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The cinematic Santri : Youth culture, tradition and technology in Muslim Indonesia

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Chapter 4

Watching Film and the Secularity of Cinema

Introduction

In February 2012, just as I arrived in Kidang, a film about santri was to be screened at *Cinema 21*, the biggest cinema chain in Indonesia. The film, entitled "*Negeri 5 Menara*" (The Land of Five Towers, also known as N5M), was based on the autobiographical novel of the same title, written by Ahmad Fuadi, a former santri of pesantren Gontor.[1] N5M has so far attracted no less than 700.000 cinemagoers: this is quite a good sale for the case of Indonesian cinema market.[2] In Kidang, too, it received great attention. The Kidang santri talked about the film's release as well as about the excitement they felt when going to the cinema to watch it. Kidang's shared heritage with Gontor no doubt intensified the desire of its santri to watch the movie. However, the santri soon realized that they had

1) For information about pesantren Gontor, see Chapter 3. Regarding the film's story line, it centers on the successful life story of Alif, a santri in a modern pesantren. Dreaming of becoming an engineer, young Alif wants to attend a secular school, but his father forces him to study in the pesantren. In the depth of despair, Alif's first year there is full of hesitation as well as disappointment. But after passing his first year, he slowly changes his mind; not only does he start enjoying living at the pesantren, but the place also gives him a whole new spirit of life. With his roommates, he forms a santri club called *sahibul menara* (lord of the tower). Members of the club dream of pursuing their studies at overseas universities, emblematized by five different towers associated with the various countries.

2) This number does not include those who illegally watched the film from pirated VCDs/DVDs, - a practice that is is common among Indonesian film audiences. With this number, N5M was ranked the fourth most watch film in 2012.

limited chances to attend its screening in cinema, due to the enforcement of disciplinary practices and gender-based segregation rules in Kidang.[3] Thus, they initiated a plan to book one theater at the local cinema for a private screening of single-gender audiences. But this was ultimately disapproved by the pesantren authorities on the argument that the santri's trip to the cinema would only disrupt the pesantren's disciplinary rhythm. Nevertheless, despite the disciplinary exercises from the authorities of Kidang pesantren, a few of the Kidang santri managed to leave the pesantren ground in a timely and well-organised way for the cinema, without making the pesantren authorities suspicious.

The above story indicates the ways in which practices of film screening and cinema going are desired, regulated, and negotiated in, and by santri of Kidang pesantren. The story also reveals that different things were going on, and that there seemed to be in conflict with each other: there is desire about cinema going and about exploring an imagined place 'out-there' that is putatively in conflict with the norm of being 'good' santri as designated by the pesantren's disciplinary practices and gendered-segregation rules. As revealed from the argument regarding the ban, such a tension is strongly implicated by a suspicion of space as profane/secular that is assumed to be distinct from one that is sacred/religious. It is one that is imagined and separate, and which is not subject to pesantren's disciplinary practices, and presumably seen by them as "unknown and possibly threatening" (Larkin 2008: 9), especially to the orders and rules of living inside the pesantren's authorized grounds. Yet, the santri's secret and timely well-organized excursion to a cinema also shows that particular strategies of negotiation are formulated by the Kidang santri in order to safely link the putative contradictions between one place that is subject to the pesantren's authority and discipline practices (i.e. sacred/religious) and the other places that are not (i.e. profane/secular).

This chapter, as such, is aimed at understanding the ways in which people in Kidang have identified, differentiated and negotiated the relationships between the secular and religious space, through their practices of film screening and cinema going. I assume, however, that dimensions of secular and religious space are fluid, changeable and not-fixed categories. Obviously, by saying so, I follow the trend of scholars and philosophers who have questioned the binary between the religious and the secular (e.g. Asad 2003; Taylor 2007; and Casanova 2008).

Recent anthropological studies of the secular have been highly influenced by the works of Talal Asad (e.g. 1993 and 2003).[4] He describes the secular as a concept of

3) Note that on the basis of such regulations the Kidang students would be prohibited to leave the pesantren ground without approval from the Kidang authorities: let alone to go to a cinema theater, a quarter many Muslims in Indonesia (and elsewhere) have still avoided visiting due partly to the illicit associations with it, especially it being a mixed-gender space.

