The Spirituality of *Mafia Shalawat*; A Crisis Solution of Modern Society

Mambaul Ngadimah

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo, No.156 Kec. Siman, Jalan Pramuka, Ronowijayan, Siman, Kabupaten Ponorogo, East Java, 63471, Indonesia

Email: mngadhimah@gmail.com

**Abstract:** Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975) argued that the civilized world will not collapse by conquest from without, but by moral decay from within. The destruction of modern civilization is caused by the removal of nature, the decline of humanity, the moral decadence, and the loss of the relationship between man, nature and God. The history of religions proves that religion is the soul of man, is an effective therapy for people with the crisis of modernity. This paper is to analyze the local wisdom of Islamic music art *Mafia Shalawat* from Ponorogo Regency East Java Indonesia. *Mafia Shalawat* as a community of Islamic music art proved able to compete in the entertainment industry in Indonesia and expanded extensively in the surrounding district, even has appeared in Japan, Korea, and Hong Kong. *Mafia Shalawat* presents musical art, Sufi dance, religious songs, mass healing, and Islamic *da'wah* to serve the spiritual needs of the community through collaboration with *ulama*, government, faith-based organizations, and marginalized communities. Through populist religious trends, *Mafia Shalawat* proved able to be an alternative solution for internal-external religious conflict, the crisis of modernity both physiological, safety, social, self-esteem and self-actualization. The *Mafia Shalawat* is also used as a medium of *da'wah* of *Nahdlatul 'Ulama*; the most massive Islamic religious organization in Indonesia. It means of inculcating the values of *Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* as the antithesis of puritan *Wahhabism* that tends to inspire fanaticism, fundamentalism, exclusivism, intolerance, militancy and mass radicalization (Islamo-Fascist).

**Keywords:** Mafia Shalawat, Solution

1. Introduction

The diversity both of race, ethnicity, language, religion, and belief is the source of the power of Indonesian civilization. This variety becomes the foundation the symbol of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, even though our nation is diverse but still one. The pluralistic, multicultural, tolerant, creative and innovative Indonesian characters can create local cultural peculiarities such as reading shalawat. *Shalawat* as one of the Islamic rituals performed as a realization of Muslim love of Prophet Muhammad SAW. Which is read in conjunction with mandatory worship (*mahduhit*) and *sunna* worship (*ghoiru mahdhoii*). The lyrics of *sholawat* itself are formulated in various ways, some are taken directly from the source of the Qur'an (33:56), al-Hadith Muslim number 577, and others are the result of *ijthad ulama*. The various poetry of *shalawat*, reading techniques, reading time, the benefits obtained for the reader gave birth to multiple ways in *sholawat* has become a culture for Indonesian Muslims since hundreds of years ago (starting 7th century AD).

Ponorogo Regency is located 200 km southwest of Surabaya capital of East Java province. As the City of Santri, Ponorogo has a total of 21,660 students, with details of 78.93% living in pesantren and 21.07% of santri residing at home. Ponorogo also has a folk art that is The Art of Reog which is unique, full of magic, mystical, and entertaining all citizens of society. Reog has become the world’s entertainment destination through the ‘National Reog Festival’ along with the holding of people's party to coincide with the ‘Grebeg Suro Ceremony’ on every 1 to 10 Muharram, Hijriah. The population of Ponorogo is quite large, as many as 865,809 people in 2014. The human resources are at the same time vulnerable to various problems of education, economy, health, social, and security. Overseas workers (TKIs known as foreign exchange heroes) by 2015 number 4,039 people, with details of...
2.352 women working in Taiwan, 1.106 women working in Hong Kong, 581 operating in Arab and Southeast Asian countries. The potential of Indonesia's massive workforce is a blessing for the economic development of the Ponorogo region, on the other hand, there are still problems for the children and husbands of migrant workers. According to the records of the Islamic Courts a total of 49 youths requested dispensation to marry; a total of 1,195 divorce cases in July 2015.

