. Psychologically, *habib* teaches how to shorten the distance between servant and God and how to obtain spiritual power. This condition justifies Horikoshi's (1987: 228) finding that the involvement of religious figures in inculcating cultural values inside jamaah includes ethical and moral principles. In this

context, *kiai* and *habib* are believed as pious men with moral and spiritual superiority. People see them as charismatic saint and the extension of God's hand, thereby creating sacred image in them. People (*jamaah*) automatically will feel reluctant and respectful to them, comply with their say, and follow their step without command. Weber calls it *kiai's* charismatic authority, while Bourdieu calls it cultural capital (asset) (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Charisma is metaphysical and indefinable in nature, but can be seen from strong personality, strong influence, diligence, expressiveness, bravery, firmness, self-confidence, and stringent and energetic perspective (Horikoshi, 1987: 213). It is in contrast to Parsons' view that charisma is not metaphysical in nature but the quality of human being identifiable factually, as it is related to human's attitude and deed (Parsons, 1966: 668-669).

In cultural perspective, *kiai* is a symbolic leader, according to Geertz, serving as cultural broker to filter information current in santri's life. However, when information flows very swiftly and is impossible to filter, *kiai* will have cultural lag. It is confirmed by Horikoshi (1987: 6) emphasizing on *kiai's* active role in supporting the social change – not only restraining the change current – through creating education and economic opportunities within community. The role of *kiai*, according to Horikoshi (1987: 238-246), is getting more strategic because *kiai* has broad social network, human resource and financial support, and political recognition from local rich elite and military. The role is played by *kiai* and *habib* in Pekalongan; more than that the one can be read factually is psychological role related to business problem solving dealt with by Pekalongan people.

In contrast, an expounder analogizes the people seeing *kiai* or *habib* with the ones who want to be cured from disease and see a doctor (clinician). Considering his/her scholarship, a clinician will give prescription to be consumed, explain healthy lifestyle such as doing physical exercise regularly, consuming nutritious food, maintaining sleeping pattern, consuming supplement, and etc. If it is implemented, they will get healthy life automatically. The analogy indicates that what makes an individual healthy is not merely the clinician's ability of prescribing the drug to be consumed, but also exercise and the individual's self control. So, in this context, it is not magic element of the *amalan* (good deed) prescribed by *kiai* or *habib* that enable him to get out of their problem, but his determination and sincere endeavor that will enable the ability to find the way out of life problem deadlock.

Thus, this is not to say that the businessmen approaching *kiai* and *habib* tend to be fatalistic or *jabariyah*, because *amalan* prescribed by *kiai* and *habib* they should do to get out of the business trouble requires them to exert their effort as much as possible or have *qadariyah* perspective.

The representation above shows that social interaction established between *kiai* and *habib*, and religious community including batik business performers is divided into three domains: religious, social, and economic. Their roles in religious and social areas are interconnected as the consequence of religious figures' moral and social responsibility as the heirs of prophets – in Geertz' term called *cultural broker* and in Horikoshi's term called the agent of change. Meanwhile, in economic domain, their role is not related directly to economic issue, but to businessmen's psychological condition.

Religious figures' proximity to Allah SWT makes them rich spiritually. The wealth will be transferred to those needing spiritual touch. Spirituality dimension here is not seen as the objective of scholarship, but the quality of understanding on an individual's creed that is primordial in nature and always connected to the Merciful. Therefore, from the

touch does the suggestion result in the form of optimism inside those with life problems, so that they can wake up and get out of the problem, because the cosmic energy of pious persons emits to the ones in the closest zone and exerts tranquilizing effect.

In this frame, to batik business performers, approaching *kiai* or *habib* is a smart choice to save and to put them onto respected position within community. This choice is based on ontological belief that the existence of human beings in principle is individual, personal, and subjective. Meanwhile, the action taken is a choice based on not merely ratio but also spontaneous emotion and even spiritual considerations. When an individual approaches *kiai* and *habib* by implementing their tenets, it is not to say that his/her rationality function weakens but utilizes all instruments he/she has as much as possible in order to perceive the divine (*Illahi*) energy emission. This occurs in Islamism dynamic of Pekalongan community.