4) The popularity of Asad's works can be evidenced by the commonplace of his concept of the secular amongst anthropologists and scholars from other disciplines (see Bangstad 2009 and Cannell 2010). Publication of *Power of the Secular Modern: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors* (Scott & Hirschkind 2006), obviously, speaks volumes to this popularity.

behaviors, sensibilities, and ways of knowing that relates to the ways people think about personal freedom and sovereignty vis-à-vis the constraints from religious discourse (Asad 2003: 14-16; Starret 2010: 630). In problematizing both the fixedness and binary opposition between the secular and the religious, Asad takes the view that "the secular is neither continuous with the religious that supposedly preceded it (that is, it is not the latest phase of a sacred origin), nor a simple break from it (that is, it is not the opposite, an essence that excludes the sacred)" (2003: 25).[5] This way, the secular and the religious, to borrow Agrama's metaphor "are like two hands constantly drawing each other into existence" (2012: 40).

Yet, Asad also demonstrates that secularism is a never-ending project: it is instead one that always changes and is continuously negotiated in particular places and particular times. In this regard, he sees secularism as a form of power, in which agency, understood as a culturally mediated capacity of action, plays a crucial role in the ways individuals and various institutions of authority draw the negotiating lines between "*core political principles*" and "*background justifications*" (2003: 6, italics original). This may mean, for instance, that while people negotiate the relations between the secular and the religious, the distinction between the secular and the religious is relatively fixed. In other words, to say that both the secular and the religious are changeable and negotiable does not necessarily mean that they are entirely fluid either. Or as Asad puts it, both the secular and the religious are never *essentially* fixed categories (2003: 25), in a sense that it is never for once and for all.

In Kidang, when venturing to a non-pesantren-authorized space such as a cinema, the santri often showed certain behaviors that imply an extension of the pesantren-authorized (sacred) space into the non-authorized (secular) space of the cinema. This in turn has "forced" them to carefully organize, when, how, and with whom to leave the pesantren ground as part of their ways of dealing with the distinguishing lines between secular and religious spaces. Asad's approach, thus, relates to my analysis of how people in Kidang have negotiated, "politicized" (Hurd 2011) and "imbricated"[6] (Hafez 2011) what otherwise is a relatively fixed divide between the secular and the religious.

Asad's work, however, has been criticized for viewing the genealogy of the secular as an exclusively Western-Christian historical phenomenon, not to mention its state-centrist inclination and ethnographic shortcomings (see Das 2006; Bangstad 2009;

5) For example, in his earlier work, *Genealogy of Religion*, Asad shows how, through a monastic discipline that is cultivated as a program of learning, the medieval Christian monastery has appropriated dangerous desires in the cause of Christian virtue, aiming "not to repress secular experiences of freedom", rather "to form religious desires out of them" (1993: 165): thus, ritual behavior is not necessarily in opposition to non-ritual behavior.

6) Hafiz particularly uses the term "imbricated" to emphasize the significance of to begin our inquiry of the secular with an assumption that "religion and secularism are *seldom* distinct or separate" (2011: 5, italics mine). In this regard, this term is significant to develop my argument as it reinforces my engagement with Asad's exploration of the relative (un) fixedness of the secular (and the religious).

Cannell 2010; and Starret 2010). The epistemological problem with such a Western-centrist approach, is that once it is exported to a non-Western context, it is difficult "to locate the place of the secular in the lives of ordinary people whose lives transcends the Western and non-Western boundaries" (Bangstad 2009: 195). One way to overcome this problem, Bangstad argues (2009: 201), is that anthropology of secularism should regard the secular as "vernacular practice." This is not the local translation of an overarching designation of the secular. Instead, writes Cannell (2010: 97), we need a definition that observes "the enactment of the understandings of, interest in, or perhaps total indifference to, the secular and the religious in the actual and lived situations of local societies".[7]

In the case of Muslim societies, the focus on vernacular practice of the secular may correlate with an approach proposed by Otayek and Soares (cited in Soares and Osella 2009), called *Islam Mondain*. It is one that dismisses privileging Islam as religion over anything else, emphasizing instead the actual world in which Muslims self-fashion their ways of being Muslim in secularizing societies and spheres, compatible with modernity and neoliberal economy (p. S11-S12).[8] Also, I find it imperative here to mention the late Harvard historian Shahab Ahmed, who warned against the conceptualization of Islam in terms of the secular/religious binary as "both an anachronism and an epistemological error", calling instead for attending to the conceptualization of *being Muslim* in terms of legal and non-legal constructions of the meaning of Islam, all of which are seen as *Islam* (2015: 210-11). By mentioning him, I want to emphasize here that to study the secular in the context of Muslim society we need to take into account the construction of meanings of Islam by the Muslim subjects as a product of not 'always' only legal, but also non-legal discourses.

