



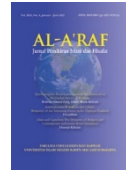
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## MODUS VIVENDI: TRADITION IN TRANSITION SHIFTING LANDSCAPE OF PESANTREN AND RATIONALITY ON INDUSTRIALIZED COMMUNITIES

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### Abstrak

#### Kata Kunci:

Modus Vivendi,  
Rasionalitas  
Abtemis,  
Komunitas  
Industri,  
Transformasi  
Sosial

*Studi ini mengeksplorasi perubahan signifikan dalam paradigma rasional, dan identitas politik di Kawasan Industri Kaliwungu. Modus vivendi masyarakat di kawasan industri maju terkooptasi oleh kompleksitas yang diwarnai oleh pergeseran nilai dan identitas global yang terus berkembang. Dilema antara mempertahankan tradisi lokal dan tuntutan globalisasi menjadi masalah tersendiri. Studi ini berproses memanfaatkan pendekatan kualitatif, dengan teknik pengumpulan data berupa wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipatif, dan analisis kritis. Data dan sumber data dipilih secara purposif dari berbagai lapisan masyarakat industri untuk mendapatkan pemahaman yang komprehensif. Analisis data ditinjau dari perspektif teori Dijusi, tujuannya untuk memahami adopsi dan penyebaran inovasi di komunitas di lingkup industri. Kajian ini mengkonfirmasi fakta di masyarakat Kaliwungu bahwa ada kecenderungan peningkatan nilai spiritualitas dalam penentuan posisi sosial, termasuk pilihan politik. Ini secara eksplisit menegaskan adanya Relasi eksponensial antara hedonisme dan industrialisasi. Selain itu, proses migrasi penduduk dari variasi latar belakang menuju satu kawasan tertentu menghadirkan satu tantangan yang perlu proses harmonisasi dan integrasi sosial. Demikian halnya, nilai-nilai spiritual, pola pikir, dan sikap sosial mengalami interaksi dan transformasi sebagai dampak logis dari pertemuan dengan nilai-nilai modern dalam kehidupan sehari-hari.*

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**Abstract****Keywords:**

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Communities,  
Social  
Transformati  
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This study investigates substantial shifts in the rational paradigm and political identities in the Kaliwungu Industrial Area. Complexity, characterized by shifting values and emerging global identities, has co-opted the mode of existence of communities in sophisticated industrial countries. The dilemma between preserving local customs and the demands of globalization presents a distinct challenge. This study takes a qualitative approach, collecting data through approaches such as in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and critical analysis. Data sources are purposefully chosen from various strata of industrial society in order to acquire a comprehensive understanding. The investigation validates intriguing facts about Kaliwungu society. Based on the diffusion perspective, the result shows that there is a trend toward higher spiritual ideals in deciding societal positions, including political decisions. This plainly rules out the possibility of an exponential link between hedonism and industrialization. Furthermore, population movement from different origins to a given location is difficult, necessitating social harmonization and integration processes. Similarly, spiritual ideals, mental patterns, and social attitudes interact and change as a logical result of everyday exposure to modern values.

**Introduction**

The shifting traditions landscape within the Kaliwungu Industrial Zone reflects a nuanced interplay of socio-economic dynamics, prompting a critical examination of traditional values and their relevance in a rapidly evolving context.<sup>1</sup> Over the past few decades, the region has witnessed substantial economic growth and technological advancements, catalyzing demographic shifts and altering community norms. This transformation has led to reevaluating core values such as nationalism, diversity, and spirituality, challenging established paradigms, and fostering a climate of introspection and debate.<sup>2</sup>

An empirical concern arises regarding the evolving perception of nationalism, which appears to be undergoing a gradual transition towards a more individualistic and globally oriented framework. Like Thomas S.

<sup>1</sup> Helda Morales et al., eds., *Moving from a Curative to Preventative Pest Management Paradigm* (Switzerland: Frontiers Media SA, 2022), 66–68.

<sup>2</sup> Mengyixin Li, *Large-Scale Urban Parks on Post-Industrial Sites in Contemporary Urban Landscape Conceptions* (Basel, Beijing, Wuhan, Barcelona, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Cluj, Manchester: MDPI, 2023), 8–9.

Kuhn's concept, this paradigm shift prompts inquiries into the enduring significance of traditional values like patriotism and religious doctrine.<sup>3</sup> As industrialization progresses, the community's allegiance to these values may undergo significant reconfiguration, posing existential questions about identity and cohesion in the face of globalization and modernization.

Moreover, the influx of diverse populations into the industrial zone complicates the societal fabric, necessitating a nuanced understanding of diversity and its implications for social cohesion.<sup>4</sup> While industrialization brings economic prosperity, it also disrupts traditional social structures and cultural norms, challenging the community to reconcile competing interests and identities. Thus, fostering inclusivity and accommodating diverse perspectives becomes imperative in navigating the complexities of industrialized communities like Kaliwungu.