The grand tour results found that various morality problems such as teens free sex, liquor, gambling, adultery, fighting between Pencak Silat Winongo and Pencak Silat Setia Hati Teratai, becoming a form of escape from feelings of stress, sadness, anxiety, loneliness, doubts on teenagers and adults. These social and psychological problems encourage The Nahdlatul Ulama’ Youth Association (IPNU-IPPNU) and Anshor Youth Movement (GP Ansor) to take action. They joint with NU Ponorogo and Kyai H. Mohammad Ali Shodikin from Semarang Central Java to establish the art of Mafia Shalawat music as a medium of Islamic da’wah in solving the problem of moral decadence, psychological pressure, the socio-religious of Ponorogo society. Mafia Sholawat means manunggaling ati lan pikiran ing ndalemshalawat, or Heart and mind fused in the shalawat. Mafia Shalawat has been declared by Drs. K.H. Mohammad Ali Shodiqin with all elements of Nahdliyyin organisation on November 9, 2013, at Suromenggolo street of Ponorogo East Java Indonesia.

The tradition of reading shalawat for the traditional society steadily grew in the modern era; it is assumed that current society requires a spray of spirituality through religious ceremonies, as the solution of various problems of living pressures, spiritual illness, social, physical, and mental illness. Some experts argue: The modern era is characterised by the advancement of science and technology, has brought significant changes in all aspects of human life, where everything is more straightforward, more comfortable, effective, efficient, and able to improve welfare. Unfortunately, according to Fromm, the 21st century is the beginning of the period of cessation of human nature as human beings, human beings have been transformed into machines that do not think and have no feelings. G.W.F. Hegel believes that man is essentially a universal spirit. The loss of the universality of human nature causes him to isolate himself from the essence of nature, characterized by feelings of mercy, dehumanization due to infinite technology, spiritual illness, spiritual ailments or hollow man.

The social problems that exist in modern society such as greed, exploitation, looting, destroying each other, materialistic hedonism, nihilism, causing a loss of meaning in life and gave birth to the feelings of anxiety, loneliness, boredom, the deviation of moral values. It would have an impact on the incidence of psychosomatic illness as a combination of physical and mental illness, as the syndrome, trauma, dependency against sedative, stress, psychological pressure, and crazy. According to Berger (1994) historically religion is the most effective tool of legitimacy, symbolically that gives meaning to human life, explaining the most comprehensive and holistic of reality, such as death, suffering, tragedy, and injustice. Religion is a sacred canopy that protects humanity from chaos, a situation without meaning. According to Comte, although the formal religious charm experienced highs and lows, the modern society will able to know God more deeply in the depths of the soul by processing and be presenting the dogma of religion in a new formulation that is spirituality. Spirituality become the idol of worship in modern society in the last decade.

2. Method

This scientific work uses a phenomenological approach, as Creswell argues that qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on the distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting.

The phenomenology approach in this work is used by researchers to express the meaning of behaviour that exists in the Mafia Shalawat community, and its unique context relates to individual spiritual experiences, techniques to overcome physical, psychological and social problems. The data is compiled based on observations and in-depth interviews to explore the point of view, paradigm,
beliefs of the individual concerned as a direct subject (epoche). The author also removes all judgments on the matter carefully and patiently in understanding the meaning of the subject’s experience and asks the question to explain his or her knowledge. After the data on Mafia Shalawat collected all, researchers conducted a data analysis consisting of the stages of analysis and then reported in the form of scientific work.

3. Findings and Discussion

3.1. Community efforts Mafia Shalawat in solving the problems of modern society

In the opening has been written that various morality problems such as teens free sex, liquor, gambling, adultery, fighting between Pencak Silat Winongo and Pencak Silat Setia Hati Teratai, becoming a form of escape from feelings of stress, sadness, anxiety, loneliness, doubts on teenagers and adults. As several studies have been done and the results of several studies suggest that, The problem of youth moral decadence in Ponorogo, like a vicious circle that never dropped out from time to time, even the day the more complicated and sophisticated. Globalization trends supported the sophistication of information technology, communication and transportation, as well as easy access to a modern lifestyle that materialists and hedonists, giving positive and negative effects on the life of a teenager. Several patterns of youth moral decadence among others: (1) ordinary delinquency, for example, in violation of school rules and ethics, left the house without saying goodbye, fighting, watching pornography, (2) Misconduct which leads to violations of the norms of law, in violation of traffic rules (do not have a license, not wearing a helmet, running red lights, speeding), theft and soon. (3) Delinquency weight, such as alcoholism, promiscuity among youths (free sex), the battle between the college martial arts, etc.