This chapter is divided into three parts. I start with an exploration of the suspected secularity of cinema space. Then, I draw my attention to Kidang's technique of surveillance in order to make it clear how the notion of an authorized and non-authorized space is constructed amongst the Kidang people. In the third part of the chapter, I focus on ethnographic stories of santri's collective practices of film-watching on Kidang's grounds, and about their excursion to cinema-related spaces. Thus, by focusing on their use of different narratives, behaviors, and strategies that relate to their

7) For example, writing on the secularity of musical sound in India, where significant features of imported and localized understanding of secularism thrived (Cannell 2010: 93-5), Bakhle dismissed the assumedly-general origin of the secular, and decided instead to focus on "different historical contexts" that are constitutive of "the emergence of locally elaborated secularism" (2008). This approach resonates Agrama's suggestion to look secularism as "a problem space", that is, "a historical arrangement of power in which the question of how and where to draw a line between religion and politics becomes seemingly indispensable to the practical intelligibility of our ways of life" (2012: 41).

8) *Islam Mondain* is comparable to Patrick Haenni's 'Market Islam', a term that he coined to refer to Islam as a life style choice in a neo-liberal time, one that exceeds the political Islam (Haenni 2005).

film-screening and cinema-going experiences, I foreground how the putative binary of authorized/non-authorized, piety/pleasure, and discipline/desire places is both collectively and subjectively negotiated, imbricated and politicized by the Kidang santri in view of the pesantren's cultivation of spatial sensibilities. Finally, I argue, by linking the cinema-going experiences of the Kidang santri with the pesantren's production of spatial sensibilities, we will be able to shed some light on the vernacular enactment of the secular/religious dimensions of space in a Muslim society.

Cinema as a secular space

It is commonly viewed that film theaters can be separated from Islamic norms because they are mixed areas in which people of different sexes sit under dim lights and watch films that may contain, albeit not always, nudity and erotic scenes (see Jasin 1930; Mihardja 2009 [1949]: 52; Hassan 1969: 1187-90 and 1211; and Hooker 2003: 85). Despite the fact that many cinemas in Indonesia today are located in venues in which prayer rooms are part of the building's public facilities, and films with religious themes are now common across the country's mainstream cinema chains, a film theater is still seen as un-Islamic by some Muslims in Indonesia, including in Kidang pesantren. This taboo is also observable in other Muslim societies (see Larkin 2008; and Shafik 2003 [1998]: 48).[9]

Anthropologist Brian Larkin (1998, 2002, 2008), in his ethnographic writing on controversies over a construction plan of cinema theaters among Nigerian Hausa Muslims in the city of Kano, has shown that cinemas in Nigeria are never a discreet building. Instead he points at the combination of the sensual and material qualities of cinema theaters, the historical creation of urban topography of the Nigerian sociability, and the local political struggles of Kano Muslim society, that has simultaneously helped stigmatize the publicness of cinema space with illicitness, insecurity and a destabilizing force. What is important in Larkin's work here is his suggestion to look at the secularity of cinema as a socio-historical phenomenon.

According to McLuhan, film excels as a medium because of its capacity to transport its audiences into other realities (2001 [1964]: 310-312). As a place of film screening, the cinema has the potential to accede to such a transporting capacity, even to a greater intensity than the film itself does. For one thing, the connection between the cinema audience and film screen is visceral rather than visual (Hoek 2009: 83; see also Sobchack 2004: 71). Watching a film in a cinema is greatly distinguished by the processual feature of cinema-going experience, the material qualities of a cinema hall such as the dark room, the arranged row of seats before the big screen, and the packed crowd. All of

9) This is not to overlook the fact that the "inter-sensorial" (Howes 2006: 161) qualities of an object like cinema theater can appear to be "disruptive" and "dangerous" for many people in other places around the world irrespective of their religious backgrounds (see for example, Hahn 1994 and Gerritsen 2012: 185).

these qualities have the potential to heighten the liveliness of what is seen in the film in a cinema theater (Larkin 2008: 152). More than the film itself can do, the infrastructure of a cinema theater may offer a "carnal experience" (Sobchack 2004: 3) to film audiences whose "bodies" are magically transported into imagined places far beyond the physical boundaries of the cinema hall while they remained sitting in their seats.

Cinemas in Indonesia have screened both domestic and imported films.[10] Considering the cinema's transporting ability, stepping into a cinema hall in Indonesia can become a magical journey into a global world, in which Indonesian realities are commingled with those of America's, China's, and India's – i.e. countries which have long dominated Indonesian cinema (for a similar case in Nigeria, compare with Larkin 2008: 124). This way, cinemas are highly public, and watching a film in a cinema can be experienced as both strengthening and eroding one's cultural identities (*Ibid.*).[11] In short, the extension of the cinema hall beyond its physical boundaries may have rendered the space inside it so fluid that it is difficult to control.