The advent of industrial zones precipitates profound shifts not solely in economic infrastructure but also in societal ethos and cultural paradigms. Within locales such as Kaliwungu, which serve as a nexus for diverse industrial sectors, the amalgamation of labor from myriad ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds reevaluates the dynamics surrounding diversity integration and acceptance within the community. This confluence engenders a mosaic of cultural identities, prompting a reassessment of traditional mores and fostering a cosmopolitan outlook among denizens. Nonetheless, amidst this industrial milieu, the potential for intercultural tensions and conflicts necessitates nuanced strategies to engender inclusivity and societal harmony.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Pietro Daniel Omodeo, "Kuhn's Paradigm of Paradigms: Historical and Epistemological Coordinates of The Copernican Revolution," in *Shifting Paradigms: Thomas S. Kuhn and the History of Science*, ed. Alexander Blum et al. (Berlin: Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, 2016), 71–104.

<sup>4</sup> OECD, *Regions in Industrial Transition 2023 New Approaches to Persistent Problems* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2023), 90.

<sup>5</sup> Eliza J. Nash, Nevin C. Brown, and Lavinia Bracci, eds., *Intercultural Horizons Volume IV: Identities, Relationships and Languages in Migration*, vol. 4 (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 151.

The transition from agrarian to industrial economies in regions like Kaliwungu epitomizes a seismic metamorphosis in livelihood structures and societal frameworks. Hitherto reliant on agriculture and localized commerce, the populace now witnesses an upsurge in employment opportunities within the industrial domain, catalyzing a paradigm shift towards factory work or ancillary industries. This economic metamorphosis diversifies employment avenues and elevates living standards, heralding a departure from traditional rural lifestyles. However, concurrent with this economic ascendance, industrial development exerts a discernible influence on societal ethos, including notions of patriotism, as communities increasingly intertwine with national economic imperatives and aspirations.

Furthermore, as industrialization unfolds, the assimilation and interpretation of spiritual tenets among community constituents undergo significant transformations. The encroachment of global influences and materialistic values within industrial milieus can precipitate a reconfiguration of erstwhile spiritual customs and belief systems. This phenomenon engenders inquiries into the resilience of spiritual values amidst modernization and globalization, underscoring the imperative for communities to adapt and reinterpret their spiritual ethos within evolving sociocultural landscapes.<sup>6</sup> Thus, while industrialization heralds economic prosperity, it concurrently catalyzes critical introspection concerning preserving and changing cultural and spiritual identities amidst the rapid vicissitudes of societal progression.<sup>7</sup>

The burgeoning industrial landscape in Kaliwungu heralds a profound epoch of societal metamorphosis and environmental recalibration. This economic surge, facilitated by augmented access to

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<sup>6</sup> Imron Mustofa, “Gagasan Islamisasi Ilmu (Studi Tentang Kerangka Metodologi Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought and Civilization (INSISTS))” (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel, 2019), 202–208.

<sup>7</sup> Bridgette Wessels, *Exploring Social Change: Process and Context* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 37–38.

consumer goods, education, and healthcare, catalyzes the reconfiguration of communal ethos and modus vivendi. As the community is propelled by the exigencies of industrial rhythms, a departure from traditional social and cultural paradigms is observed, replaced by the embrace of individualistic or competitive values emblematic of industrialization.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, time-honored virtues such as communal solidarity and agrarian cooperation wane, supplanted by the ascendancy of industrial imperatives. Moreover, the ecological footprint of industrial progress, epitomized by pollution, deforestation, and habitat degradation, underscores the intricate dialectic between economic ascension and environmental sustainability. Concurrently, the influx of a diverse workforce comprising individuals from heterogeneous ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds engenders a mosaic of diversity within industrial enclaves, challenging established community dynamics.<sup>9</sup> Amidst this transformative tapestry, pesantren communities, steeped in traditional ethos, grapple with the imperative to adapt to evolving economic landscapes while contending with the debate of cultural preservation and identity in the era of industrial ascendancy.

The industrial metamorphosis in Kaliwungu instigates a philosophical discourse on the dialectics between tradition and modernity. As industrial enclaves burgeon, communities grapple with the philosophical problem of balancing tradition with the imperatives of progress. The ethos of industrialization fosters a reevaluation of societal norms and values, prompting philosophical introspection on the nature of cultural authenticity amidst the allure of economic advancement. Furthermore, the burgeoning industrial landscape prompts philosophical inquiry into the ethical ramifications of progress. Communities confront the existential challenge of reconciling economic development with

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<sup>8</sup> John Bellers, *Industry Brings Plenty: John Bellers' Scheme for a Colledge of Industry, 1696: A Reprint, with Prefatory Note* (London: Headley Bros., 1696), 21–25.

<sup>9</sup> Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture, and Everyday Life* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 1912–1913.

ecological sustainability, necessitating philosophical deliberations on environmental ethics and stewardship. The discourse extends beyond pragmatic considerations to encompass broader philosophical inquiries into the ethical imperatives of industrial expansion in harmony with ecological integrity. The advent of industrialization engenders philosophical discourse on the nature of identity and adaptation within traditional communities. Enhanced mobility and access to global information catalyze philosophical reflections on the evolution of cultural and religious identities in the face of modernization. Communities engage in philosophical dialectics based on the synthesis of tradition and adaptation, seeking to reconcile cultural authenticity with the necessities of industrial progress.