Characteristics of Pekalongan Coastal Javanese Islam

A business performer's proximity to religious figures builds on various interests, one of which is economic problem, as suggested by them that "economy is fluctuating like beach wave", some of them calls it like "wheel rotation sometimes above and sometimes in the bottom". On certain months – for example around Ramadhan month, sale volume usually will increase, but it can likely decrease for certain business performers. The underlying factor is undetected. Therefore, business performers need spirituality touch from a *kiai* and *habib*. This dialectic between business and spirituality underlies the prevalent religiosity activities within community. For that reasons, the religiosity activities actually containing spiritual values are sometimes reduced into the profit oriented ones, expectedly to make the business running smoothly, the wish realized, or wellbeing and blessing achieved.

The representation of Pekalongan people's rituality indicates the form of symbolic spiritualism. If all religious expressions are traced and in turn connected to people's conception on Islam tenet, there will be contradictory values within. The contradiction occurs not only in mind just like the result of understanding, but contradiction is on empirical level in the rites they do. One of indications can be seen from the topic of *pengajian* emphasizing on Islam law or *fiqh* aspect. Meanwhile, other rite has Sufism aspect leading more to inner (spiritual) aspect in Islam tenet. Viewed from ontological, epistemological, and axiological aspects, there is a difference between the two. While, *fiqh* emphasizes more on formal aspect of worship (exoteric), *tasawuf* emphasizes more on spiritual (inner) aspect or religious substance (esoteric). From epistemological aspect, *fiqh* make *bayani* its epistemology, while *tasawuf* uses *irfani* epistemology. Moreover, viewed from axiological perspective, *fiqh* orientation is *pahala* (reward) mathematics, while *tasawuf* orients to finding direct and intense relationship with God.

Pekalongan people's rituality as explained above reveals double faces. On the one hand, they want to get closer to Allah SWT through a variety of religion rites. On the other hand, they expect reward and blessing so that all of their wishes they say in pray will be granted by Allah SWT. Consistent with *tasawuf* tenet, the orientation of all human beings' life should be on finding the direct relationship with Him (God) only, rather than on other factors such as economic. However, economic motives seem to underlie the rite they undertake. Thus, there is a dialectic understanding and mixed intentions of doing worship. It can be said that they emphasize on the symbols of piety in worshipping by reducing the

meaning of worship itself. The final output is a dialectical Islam with symbolic spiritualism pattern.

Another form that can represent symbolic spiritualism can be seen from Pekalongan people's wish to perform hajj to Makkah (Mecca) the holy land. Many people perform hajj annually. However, according to most Pekalongan people, they pay attention more to the symbol of piety after hajj implementation. It is because the symbolism of hajj becomes religious and social assets in social interaction. So, the important point is not the meaning of hajj itself. Hajj is the last Islam principle and the requirement to be fulfilled is physical and financial abilities. The implication is that only people with such ability can perform hajj. Without financial support, it is very impossible for people to go to holy land. Socially, having performed hajj they will be considered as the rich one. Meanwhile religiously, their Islamism has been perfect. This religious and social implication makes a hajj occupying the high social stratum within society, a steady and prominent person.

Despite only one-time obligation of going to holy land in lifetime, many Pekalongan people perform hajj several times. Consequently, not only the frequency of hajj they perform but also the status obtained becomes very important, because having performed hajj they will be called haji or hajjah (*Pak Kaji* or *Bu Kaji* in Javanese). Savirani's study found that most Pekalongan people perform hajj to Makkah annually for the social status reason. A Chinese owner of shop selling chemical dye said that he always records the name of people performing hajj annually; thereby he will call them *kaji* in turn. "They really love this addressing (*Kaji*)" the Chinese shop owner said (Savirani, 2015: 90). So, addressing *Pak Kaji* and *Bu Kaji* is the honor addressing. They will be very sensitive if the addressing *Kaji* is not mentioned before their name or when they are not called *Pak Kaji* and *Bu Kaji*.