Furthermore, some authors have linked the practices of film screenings in Indonesian cinemas to the discourse of political security, national, and religious morality (Sen 1994; van Heeren 2012; Paramaditha 2014). The fear of films has its origin in colonial times, during which films were censored due to their assumed effects on "the prestige" of the Westerners before the eyes of native audiences (Biran 2009 [1993]: 41; Sen 1994: 14; Nugroho and Herlina S. 2015: 63).[12] Since independence, in particular during the New Order period (1966-98), film censorship regulations were enacted

10) Films that have been screened at Indonesian cinema theaters are diverse across history. The country's first film screening of a Dutch documentary in December 1900 (*Bintang* 1900) was soon followed by the popularity of American and European films in the first two decades afterward (Sen 1994), and by the emerging production of domestic films by Chinese-Indonesian filmmakers in late 1920s (Said 1982: 16-17). After a short outbreak of Japanese war propaganda films in mid 1940s, the dominance of American films was quickly restored in 1950s, along with the increasing imports of Chinese and Indian films (Said 1982), not to mention the few screenings of films of Egyptian production (Madjalah 1948 & 1949). After that, despite the ruling government's continuous efforts of increasing domestic film production, the popularity of Asian films from China and India, and the overt dominance of Hollywood films at Indonesian cinema theaters continued to prevail until today (Said 1982; Sen 1994; Barker 2011).

11) On another note, there have been occasional removals of domestic and imported films from the country's cinema screens after receiving severe protests from Indonesian publics on the basis of the films' assumedly erotic, and, to a lesser degree, political and religiously sensitive, contents (Said 1982; Sen 1994: 25; Barker 2011: 73; Hoesterey 2012).

12) From December 1900 onward, cinema going was firstly introduced to Indonesian native audiences as "an elite, racially coded, leisure practice" (Larkin 1998), as the ticket prices for a film screening were affordable only to Western and native elite audiences. Three years later, it was established as a colonial activity, as the "*slam*" audiences, referring to low-income native audiences, were included into the country's cinema scenes (Biran 2009 [1993]). Writing in 1940s, Indonesian novelist Achdiat Karta Mihardja showed how local Indonesians had related the illicitness of a cinema space with colonial associations, as he

through the perspectives of public morality and political security (Sen 1994: 69). In today's context, while the morality and security discourses have continued to preside at the center of the state's film censorship regulations, an emerging force from religious "street" groups have often intervened in the public screening of a film in the cinema theaters (Hoesterey and Clark 2012; Paramaditha 2014).[13] In short, the publicness of a cinema space is always related to the centrality of films screened at cinemas and to the national debates of public and religious morality and political security (Gerritsen 2012: 187).

Moreover, the physical space of the cinema can evolve into "a trans-local space": one in which people of different class, religious, ethnic and gender boundaries mix with one another (Larkin 1998: 49). The sites of cinemas in Indonesia have always been integrated into the marketplace which is also sites for game shows, gambling stalls, food and open bazaars, and folkloric performances (Biran 2009 [1993]: 28-9). The variety of leisure activities that simultaneously happens around the cinema building may render the act of cinema, involving "an aura of improvisation, of adventure, of illicit and abrupt departure from daily routine" (Tsivian 1994: 30). In regard to the linkage of cinema building with the marketplace, it is significant to remember that "markets are inherently dangerous by virtue of their unboundedness (Masquelier 2001: 212). Markets are an open public space in which all sort of people – traders, businessmen and women, witches, thieves, prostitutes, thugs, clerks et cetera – may come across for various forms of interpersonal exchanges, highlighting the insecurity and illicitness of the market space. While an act of going to market can be experienced as transgressing class, gender, ethnic and religious boundaries, the physical proximity of the cinema with the market, adds Larkin (2002: 326), has the consequence of associating the former with the later. That is, the cinema theater becomes constitutive of the moral aura that grows around its surrounding spaces. As such, what is illicit and transgressive about a cinema-going activity relates not only to what is on screen, but also to surrounding space of the cinema building.

The spatial and material quality of contemporary Indonesian cinema theaters, however, has changed over time. Equipped with air-conditioning, cushioned seats, multiple screens, and galleries for snacks and refreshments, they are now integrated into the space of shopping malls, which have mushroomed across Indonesian cities since the early 2000s. This should not be read, though, as if the brightly lit, spacious,

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wrote, "...It (cinema) is a place of disgrace; that is the only meaning of cinema, of film, a place for non-believers (the European and American men) to give examples of kissing, sensual hugging, and adultery (on screens)" (Mihardja 2009 [1949]: 52, bracketed words mine).