Industrial zones often dominate discussions concerning far-reaching social and economic impacts, yet their influence on societal diversity is frequently overlooked. Diversity stands as a paramount asset in the context of globalization and modern societal complexity. However, industrialization can exacerbate socioeconomic inequality, leading to unequal resource distribution and jeopardizing community diversity. Demographic shifts are also apparent, with industrial hubs attracting significant migration and fostering increased cultural and religious diversity. Nonetheless, this influx may provoke intergroup tensions and conflicts. Despite diverse employment opportunities and social integration efforts, widespread acceptance of diversity still needs to be achieved. Discrimination in recruitment and workplace treatment can undermine intergroup solidarity, fostering societal cultural transformations.<sup>10</sup> Local values may yield to corporate culture, posing a threat to cultural diversity and unique regional identities. Additionally, industries may either strengthen or weaken traditional social institutions, such as religious

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<sup>10</sup> Joana Vassilopoulou, Julienne Brabet, and Victoria Showunmi, eds., *Race Discrimination and Management of Ethnic Diversity and Migration at Work: European Countries' Perspectives*, vol. 6 (UK, North America, Japan, India, Malaysia, China: Emerald Publishing, 2019), 227.

bodies, depending on the focus and priorities of the populace.

People experience significant changes in their mindsets, lifestyles, and Islamic practices in the developed industrialized areas. People's mindsets are more rational and pragmatic, in line with the demands for efficiency and productivity in an industrialized environment. With the demand for efficiency and productivity in industrial settings, for instance, in urban centers like Cikarang and Batam, villagers prioritize technical education and practical skills that can be directly applied in the industrial sector. This contrasts communities in more traditional rural areas, where religious education is still a top priority. This change reflects a shift in values from a spiritual orientation towards a more materialistic and functional one.

The lifestyles of people in industrialized, developed regions are also changing drastically. The need for high mobility and a fast-paced lifestyle has led them to adopt a more modern and globalized consumption pattern. E.g., the increasing number of contemporary shopping centers in industrial areas such as Bekasi shows a shift from traditional markets to modern shopping centers, which offer consumer goods from all over the world. In recent years, Islamic practices have also undergone a transformation, where the performance of Islamic practices has become more flexible to match busy work schedules. The researcher is the neutral observer who observes how the interaction between traditional values and modernity creates new dynamics in Islamic practice. The uniqueness of each region, such as the association of Batam with Malay culture and Bekasi with Betawi culture, provides unique value in understanding how this adaptation occurs in different contexts. The novelty value of this study lies in its in-depth exploration of how communities in advanced industrialized areas navigate these changes. This perspective is rarely found in other studies that usually focus on one aspect of change without considering the complex interactions between mindsets, lifestyles, and Islam.

As mentioned above, the backdrop unveils a myriad of pressing questions: to what extent has industrial expansion in Kaliwungu impacted the indigenous populace's religious customs, convictions, and spiritual ethos? Does harmonious coexistence prevail among diverse ethnic and religious factions, or does the specter of discord loom large, potentially fracturing social cohesion? Does the economic progress witnessed in Kendal incentivize a surge in nationalist fervor, or is there a latent risk of socio-economic shifts eroding patriotic sentiments? The proliferation of such multifaceted concerns underscores the imperative for a comprehensive inquiry into this domain. Hence, researching spirituality, diversity, and nationalism in the Kendal Industrial Zone is paramount to unraveling a nuanced understanding of the local community's identity amid the industrial milieu. The outcomes of such research endeavors are poised to furnish invaluable insights for stakeholders ranging from governmental bodies and industrial entities to the grassroots populace, facilitating the formulation of sustainable and inclusive development policies and strategies. Investigating the diffusion of community mindsets within industrial precincts holds strategic significance within policy formulation and community empowerment initiatives. By dissecting the evolution and dissemination of communities' "worldview" amidst the intricacies of industrial zones, we stand better equipped to devise efficacious measures to foster active political engagement and nurture enduring community welfare standards.

## **Method**

This research adopts a qualitative approach to explore the changes in *modus vivendi* within two contrasting contexts: traditional Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and modern industrial communities. This approach is chosen for its suitability for capturing the complexity of social and cultural dynamics within different contexts. Data collection techniques involve in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, including *kiai* (Islamic scholars), community leaders, residents, mosque



administrators, industrial workers, and direct participatory observation within both environments.

Data analysis is conducted using an inductive approach, enabling researchers to identify patterns of change in traditional pesantren modus vivendi and the adaptation of rationality within industrial communities. The analysis process involves classification, thematic analysis, and data triangulation to ensure the reliability and validity of the findings. Documentary data such as pesantren records, village reports, industrial reports, and company policies are analyzed thoroughly to provide additional context and support the conclusions generated from interviews and observations.