These social and psychological problems encourage NU youths such as the Nahdatul Ulama’ Youth Association (IPNU-IPPNU) and Anshor Youth Movement (GP Ansor) to get involved with NU Ponorogo and Kyai H. Mohammad Ali Shodikin from Semarang Central Java to establish the art of Mafia Shalawat music in 2013. In solving the crisis of modernity Mafia Shalawat Ponorogo has attempted, Firstly, set Base Camp at home Sugeng Hariono one of the NU leaders who have business Branch Ponorogo Electric Services. Secondly, the NU youth composed a schedule for casual and routine discussions interrupted reading shalawat with beautiful song lyrics while singing percussive music, practising the Sufi dance (Jalaluddin Rumi). The event was hosted by the eccentric Kyai Ali Shodikin and the NU leaders. The interest of NU youth is so great to discuss how the techniques of educating youth and society to avoid falling into deviant behaviour and psychological diseases. Finally, this discussion concludes that the method of teaching youth and the broader community is to give spiritual radiance, providing entertainment by modern demands so that teenagers do not flee moral and ethical violations. To realize the plan, He was agreed that the Mafia Shalawat music concern on the art of Islamic music, with Semut Icreng music group from Semarang, Sufi Dancers from each region, spiritual injections from Gus Ali from Semarang, mass treatment or public healing, and instilling the values of Ahsussunnah wa-al-Jama’ah.

The global era is characterized by the ease of accessing information, communications, materialistic and hedonistic modern lifestyles that have fueled the problem of moral decadence, dehumanization, and psycho-social diseases in Ponorogo. This forces the Mafia Shalawat to play an active role in building the spirituality of community of Ponorogo through the art of reading shalawat. Mafia Shalawat assures his audience that someone who wants to learn shalawat his prayer will be answered, forgiven all his sins through the repentance of nasuha (not repeated), healed from various mental illnesses, and his soul becomes calm. Mass conversion and treatment of Mafia Shalawat is a form of honesty and sincerity of those who want to get out of the shackles of hypocrisy, whether as street children, naughty children, thugs, former gamblers, former drinkers, and even some of them are retired prostitutes. They do so to get the peace of life and free themselves from worldly pressures and problems.
Kyai Ali Shodikin preaching that is not patronizing, accompanied by musical entertainment of *Semut Ireng*. Sufi dance, audience movements together, make them entertained and grows pleasant feeling. Because every opportunity is always accompanied by a diverse reading of shalawat poetry, pop songs, Sufi dances, tausiah that contain the value of monotheism, prayer, repentance, and treatment. Yusuf al-Qaradawi argues (1995), the spiritual power of manisdivine, centred in the heart or qalb, fi’ad, or al-ruh (QS Shad [38]:71-72), this is what causes humans became creatures perfect, superior and unique (*al-Mukminun* [23]:14). The sanctity of the human heart should always be trained to remember God. Constantly, fear of retaliation and retribution, and hopeful, optimistic mercy and forgiveness. Human spirituality can be sharpened with: (1) *al-imanal-`amiq*, which strengthened the faith in God. To monotheism and in all matters only depend on Him; (2) *al-ittishalal-wathiq*, which is in constant communication with God through compulsory worship (*al-mafrudhat*) or Sunnah worship (*al-mandubat*). (3) *tathhiral-qalb*, continuously cleanses themselves from liver disease. In this case is or Sunnah worship (*al-mandubat*). *Mafia Shalawat* has a huge market segment, in every show of *Mafia Shalawat* watched some 5,000 to 17,000 people. They are made up of the *nahdliyyin* community, youth, and marginal society. The unique and exciting *Mafia Shalawat Da`wah* arts received a positive response and support from various parties, including ulama, government, youth NU, *muslimat*, and police. This support of multiple parties brings the Mafia Shalawat community to grow and expand widely in various districts in East Java, Central Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and even in 2016 *Mafia Shalawat* began performing abroad such as Japan, Korea and Hong Kong.