13) The term "religious street groups" refers to Islamist militia groups, such as FPI (Front Pembela Islam, 'Defender Front of Islam') who often marched on the street, protesting against particular screenings of a film which they deem inappropriate according to their 'somewhat radical' understanding of Islamic teachings.

clean and comfortable constructions offered by the space of shopping mall diminishes the 'adventurous' association of the cinema space. Conversely, replete with clothing shops, jewelry galleries, bookstores, food courts, beauty centers, game and entertainment facilities, prayer room, and security checks, the space of shopping mall offers a wealthy-middle-class lifestyle of economic, social, cultural, leisure, and even religious activities that are secluded and controlled from the trouble of the surrounding slum areas (Schmidt 2012: 399). This means that the space of the shopping mall as a public sphere (Jewell 2013), despite it being highly controlled and exclusionary, is no less trans-local than that of the open marketplace where the old cinema buildings were located. In contrast, the luxury, controlling and exclusionary characters of the shopping mall may intensify the insecurity, and hence the uncontrollability, of the mall space, especially for those who are not familiar with it.

I will now move to an exploration of how the notion about illicit and non-illicit space is produced in Kidang pesantren.

The production of space in Kidang pesantren

Since the *Terpadu* System was implemented in Kidang by early 2000s (see Chapter 3), some disciplinary practices have been reinforced by Kidang's authorities in order to successfully run the pesantren's educational programs.[14] This includes, among others, a prohibition to leave the pesantren grounds without approval from the pesantren's authorities, a requirement to actively participate in all Kidang's daily ritual and learning activities, and a restriction to possess and use electronic and information devices – i.e. mobile phones. There is also an operation of gender-segregation rules: any contact between santriwan (male santri) and santriwati (female santri) is restricted to one that is under informed consent from the authorities; a partition of the pesantren area on the basis of gender distinction, one for santriwan and the other for santriwati; and all activities of learning and rituals are organized separately between male and female groups. If a santri is found guilty of breaking any of these rules, he/she will undergo a series of punishments, risking ultimately the continuation of his/her study in the pesantren. The spatial structure of Kidang has been designed so as to strengthen the ability of authorities to keep the students under surveillance.

The Kidang pesantren is located at the edge of the Kidang village, nearly separated from the quarters of villager's houses. If one wants to enter Kidang's area from its main gate, one has to walk down an alley, which connects the pesantren square up to the village's main street, from which, if one goes further up to the southwest, one arrives at an intersection in which the city busses stop. The entrance to the pesantren is at the end of the alley. There is a gate, but it is unguarded. Behind the gate is a *madrasah* building, and by a section of scattered houses belonging to the pesantren's *kyai* and

14) Obviously, some of them were already in practice beforehand, but with a lesser degree of disciplinary mechanism.

families. Despite the houses' main doors look onto dissimilar directions, and their walls are disconnected from one to another, yet, an accumulation of their built space erected along the lines of the pesantren's frontier areas seem to draw a dividing line between the pesantren area and the world outside it. To the south, for instance, they extend up to the pesantren's huge fish farm, disconnecting the southern-end of the pesantren's square from its neighboring quarter. And to the north, they finish at a high concrete fence, behind which is the back wall of the santriwati's dormitories, separating the other end of the pesantren square from another quarter of villager's houses in the north.

After passing the complex of the *kyai*'s and pesantren families' houses, there is a mosque at the heart of the pesantren area. This is where the *jumat* sermon, religious rituals and other activities of the santriwan mostly take place. In front of the mosque's main door is the main section of pesantren's buildings, each of which looks onto different sides of a yard in the middle of them. Consisting of multiple floors, every two first floors of the buildings are mostly used for dormitories, and the upper-part floors for the classrooms. Meanwhile, the first floor of the building standing right across the mosque's main door is operated as the pesantren's administration office. In addition to these dormitories, to the right side of the mosque's main door, is a cemetery for the pesantren's deceased family members. Next to it, and only separated by a small muddy path, is a connecting area of a male-only kitchen and bathrooms, whose back wall is adjoining to the pesantren's fish farm. Built on top of the nearest end of the fish farm are a couple of wooden classrooms that are also reserved for santriwan. Across from the fish farm, and stretching to the backyard of the santriwan's dormitories, is an open and wide area of paddy fields that in the south reaches at the last block of the villager's houses, and in the east at thick bushes.