### **The Industrialization Waves and Population Dynamics**

Most inhabitants of the Salafiyah Pesantren in Kaliwungu consist of students who reside or permanently stay within the premises, also known as resident students. Their current number exceeds 3,000 individuals, with the majority being male, as pesantren in that area typically only admit male students. In terms of attire, they usually wear sarongs and *peci* (traditional caps) in their daily activities. From a historical perspective, at the Salafiyah APIK pesantren, especially during the leadership of Kiai Ahmad Ru'yat, the boarding school students experienced notable progress. Many originate from various regions, quite far from the town of Kaliwungu. Generally, those undergoing education in Kaliwungu hail from diverse regions, predominantly the northern coastal areas of Central Java, like Brebes, Tegal, Pemalang, Pekalongan, Kendal, Semarang, Demak, Kudus, and Pati, as well as from West Java, including Banten, Karawang, Cirebon, and Majalengka. Furthermore, some come from East Java, predominantly from Banyuwangi, Nganjuk, and Madura, while others originate from various regions outside Java. In terms of household economics, students in Islamic boarding schools typically rely on livelihoods primarily rooted in agriculture and fisheries.

One intriguing aspect of Pesantren's students backgrounds is the

diverse array of social factors. Variations in religion, race, and ethnicity predominantly mark their geographical communities, reflecting a myriad of regional origins. Their regional origins exhibit diversity, and their educational paths distinguish them from one another. Among them, some have attained primary education, others have progressed through junior high school, and some have even completed senior high school. Despite the diverse educational backgrounds, the students can engage effectively in all activities and educational processes within the Islamic boarding school, demonstrating their aptitude for learning within the institution's guidelines.

In Kaliwungu, the convergence of students, *kiai*, and *pesantren* amidst industrialization engenders dynamics that depict the integration and transformation of values and customs within society. In the Salafiyah *Pesantren APIK*, most students, known as "*santri mukim*," originate from outside the region and receive information about learning activities orally. Despite the varied educational and social backgrounds, the students adeptly pursue their education at the *pesantren*, showcasing unity amidst diversity. The orientation of students aspiring for religious knowledge as a foundation for life is backed by moral and material support from various parties, including instructors, *kiai*, teachers, and community figures. Education in *pesantren* is not only aimed at personal development but also directed towards benefiting the broader community.<sup>11</sup>

The goal of the Salafiyah *Pesantren* in Kaliwungu is to produce Muslim generations who are well-versed in religious knowledge, possess positive character, and can apply their knowledge, becoming spiritual role models in various aspects of community life. The reciprocal relationship between the Islamic boarding school and its surrounding community also reflects this dynamic.<sup>12</sup> Learning activities in the Islamic boarding school

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<sup>11</sup> Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi et al., "Value Management in *Pesantren*-Based University (Grounded Research on AKPAM System of UNIDA Gontor)," *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Agama* 15, no. 2 (November 26, 2023): 1117–1118.

<sup>12</sup> Mokhamad Zainal Anwar et al., "Transformation of Economic Theology for  
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involve interaction with the community, while the school also organizes activities for the public, such as public recitations of the book “*al-Ibris*.” Thus, the pesantren serves not only as a place for religious education but also plays a role in the Kaliwungu community's social and religious life.

Arifuddin Soffa, a Salafiyah pesantren, comes from a different background than other students. He is originally from Lengkong. Entering the pesantren at the age of 12 was a decision made based on his parents' suggestion and influenced by the environment of his hometown. In Lengkong, most guardians of students are inclined to send their children to acquire religious education, particularly at Islamic boarding schools.

Such circumstances also give rise to challenges concerning disparities in anticipation of advancing modernity and rationality. These impediments are broadly linked to internal factors within the Islamic boarding school, including the environment, students, curriculum, leadership model, and alums. In terms of academic content, apart from the primary focus on studying various religious texts, students at the Salafiyah Islamic boarding school in Kaliwungu also engage in a wide array of subjects beyond regular class hours, such as syntax and morphology, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), principles of jurisprudence (*uṣul al-fiqh*), hadith, exegesis (*tafsīr*), monotheism (*tamhīd*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), ethics, history, and rhetoric (*balaghah*). These classical texts are categorized to reflect the diverse range of disciplines taught in Islamic religious education at the boarding school.

The learning system at the Salafiyah Pesantren in Kaliwungu follows a tiered approach spanning six to eight years. The foundational stage consists of the preparatory school, which students must undergo for approximately two years. The classification model adheres to a hierarchical class system, comprising preparatory schools one and two, each with study groups consisting of two to three cohorts. At this stage, students are

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Community Empowerment: A Case Study on Pesantren-Based Bank Wakaf Mikro,” *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 17, no. 1 (June 1, 2023): 84–86, accessed March 13, 2024, <http://jiis.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/JIIs/article/view/3458>.

instructed in the fundamental subjects of various disciplines that form the basis for the subsequent levels, namely the *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* and *Aliyah*.