3.2. The concept of spirituality that the Mafia Shalawat offers

Spirituality according to the language of the spirit of the word meaning 'soul' can be defined as a human spiritual an experience of meaning, purpose and morality. Waajman traditionally defines spirituality as the reform process that aims to restore the original shape of a human, that is the image of God. Spirituality as the original form of humanitally only associated with the Abrahamic religions: the Torah in Judaism, Christianity in Christ, the teachings of Muhammad in Islam, and Buddhism in the Buddhist. Spirituality is developed in the context of his time, Waajman asserted in modern times connotes spirituality mix, between humanistic, mystical and esoteric traditions in eastern religions to get prosperity, personal development, and internal experience of the individual. In this case, the transformation of the meaning of spirituality is separated from the formal religious institutions that already exist or "spiritual but not religious". Spirituality in Sufism perspective is called the'soul'or'spirit'. Ruh having united with the body raises the body's needs are built by the spirit, on eneeds to believe in God. According to Nasr,because the soul is spiritual and impressed Supreme Size, then untouchable and beyond. Ruh be the venue for anything confidential. In the language of Sufism, the spirit is something esoteric, batiniah, mental and spiritual nature. The spiritual dimension is what motivates the faithful to find the way of life to obtain happiness life inwardly and outwardly over the world to the hereafter.

Spirituality that *Mafia Shalawat* builds to the public using the popular Culture Trends approach, wherein every display the art of reading the shalawat is (a) accompanied by traditional music like ketipung, tambourine, violin, bass, keyboard, flute, and so on. (b) There are various lyrics of shalawat songs in Javanese, Indonesian and Arabic languages modified with *Hadrah* songs, Middle Eastern melodies, interspersed with non-boring pop songs, looks like world-renowned bands equipped with sound system 20,000 mega-watts, in the vast public space usually on the square. (c) Sufi dances filled with the concentration in *dhikr*, by rotating the limbs 180 degrees continuously with a duration of time between 10 to 30 minutes. Religious advice by Kyai Ali Shodikin which is not patronizing in the Javanese language to instil spiritual values and healing physical and mental illness. This new style of spirituality is in high demand among young people, and marginalized people or Geertz calls it an *abangan Islam*. From here it can be underlined that the holiness of *Mafia Shalawat* was build spirituality mix, between humanistic, mystical and esoteric traditions in eastern religions to get prosperity, personal development, and internal experience of the individual.
To achieve spiritual experience joyfully and convincingly, the one must carry out the predetermined rules of shari'a and implementing various ceremonies or rituals. Religious expertise will bring someone loving heart characterized by gentleness and sensitivity. Love someone would give birth to "love" for one another regardless of race, colour, ethnicity and religion. Esotericism substance religions are one and the same. The difference lies in the application of esotericism which raises exotic religion. In this exotic aspect raises religious plurality. In which every religion has the same goal, and the goal is to achieve the degree of being close to Allah SWT.

The British historian has managed to prove his thesis that, great civilizations are in a cycle of birth, growth, collapse, and ultimately death. Some of the critical culture extinct according to Toynbee, the results of his research on 21 primary culture of the world, showed 19 of the 21 civilizations had been destroyed (collapsed), including the Western civilization is now moving towards extinction. The collapse of world civilization not happened by conquest from without, but by moral decay from within. He asserted that the crisis suffered by the people of Europe in modern times was primarily due to spiritual poverty, the most appropriate therapy is merely returning to the teachings of religion. Based on the theory of social action propaganda of Mafia Shalawat Ponorogo meet the needs of safety, love and belonging, self-esteem, self-actualization and fulfillment thirst for spiritual through religious activities such as reading a blessing, prayer, accompanied by percussion and Sufi dance. It can be as the solutions to the problems of modernity in the form of moral decadence, demoralization, misconduct and another psycho-social disease among adolescents and adults in Ponorogo.

The shalawat reading technique is usually done with soft, courteous and khudzur. This is different in the appearance of Mafia Shalawat in reading shalawat is usually sung with a loud voice together between Kyai Ali with the audience while dancing with moving head and hands on the top, this caused a positive and negative reaction from various Muslims. Apart from the negative views of some of these groups, the reality of Mafia Shalawat can respond and adapt to the Islamic doctrine with popular culture, namely 'the art of reading sholawat' or shalawat which is packed in a song, modern music and dance style Sufi Jalaluddin Rumi. Creativity Mafia Shalawat able to give birth to the art of unique new style Islamic music, favoured by many people either among youth or adults. Mafia Shalawat also has a lot of resources to meet market demand, opening up various market opportunities in Indonesia and abroad, as a consequence they also get the value of material benefits. This action proves that Mafia Shalawat can adapt and follow popular culture trend with new style sholawat art to survive in the modern era.