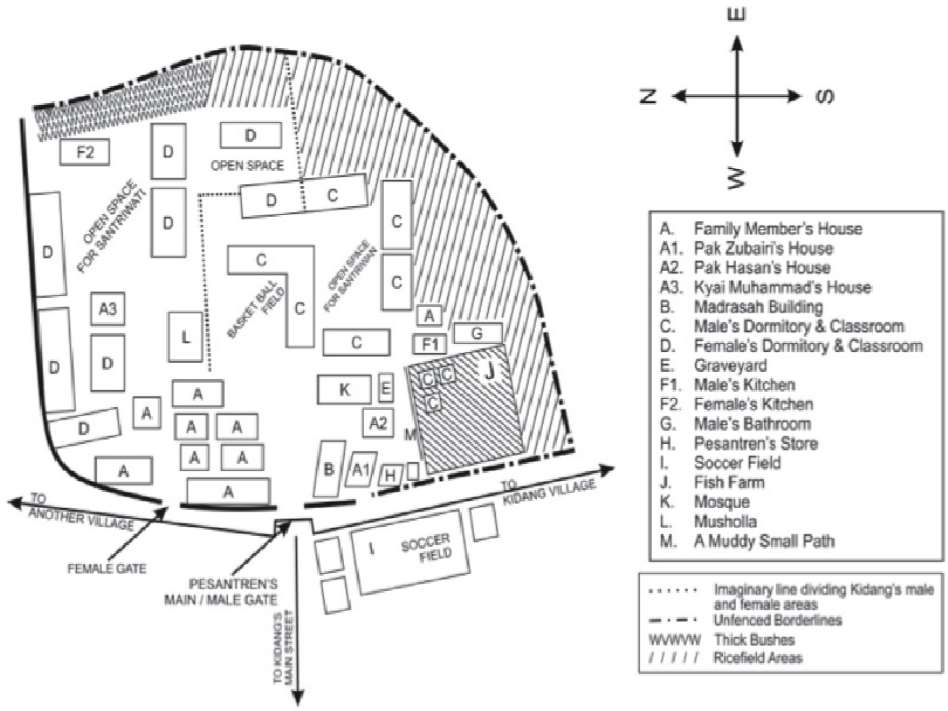
Similar to the openness of the pesantren's gate, most of Kidang frontier area is not marked by a fence. Except for the female areas in the northern side of Kidang, most of its borderlines are left unmarked. They are only determined by the wide rice-field area and the unfenced fish farm. Taufik, a grandson of Kidang's *kyai*, often told me that the openness of Kidang areas is related to pesantren's willingness of integrating pesantren to the neighboring villagers. Yet, for the Kidang santri, pace Taufik's explanation, the openness of the pesantren borderlines are experienced as an open gaze, because every santri who walks in and out of the pesantren area is under surveillance. In other words, the open, unfenced border of the pesantren frontier areas can effectively help control the circulation of santri in and out the pesantren grounds.

In contrast to the male-only zone in the southern side of the pesantren area, the northern side of the pesantren ground is constructed as a female-only space. There is, though, no concrete wall that separates the two gendered domains. The symbolic object that is taught to be a marker of their separation is a *musala,* a female-only prayer room, located across a basketball court next to the main section of the dormitory buildings for santriwan. As I was informed about it on the very first days of my arrival in the pesantren, the *musala* building draws an invisible wall stretching to the East and upright

Picture 7: Kidang's *musala* and the pesantren's invisible wall. My photograph.

to the West, marking an imagined divide between the male and female areas. While the male santri are allowed to sit around the left-side terrace of the *musala*, which is imagined as male-space, they are prohibited to walk across the front yard of the prayer room, and vice versa for the female santri. As far as I know, no one in particular conducts surveillance from the *musala*. Yet, the arrangement of buildings close to the *musala* is imposing to anyone who is walking around it a sense of being continuously watched. This is because, while the front yard of the *musala* is left open, about twenty meters to its left, is the house of *Kyai* Muhammad, the Kidang's main leader: his house's main door and clear-glassed windows looking straightly away onto the *musala*'s front space, and through to the basketball court in the male-only area. (See picture 7).