The principle of *tafaqquh fi al-din* (deepening one's understanding of religion) is the foundation of learning at the Kaliwungu Islamic boarding school. The curriculum emphasizes memorization (*muhafadhab*), knowledge, and practice. Content presented in the form of “*nadhaman*,” particularly related to grammar (*nahw*), morphology (*sarf*), and rhetoric (*balaghah*), requires students to commit it to memory and apply it. The orientation towards knowledge as a tool directs students to read Arabic written texts fluently, accurately, and with comprehension, even without diacritical marks (*shakl*), preparing them for presentation.

However, other disciplines such as theology, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and ethics (*akhlak*) are not disregarded, as they are deemed equally vital to study and apply. These disciplines are expected to be applicable in contemporary settings. Yet, to attain optimal comprehension and foster critical thinking about the content of the texts, students at the Kaliwungu pesantrens must excel in *'ilm al-lughat* (languages) and Arabic literature, given that all academic material is conveyed in Arabic.

### **Social Modus Vivendi**

The presence of KIK triggers significant changes within the Kaliwungu community. Over time, the Kaliwungu populace has adapted to the forward movement of society, encompassing economic aspects, employment opportunities, etiquette, culture, values, and thought patterns. These changes engender new dynamics in the religious characteristics of the Kaliwungu populace. Initially, Kaliwungu was dominated by individuals emphasizing Javanese mystical beliefs (*kejawen*). However, with the proliferation of pesantren in the region, these schools' teaching methods began to transform. The boarding schools not only respect pre-existing cultural values but also gradually Islamize various cultural aspects by incorporating Islamic values and eliminating those deemed incompatible. This transformation contrasts the past, dominated

by Javanese mystical beliefs, and the present, which emphasizes the values of competition and integrates Islamic values into local culture. Additionally, these changes involve a shift in the values and thought patterns of the Kaliwungu community. Despite significant changes, the community continues to preserve its uniqueness and adapt to these transformations.<sup>13</sup>

The typological changes in the Wonorejo community reflect the neo-Sufism proposed by Fazlur Rahman, which replaces some traditional elements of Sufism with orthodox Islamic principles. Unlike conventional Sufism, which emphasizes mystical-philosophical elements, neo-Sufism stresses a balance between worldly and spiritual interests, aiming for every Muslim to be just towards both. The transformation of Kaliwungu into an industrial area has significant implications for its social life and values.<sup>14</sup> The societal impetus to manifest their beliefs in daily life has led to the formation of “*puritan*” factions actively involved in diverse social and religious endeavors. This trend delineates a shift in values from mystical inclinations to practices and convictions that better align with modernity's needs. These Puritan groups assume roles as activists, spearheading socio-community movements, contributing to labor and agrarian-based economic frameworks, and engaging in organized endeavors.

The community's diversity and social dynamics present new challenges in the application of Islamic beliefs and values in the context of neo-Sufism. The residents of Kaliwungu aspire to cultivate righteous Muslim figures capable of integrating affluence and pleasures into their daily lives while adhering steadfastly to religious principles. The community's social and economic activities reflect an evolutionary shift from religious traditions to the implementation of Islamic tenets across

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<sup>13</sup> Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, “Imam Zarkasyi’s Modernization of Pesantren in Indonesia (A Case Study of Darussalam Gontor),” *QIJS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 1 (June 30, 2020): 165–167, accessed April 19, 2024, <https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/QIJS/article/view/5760>.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufis and Anti-Sufis: The Defence, Rethinking, and Rejection of Sufism in the Modern World* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 10–12.

various facets of life. The efficacy of puritanical groups in advancing multiple aspects of community life is a testament to their adeptness in adapting to social and economic changes.<sup>15</sup> Let's take the dispute between NU and Muhammadiyah members as an example. This dispute, rooted in the differences between religious organizations, has historically evolved from religious practices such as *tablilan*, *Qunut*, and the celebration of religious holidays. The emergence of KIK has also had an impact on these groups' political affiliations. While residents initially did not scrutinize issues related to religious practices, these evolved into matters of political preference. Differences often trigger tensions, although they typically do not escalate to physical altercations.

The ongoing reaction to this disagreement involves a mosque in a village called Lengkong, known as Baiturrohim. According to Ahmad's testimony, although the majority of Kaliwungu's residents adhere to the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Muslim organization, it is not uncommon for some mosques sponsored by NU residents to invite figures from other organizations to participate in certain activities, such as monthly religious gatherings. An incident occurred when one of the invited figures delivered a lecture that essentially criticized the beliefs of the majority of the village's residents in a very assertive manner. This incident provides insight to researchers that, during that era, the Kaliwungu community was primarily influenced by puritanical Muslim residents. In Rahman's framework, they endeavored to integrate the Sufi heritage into as many aspects of daily life as feasible. Essentially, during this period, the majority of Muslim inhabitants in this village believed that Sufi moral practices should be exemplified through dhikr and spiritual communion with the Divine.<sup>16</sup> Over time, this group became a key element responsible for the development and progression of neo-Sufism in Kaliwungu. Rahman's

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<sup>15</sup> Hermansyah, "Neo Sufisme: Sejarah dan Prospeknya," *Khatulistiwa* 3, no. 2 (2013): 115, accessed March 8, 2024, <https://jurnalinpontianak.or.id/index.php/khatulistiwa/article/view/217>.