3.3. Mafia Shalawat's contribution

Weber formulated the sociology as a science that seeks to interpret and understand (verstehen) of social action and social inter relationships to arrive at a causal explanation (interpretative understanding). From this definition contains two basic concepts: First, the idea of social action, secondly, the interpretation and understanding of the concept of social action. According to Max Weber's theory of social action, individual actions are all actions that have meaning or subjective meaning for himself and directed to the effort of others. Social action possible actions that are directed toward another person, or in the form of activities which "thought" or subjectively that may occur due to the positive influence of a particular situation. In fact, sometimes it can be repeated deliberate acts under the control of a similar situation or passive in certain conditions. Weber distinguishes two basic concepts to understand the interpretation of the meaning of social action, act rationally and emotionally action (non-rational). First, the rational course of action is to understand the effect by direct observation. According to Weber, the concept of rationality is the key to an objective analysis of the subjective meaning and is also the basis for comparison of the different types of social action. Second, the understanding is descriptive. Particular action actor is placed on a sequence of motivation can be understood, an agreement can be regarded as a description of reality ongoing behaviour.
Weber saw social reality as something based on the motivation of the individual and social action. By the concept of rationality, the rational act of a person, the more comfortable to understand, Weber classifies social action in to four types:1) instrumental rationality;2) The value-orientation rationality;3) Measures effective;and4) the traditional measures. In every missionary in the Mafia Shalawat, Kyai Ali Shodikin always has an interest to instil the ideological values of Ahlus Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah as a doctrine that is believed to be true, because it has a sanad or connected accurately to Rasulullah Muhammad SAW. For example, in running the Shari'ah may follow one of the schools: Hanafi, Maliki, Hanbali or Shafi'i. The religious rituals of society are believed to be true, and the charity is accepted by Allah SWT.

The phenomenon of Islamic indigenization movement, which was accommodating and responsive to tradition is a common symptom for maintaining harmony and avoiding the radical actions that disturb. As explained Stephen Schwartzin "The Two Faces of Islam", he describes the complex history of philosophical differences religious Muslims has spawned repertoire depth of the traditional belief that accommodating-tolerant, Wahhabism puristswho ten radicalof "Islamo-fascist" has sprung up over one thousand five hundred years until now. Awareness of The Jamaah Mafia Shalawat Ponorogo at the movement of Islamic purification by 'Wahhabism' is essentialt reinforces the belief of Ahlus Sunnah wa Ummah an-Nahdliyah to unearth the values of aqidah, syariah, and morality to establish the physical and spiritual health, and to achieve harmony in social life. Gus Ali explains that the motivation of Mafia Shalawat is "Market Brands" or propaganda of himself and his friends, especially those whose ideology Ahlus Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah an-Nahdliyyah (ASWAJA). The history proved that ASWAJA is th only Islamic ideology, that is capable of becoming a mercy for all (rahmatan lil 'alamin). It can protect the diversity of beliefs in any country, including Indonesia. Our nation can be united, live in harmony, peace, tolerance, for the realization of the Unity Republic of Indonesia. According to the word of God."..wa mā ārsalnāka illā rahmatan lil 'alāmin". The conversely Muslim country whose ideology 'Wahhabi or Shia', in the state are vulnerable to conflicts among Muslims.

Popular Religion offered Mafia Shalawat is indigenization shalawat through art, the variety of songs created for the sake of Da'wah Islamiyah. According to A. Baso, indigenization understood as an appreciation of the local traditions of dialogue with orthodoxy [19]. Various songs Mafia Shalawat be sung to the rhythm shahdu, full of longing and love for Rasulullah SAW. With the rhythm of joy which is almost like the rhythm of the Middle East, combined syiir Java, interspersed with songs slow rock to the accompaniment of percussion result of collaboration: tambourine, hadroh and marawis. Consists of: guitars, keyboards, tambourine, violin, bass, ketipung, marawis, Marawis waist mashed, cybal and tambourine, drums, and drums. Through this indigenization Javanese Muslim harmony is built, following Hodgson opinion, Islam has penetrated so quickly and deeply into the structure of Javanese culture as being held by the palace as the basis for a theocratic state. So that Islam becomes the dominant power in the rite sand beliefs of Java, Islam helped shape the character of social interaction and social life of the whole people of Java, which is a model of popular religion. Sufism or Islamic mysticism form the core beliefs of the State (state cult) and the royal theory.