Although santri of Kidang (must) remember by heart the pesantren's disciplinary regulations and gendered segregation rules, these rules are extensively written on paper, on pesantren's corners and walls, taught during the class, discussed among santri, as well as inculcated through disciplinary mechanism (I will describe it shortly later). Yet, this does not mean that the santri have never transgressed nor endeavored to circumvent these rules. On the contrary, reports about santri transgressing the disciplinary practices and segregation rules always dominate the talks on *Kemisan*, a weekly evaluation program held on every evening of Thursday (*Kamis*), attended by Kidang's *ustadz* and higher authorities. An ustadz of Kidang said during the *Kemisan,* for example, that many santri who transgressed the pesantren's segregation rules, they managed to do so because they were given permission by their supervisory teacher to leave the pesantren



Picture 8: The map of Kidang's area. My own sketch.

ground for doing a homework assignment at an Internet café. According to him it was on their way to the café, or through the Internet-based social media that the male santri had their interactions with the female santri. For this reason, the *ustadz* strongly advised that circulation of santri in and out the pesantren had to be more restricted.

But even within the pesantren grounds, secret exchanges of short messages, small talks and flirt of greetings between santri of the opposite gender were noticeable. Avoiding a face-to-face contact, the santri usually did so by throwing from a distance a piece of paper with a short note on it, at a specific corner of the pesantren space and on specific time when to throw it, under notification of the intended person. Another way, they did it through the help of *Ibu Dapur* (some middle-aged women who worked to prepare the food for the Kidang santri) who would send the greetings to the intended persons as they freely moved from the male to female kitchen areas of the pesantren. Kidang teachers, I believe, are by no means unaware about the discreet contacts between santri of the different gender, and about the role of *Ibu Dapur*. Thus, all suspicious corners of the pesantren are controlled by a security division that watches them under continuous observation; as well as each student of Kidang pesantren is grouped under an authority of assistant teachers who put them under their continuous supervision.

The highest authority in Kidang resides with the pesantren's main leader, who at the time of my fieldwork was *Kyai* Muhammad. Theoretically, all decisions relating to the Kidang's governing system may only be taken with his approval. In practice, though, he lent his authority to a trio of his sons, namely Pak Zubair, Pak Hasan and Pak Harun, who are stationed in the principal offices of, respectively, Kidang's Senior High School, Kidang's Junior High School, and Kidang's *Salafiyah* education. Under their authority, Kidang's system of governance is divided into several divisions, each of which is directed by a senior teacher (*ustadz*). One of these divisions is the so called *Divisi Kepengasuhan Santri* (the Division of Santri-related Supervisory Affairs) by then headed by *Ustadz* Rizal, a(nother) grandson of Kyai Muhammad), whose main tasks is to govern the operation of Kidang's disciplinary programs.[15]

Under the command of *Ustadz* Rizal, each santri of a similar dormitory in Kidang is placed under the authority of an assistant teacher, called *ustadz pengabdian* (lit, '*ustadz* on service'), who ceaselessly takes the santri under his or her supervision. Usually, the assistant teachers are santri of Kidang who have graduated from high-school, but who have decided to remain living in the pesantren, serving themselves as a sort of an *ustadz* in training, but still learning an advanced level of pesantren's *kitab kuning* curriculums from Kidang's *kyai*.[16] For this reason, they can be regarded as 'senior santri' of Kidang pesantren.

The *ustadz pengabdian* regularly come to santri's dormitories, observing the latter's daily conditions. If a santri has a problem, they should be the first persons to know about it and to provide a counseling service. If a santri gets ill, they are responsible to bring him/her to hospital. On every Friday, the only day when the santri are allowed to leave the pesantren ground, they are tasked to make sure that reason of leaving of the santri is permissable under the pesantren's 'exit-permit' regulation, and that the santri returned to the pesantren area at the time due, or before the Friday night, when a new week of Kidang's learning cycle is begun. They record every circulation of santri in/out the pesantren grounds, conduct random inspections in certain areas of the pesantren grounds, document the attendance of every santri at Kidang's activities of learning and rituals, and ultimately write a report of their jobs to the higher authorities of Kidang's, i.e. *Ustadz* Rizal. If they fail to do their tasks, they can be criticized and eventually released from their position.

At the lowest level of Kidang's structure of authority, there is a collection of santri selected as board members of OSPK (*Organisasi Santri Pesantren* Kidang), the highest

15) Aside from it, assignments of *Divisi Kepengasuhan* include development programs of santri's social (*etika*) and ritual (*ibadah*) behaviors, sanitary and cleanliness affairs, application of English-Arabic speaking discipline, organizing the sporting and extracurricular activities, and organization of matters related to healthcare, food and nutrition, and problem counseling.