<sup>16</sup> Hermansyah, "Neo Sufisme: Sejarah dan Prospeknya,"

perspective supports this assertion that, following the emergence of the Sufi movement, many Muslim regions were deeply impressed by it, both emotionally, spiritually, and intellectually, during the 12th and 13th centuries.<sup>17</sup>

Fundamental shifts occurred alongside the establishment of the KIK regarding the religious dynamics in Wonorejo. Previously, this movement emphasized specific measures to reinforce faith by following Islamic teachings. However, the advent of KIK ushered in a substantial transformation. Previously dominated by *santri*, the community witnessed a transformation in the mosque's leadership structure, where economically successful figures without religious scholarly backgrounds assumed central roles. The religious landscape underwent an evolution from being highly closed off to external influences to becoming more open to expressing religious identity and actively participating in daily life.<sup>18</sup> Support from puritanical groups has delineated a divergence between contemporary religious paradigms and traditional religious norms, resulting in a contrast between the previous relegation of worldly concerns in religious practice and active engagement in daily life. As a result, the Wonorejo community's religious patterns or attitudes reflect an evolution from neglecting worldly matters to actively participating in daily life, adding a new nuance to the area's religious landscape.

When observing the evolution of religious attitudes in the Nusantara region, there are intriguing facts regarding the teachings of Abdul Rauf al-Sinkili and the influence of al-Qushashi, a Sufi and reformer in the world of Sufism. Al-Qushashi advocated that true Muslims should actively engage in various aspects of societal life rather than isolating themselves from social existence. This concept aligns with neo-Sufism principles,

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<sup>17</sup> Ziaulhaq Hidayat and Achyar Zein, "Sufism and Virtual Piety: A Narration of the Millennial Murshid in North Sumatra," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 16, no. 1 (June 1, 2022): 141–144. <http://jiis.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/JIIs/article/view/2310>.

<sup>18</sup> Benjamin Lee Whorf, *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, ed. John B. Carroll (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1956), 248–249.

which emphasize activity and involvement in everyday life. Al-Qushashi asserted that Prophet Muhammad never lived in seclusion or withdrew from society. This perspective resonates with the ideas of al-Kurani, which prioritize adherence to Sharia while acknowledging the importance of Sufi aspects. Moreover, al-Qushashi further associates the neo-Sufi framework with Sufi orders (*thariqat*). Within the Kaliwungu community surrounding the Kendal Industrial Zone, it becomes evident that the religious paradigm adopted is more flexible, transcending the confines of specific religious organizations. The people here are not confined to affiliations with organizations like NU or Muhammadiyah, nor do they feel obligated to adhere to particular worship rituals previously considered necessary. This change reflects a more dynamic and open religious atmosphere within the complex context of KIK in Kaliwungu.<sup>19</sup>

In the evolutionary trajectory of religious attitudes within the Wonorejo community, two distinct paradigms stand out: traditionalism, characterized by the prioritization of religious practices transmitted by *kiai*, and the neo-Sufi movement, which underscores the plurality of religious interpretations and active engagement in social spheres. Under the traditional paradigm, the spiritual teachings propagated by a *kiai* are perceived as divine blessings, and adherence to these teachings is expected to complement Islamic jurisprudence. Should any teachings deviate from Islamic principles, adherents are advised to disassociate from specific organizations. Conversely, the neo-Sufi movement offers a more inclusive framework, where the Wonorejo community seeks to embrace diverse religious perspectives, encompassing political, theological, and Sufi dimensions.

The transformation in religious attitudes reflects the intricacies within the Wonorejo community. Traditionalism establishes a more rigid

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<sup>19</sup> Nur Hadi Ihsan et al., "Sufi Epistemology: Being the Earliest Exposition in Kitab al-Luma' of al-Sarraj and its Manifestation in the Works of Indonesian Sufis," *Tsaqafah Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 17, no. 2 (December 6, 2022): 295–298, accessed March 13, 2024, <https://ejournal.unida.gontor.ac.id/index.php/tsaqafah/article/view/7104>.



structure, relying on the authority of a *kiai*, while neo-Sufism fosters room for broader interpretations and emphasizes active involvement in social life. Within the traditional paradigm, the emphasis lies on the importance of religious practices, whereas neo-Sufism prioritizes social-moral reconstruction and the equilibrium between spiritual and societal realms. Thus, this shift not only signifies alterations in religious dynamics, but also engenders a more dynamic and reflective framework regarding the role of religion in daily life and social configurations.