4. Conclusion

This research found that 'The Art of Shalawat' born in Ponorogo in 2013 could grow and thrive. Because the creativity and ability can adapt to the trend of popular religion and the popular culture through 'The Art of Shalawat' is used as a medium of propaganda for community nahdliyyin and the people of the periphery. Shalawat as religious doctrines consider very useful for overcoming the modern crisis, as the spiritual poverty therapy, psycho-social treatment, alienation, and moral degradation. Rationality of Mafia Shalawat action in building a contemporary society spirituality also motivated to instil the values of Ahl Sunnahwaal- Jama'ah as the anti-thesis of Wahhabism purists who inspired fanaticism and fundamentalism, exclusivism, intolerance, militancy and radicalization of the masses or Isamo-Fascists.
5. References

[1] Al-Qusyairiy M ibn A-H 2000 Sahih Muslim. New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan.

[2] Rohmah EY 2010 PERKEMBANGAN PSIKOLOGIS ANAK MI/SD: STUDI ATAS DAMPAK KEPERGIAN IBU SEBAGAI TKW KE LUAR NEGERI. Kodifikasi 4 (1) 1–20.

[3] Mahfiana L 2015 PEREMPUAN DAN DISKRIMINASI (Studi Kebijakan Pemerintah Daerah dalam Penghapusan Diskriminasi Terhadap Perempuan). Al’-Adl 8 (2) 110–122.

[4] Fromm E, Prihantoro A 2001 Konsep manusia menurut Marx: disertai terjemahan: economic and philosophical manuscripts-Karl Marx. Pustaka Pelajar.

[5] Schacht R 2009 Alienasi: Sebuah Pengantar Paling Komprehensif. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.

[6] Berger PL, Luckmann T 1994 Langit Suci: Agama sebagai Realitas Sosial (diterajemahkan dari buku asli Sacred Canopy oleh Hartono). Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES

[7] Pals DL 2001 Seven Theories of Religion, terj. Ali Noer Zaman. Yogyakarta Qalam

[8] Herdiansyah H 2010 Metodologi penelitian kualitatif untuk ilmu-ilmu sosial. Jakarta: Salemba Humanika

[9] Al-Qardhawi Y, Maufur M 1996 Islam peradaban masa depan. Pustaka Al-Kautsar.

[10] Waaijman K 2002 Spirituality: Forms, foundations, methods. Peeters Publishers.

[11] Zastrow CH 1999 The Practice Work. University of Wisconsin, An International Thompson Publishing Company, White Water.

[12] Nasr SH, Tuhan A 2005 Manusia, dan Alam: Jembatan Filosofis dan Religius Menuju Puncak Spiritual, diterjemahkan oleh Ali Noer Zaman. Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD

[13] Anas A 2003 Menguak Pengalaman Sufistik. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

[14] Toynbee AJ 1987 A study of history. Oxford University Press.

[15] Ritzer G, Goodman DJ 2004 Teori sosiologi modern. Jakarta: Prenada Media.

[16] Turner BS 2003 Agama dan Teori Sosial. Rangka-Pikir Sosiol. dalam Membaca Eksistensi Tuhan di antara Gelegar Ideol. Kontemporer. Terj. Inyiak Ridwan Muizir. Yogyakarta IRCiSoD

[17] Schwartz S 2002 The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa’ud from Tradition to Terror. Random House LLC.

[18] Faltis CJ 1989 Code-switching and bilingual schooling: An examination of Jacobson’s new concurrent approach. J. Multiling. Multicult. Dev. 10 (2) 117–127. Taylor & Francis.

[19] Baso A 2006 NU studies: pergolakan pemikiran antara fundamentalisme Islam & fundamentalisme neo-liberal. Erlangga.

[20] Woodward MR 2004 Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif Versus Kebatinan. PT LKiS Pelangi Aksara.