To Pekalongan people, hajj status has high selling price within society. Hajj status contains the symbol of religiosity reputation and is closely related to their social status in business realm. Religiously, hajj symbolism indicates the pious person with perfect Islamism. Therefore, he will be believed as the pious one or the prospect heaven resident. Even a haji will borrow money more easily from others in their informal business network, because people believe that a haji will not deceive or will never be insolvent. It is confirmed by Sofiani (2012) in her result of research on *ngemplang* culture among Pekalongan batik business performers citing their common statement " "*mosok wis kaji kok pak ngapusi konco yo rak mungkein rha (he has been a haji, so he will impossibly deceive)*".

I also got an explanation about a *haji* from an expounder (interview, 26-8-2016), saying that "compared with other Islam tenet, *haj* is greater, more prestigious, *dadi* (so) if batik boss has not performed hajj yet, his boss predicate has not been complete, *mangkane deweke priye corone yo lungo kaji ndisik* (therefore, he will take any attempt to perform hajj first), in order to be called *batik boss* completely". In sociological perspective, it indicates the relationship between an individual and community based on more the position and social status of those who have performed hajj. The importance of an individual's status in social life leads more easily to personal identification with status dignity. The dignity should be shown off and people become more sensitive to the honor to be given to them. The honor (respect) is "their face", in the sense of they have been haji with any piety attributes accompanying it personally and publicly.

All representations above as if confirm the critique thrown up by Crawford on Muslim (Islam community), as written by Ricklefs (2013: 39-40): "...The pilgrimage to Makkah is often performed by Javanese people and all of other Muhammad's followers particularly not for piety reason but for social position and various facilities obtained by

those who have performed pilgrimage within society". All empirical phenomena of hajj worship with social interpretation as aforementioned indicate the typical Islamism pattern of Pekalongan People.

CONCLUSION

The religiosity rite intensity of Pekalongan coastal Javanese Islam community shows strong Islamism portrait like Ricklefs' perspective or called Puritan by Thohir. It is inseparable from geographic condition of coastal area affecting the community's culture and empirically manifested into dialectic Islam with symbolic spiritualism pattern. This finding complements Geertz's work addressing syncretistic Islam, Woodward's about acculturative Islam, Madjid's about reciprocal acculturation, and Syam's about collaborative Islam.

Dialectic Islam construct with symbolic spiritualism pattern is typical coastal Javanese Islamism with very prominent spirituality elements, as the consequence of coastal geographical location underlying the growth of Islam. Symbolic spiritualism can be seen from Sufistic- dimensioned physical expression with symbolic interpretation. Spirituality implemented is not merely tasawuf-oriented, but also stores certain hopes in all aspects of life, including batik business. Thus, dialectic conception arises and it implies the dialectic of various worship intentions because they often feature pragmatic motives such as profit oriented, emphasize the symbol of piety in worship by negotiating the meaning of worship itself, e.g. in hajj worship. The final output is a dialectic Islam with symbolic spiritualism.

If Islamic values implemented are called the manifestation of piety (*taqwa*), it can be conceived as God Consciousness or the consciousness of Omnipresent God in every measure taken by human beings. But, the concept of *taqwa* is fulfilled not only with physical obedience because the noble character does not need quasi-formalism but also with spiritual or esoteric obedience. Meanwhile, in cultural perspective, to Pekalongan people, Islam functions not only as value system protecting the people life but also as the solution and effective means of solving life problems, including economic problem. Justifying Geertz's argument that religion functions not merely to be ethical foundation but also the source of moral vitality, giving an individual the power to assume emotional stress by giving the way out of life deadlock, although offering not empirical but supernatural solution. It is the power of Islam face in Pekalongan coastal Javanese people's life.

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