Similar phenomena often occur in North Africa, particularly in the context of the Sanusiyah *thariqah* established by Muhammad Ibn ‘Ali Al-Sanusi from Algeria. This *thariqah* emphasizes a high level of discipline in adhering to strict sufi practices, with its followers remaining actively engaged in social life. Within this *thariqah*, sufi sciences are taught, and economic aspects such as agriculture, trade, and military techniques are integrated as integral parts of religious practices.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, a closer look at the Kaliwungu community's religiosity reveals significant differences from Rahman's concept. According to Rahman, Islamic practice should prohibit excessive love for wealth and hoarding silver and gold for moral and social well-being. This approach encompasses renewal, struggle, and programs of moral positivism and social practice, overcoming the emphasis on spiritual aspects and excluding worldly concerns. In Kaliwungu, the *Kiai* also promote similar views, focusing more on addressing and combating social, moral, and religious deviations. They strive to transform and rebuild society for the better and ethically without being solely fixated on aspirations for paradise. It is important to note that maintaining a balance between spiritual aspects and concrete actions within society remains the primary focus of this study.

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<sup>20</sup> Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Sanusiyah: A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam* (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1958), 74–95.

Although there is a call to uphold the principle of simplicity, observations of the santri's practices reveal significant interpretative differences regarding the conception of "simplicity." The principle of simplicity, viewed from its doctrinal dimension, emphasizes actions and lifestyles that are optimal and selective. However, simplicity is more often applied in the context of physical phenomena, especially in the choice of appearance to create a superficial impression. However, complexity arises when analyzed more deeply. Not less than three main aspects have been identified as the roots of the developing issues. First, the theological dimension gives rise to differences in interpretation regarding religious experiences in ecstasy. This issue stems from differences in attitudes toward Islam's function or axiological aspects. Second, the holistic perspective remains closely related to the axiological dimension derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Third, the non-formalist approach refers to religious practices that lack a foundation in the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah. Thus, the complexity of the concept of simplicity among the Santri involves theological, holistic, and non-formalist frameworks, posing profound interpretative and practical challenges and demanding deeper and more critical analysis from a high academic perspective.

### **Abstemious Rationality**

Max Weber's analysis of the *Protestant Ethic* remains a primary reference in economic sociology. Levels of instrumental rationality and the influence of Calvinist ethics trigger the emergence of Western-style capitalism in the Kaliwungu community in the Kendal Industrial Area.<sup>21</sup> Instrumental rationality drives individuals and communities to act purposefully, efficiently, and effectively in achieving their economic goals. In modern capitalist industrial civilization, religious values integrated into ethics challenge the development of modern capitalist values. The emphasis on "wordly asceticism" in life creates religious devotion that

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<sup>21</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Stephen Karlberg (New York: Routledge, 2012), 56–64.

shapes “individual ethics.” The Kaliwungu community, especially those from pesantren backgrounds, demonstrate success as diligent and patient workers with high personal piety qualities.

In this era, a capitalist system of thinking and behavior has emerged from the perspective of positive rationality and ethical values. Religious reforms in the West, particularly within Puritan sects, differ from the doctrine of worldly purity, which revolves around places of worship and impacts everyday life contexts, shaping a worldly morality that is effective in fostering modern economic power. Thus far, the patterns of capitalist development in several Asian countries demonstrate the emergence of the spirit of capitalism from cultural value systems. Further research reveals a close connection between religious values and business beliefs among traders of the same religion, providing a deeper understanding of the role of spiritual values in an economic context.<sup>22</sup>

In evaluating the impact of the presence of the Kendal Industrial Zone in Kaliwungu, the researcher found the crucial role of religious values in shaping the socio-economic dynamics of the local community. This point underscores that religious beliefs can be important catalysts in shaping work ethics, openness, and economic mindset, especially for individuals and groups adhering to specific religions. Studies by various figures, including Clifford Geertz and Mitsuo Nakamura, support this by illustrating the complex relationship between religious values and economic activities in society. The study focuses primarily on the Santri community as a representation of “modernist Muslims.” Research findings highlight the significant potential of the Santri community in developing a diligent work ethic, a simple lifestyle, a diligent saving attitude, and an appreciation for individual labor. Geertz, for instance, emphasizes that the majority of leaders in the trading sector in Modjokuto, particularly in tobacco, textiles, and retail, have backgrounds as “reformist-puritan”

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<sup>22</sup> M. Lutfi Malik, *Etos Kerja, Pasar, Dan Masjid: Transformasi Sosial-Keagamaan Dalam Mobilitas Ekonomi Kemasyarakatan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2013), 46–49.

Muslims.<sup>23</sup> As a result, the morals that these merchants followed are based on reformist-modernist santri. These morals are very important in the growth of a modern economic philosophy that reflects the spirit of Islamic entrepreneurship.

Drawing on the analytical approach of Lence Castle and Mitsuo Nakamura, scholars who investigated Kudus and Kotagede present an in-depth analysis of the modernist Muslim entrepreneurial groups.<sup>24</sup> From their perspective, something significant is unfolding in Wonorejo, where the Santri play a pivotal role as owners and suppliers of shrimp from the ponds, even managing to channel their production to major companies in various cities, including Semarang, Kudus, and Jepara. Conversely, in Lengkong, Muhammadiyah entrepreneurs are developing business strengths to support the modern economy.

Most entrepreneurial santri in Wonorejo, Panggang Ayam, and Lengkong have experienced setbacks because they rely on an individual entrepreneurship model. They need help competing with Chinese entrepreneurs who demonstrate better responsiveness and innovation, rely on a family business model, and successfully build more complex modern economic institutions. In essence, an innovative approach is needed to address these challenges. Religion must comprehensively address the issues modern individuals face in the dynamics of their social lives.<sup>25</sup> While the goals remain aligned, aiming for happiness, tranquility, and peace, this approach must be broader, involving the role of religion in supporting social interests. From this perspective, religion plays a

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<sup>23</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 131–147.

<sup>24</sup> Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c.1910s-2010* (Second Enlarged Edition) (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2012), 18–50.

<sup>25</sup> Jarman Arroisi et al., “Pursuit of Spiritual Happiness: Abu Hamid al-Ghazali on The Theory of Human Nature,” *Progresiva : Jurnal Pemikiran dan Pendidikan Islam* 12, no. 02 (December 28, 2023): 295–298, accessed April 19, 2024, <https://ejournal.umm.ac.id/index.php/progresiva/article/view/29265>; Lence Castle, *Religion, Politics and Economic Behavior in Java: The Kudus Cigarette Industry* (New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University Press, 1967).

substantial role in guiding social life holistically.

In the context of the competition towards the peak of the intuitive experience, the reality faced by Muslims now raises an interesting comparison between the experiences of *fana'* and *baqa'*, which may be temporary. It should not be interpreted as an ongoing experience without interruption, as it can potentially hinder bodily organs' functioning in religious and spiritual activities. Meanwhile, some still strive to attain *ahwal*, inner conditions bestowed as blessings and divine will. Within this framework, the thoughts of Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi on *fana'* and *baqa'* provide a contrasting perspective. For him, *fana'* is interpreted as a phase of sufi experience in which Allah completely dominates, causing limited consciousness to merge with His existence. Despite experiencing *fana'*, Sufi remains aware that their position is that of a servant living in this world. With all its contrasts, this understanding reminds us of the potential of religious practices and their relationship with the surrounding environment. The existence of two levels of consciousness, active and passive, provides an intriguing comparison in the context of human social life.

A Muslim's spiritual experience is reflected through the internalization and qualitative expression of behavior. A modernist Muslim is capable of drawing closer to God, even within the context of worldly engagements. Despite assuming roles as professionals such as bankers, accountants, secretaries, or individuals involved in computer technology, they maintain their identity as devout Muslims. For instance, all their activities are undertaken to remember God. When the modern individual fully engages in their world, they can engage in spiritual exercises. The advantages of such practices include the potential to bring about feelings of happiness, peace, and tranquility, mitigating the likelihood of mental disturbances or economic difficulties. Challenges arise in these endeavors due to the complexity of reviving traditional values relevant to the modern era. Although religious values are not

entirely divorced from the context of industrialization, we encounter some similarities in movements in the contemporary era that seek to restore the integrity of religious patterns that appear to have declined. This spectrum encompasses various ideologies but shows similarities in the form of anxiety about current living conditions. The negative impact of this situation creates feelings of despair, essentially reflecting a state fraught with threats, damage, and uncertainty.<sup>26</sup>

One particularly intriguing dilemma in the relationship between society, religion, and the industrial era revolves around constructing an ideal relationship among them. The central question is how individuals inhabiting industrial environments can effectively accommodate religious issues. In other words, how can this relationship be formed harmoniously and collaborate in every smallest element of life? This dilemma carries significant risks, especially concerning the absence of a middle ground that connects dogma, individuals, and the industrial era.

## **Conclusion**

This investigation underscores several pivotal points: Firstly, the transformation of social modus vivendi within Kaliwungu industrialized regions reflects a nuanced process influenced by rapid shifts in economic, social, and cultural dynamics. Understanding these transformations is paramount as they illuminate challenges to social cohesion, underscoring the importance of education and media, and fostering dialogue and tolerance within diverse communities. Secondly, industrial areas often experience a surge in diversity, which can present challenges to integration. Nevertheless, diversity can become an asset in these domains by promoting cross-cultural dialogue and nurturing inclusive environments. Lastly, there is a noticeable trend of social cohesion marked by an increase in spiritual aspects within political discourse in Kaliwungu, aligning with industrial progress. This observation seemingly contradicts the adage, “the

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<sup>26</sup> Zarkasyi, “Imam Zarkasyi’s Modernization,” 165–167.

more modern the environment, the more hedonistic its society”.

This study significantly advances our comprehension of how social actions can evolve into intricate political identities within industrial areas. Its impact transcends the confines of Kaliwungu society. It offers valuable insights for crafting policies and development strategies that account for the interplay of industrial regions' social, cultural, and political elements, which are pivotal hubs for profound social change.

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