16) Yet there are a number of junior teachers in Kidang who are fresh graduates of Gontor pesantren: they are sent to Kidang on the basis of Kidang's relationship with Gontor.

and only form of Kidang's santri association. While all santri are automatically members of the OSPK, the fifth graders of them are required to become board members of the organization, the first two-top positions of which are democratically elected by all santri of the pesantren. Board members of the OSPK will work for a one-year period, starting from the time they were elected, usually in every October of a year. When they move up to the sixth grade, the last and highest grade in Kidang, the next cohort of fifth-grader santri will replace their positions in the board membership. After retiring, they are no longer allowed to participate in any kind of organization and extracurricular activities in the pesantren, but must focus on their studies and prepare for the pesantren's final examinations.

Placed below the authority of *Ustadz* Rizal and under direct supervision of the assistant teachers, assignments of the OSPK board members are an extension of programs of *Divisi Kepengasuhan*. One kind of the OSPK programs, however, is the security division: one that is significantly involved in the enactment of disciplinary mechanism of Kidang pesantren. From my observation, "their gaze is alert everywhere" (Foucault 1977 [1975]: 195). Generally, after the *isya* prayer, or in situations in which santri has higher probability to sneak out from the pesantren areas, members of the security division regularly inspect places around the pesantren areas and neighboring houses where the santri may leave without permission. Occasionally, the security also enter the santri's dormitories, raiding the santri's belongings that are deemed illegal by the pesantren, such as electronic and communication devices. They recorded the attendance of every santri at the five-time prayer rituals; as well as documented those who left the pesantren area and when they returned, making sure that they did so under a notified approval from their assistant teachers. If a santri is caught wrongfully leaving the pesantren area, or when she or he is absent from a collective prayer in the mosque, or in a possession of an electronic device, they are punished. One kind of such punishments usually takes the form of wearing a green veil for a female santri or having one's head shaved for a male santri, announcing the 'criminality' and dangerousness of the transgressing body to a public gaze of the Kidang people. If the rule breaker continues to violate the rules, or if the violation is deemed very serious, such as dating (*pacaran*), their case will be submitted to the higher authorities of Kidang, punishment of which may take the form of discontinuation of the santri's study in the pesantren. In any of these cases, they are obliged to record the act of transgression committed by a santri, and to report it to the assistant teachers, who will then submit the case into the higher authority of the pesantren.

Obviously, the notion of space in Kidang is strictly divided between pesantren's authorized and non-authorized places in view of the pesantren's disciplinary mechanism. The non-authorized places, at once real and imaginary, are often seen by the authorities of Kidang as threatening to the maintenance of disciplinary practices in Kidang pesantren: hence, they are instilled as possibly dangerous and illicit spaces any possible access by the Kidang santri is put under strict surveillance. In this regard, Kidang's

unfenced/unguarded borderlines, as one of the Kidang's techniques of surveillance, bring into mind the work of *panopticism* (Foucault 1977)[17], for the openness of Kidang border areas, similar to the panopticon tower, has rendered everyone passing them overtly vulnerable to unverified, but sensuously authoritative, gazes.

However, Kidang's disciplinary mechanism also relies on coercive measures to the body in relation to the space, commensurating Foucault's work on disciplining the docile bodies (Ibid).[18] A santri's body is permitted and not permitted to be in certain places by certain measures; a santri's body is recorded and reported to be in one place and not in other places; a santri's body that has contravened the pesantren's regulations is announced to Kidang's public as dangerous and contagious through a symbolic measure of "green veil" and "baldness". The cultivation of spatial sensibilities in Kidang involves different "particularities of corporeal being and acting" (Spyer 2006: 125), that are, bodily conducts and scrutinizing gazes from both Kidang's authority and Kidang's publics. Also, notion of time is imperative in Kidang's production of space, instilled through security's random foray into santri's dormitories, its inspection of suspicious areas on a timely-regular basis, and santri's obligation of being seen at specific times at certain places. Spatial sensibilities in short are cultivated by the Kidang people through corporeal and temporal senses.

The cinema-going experience of the Kidang people is performed against the backdrop of Kidang's cultivation of spatial sensibilities. As such, I will proceed to my ethnographic stories on practices of, respectively, film screening in Kidang's areas, on Kidang people's experience of cinema going, and on their excursion to cinema-surrounding spaces.

Practices of film screening by the Kidang santri

In June 2013, I returned to Kidang for the second period of my fieldwork only to find out that the santri had just finished their end-year examination. While all Kidang's activities of learning were temporarily suspended, luckily for me, the santri were not allowed to return to their homes until results of their examinations were announced, which was to take another week. Unlike my previous fieldwork for which I stayed in Kidang's dormitory with the santri, this time, I decided to rent a room from a villager living close to Kidang pesantren. From my rented place, I regularly went back and forth to the pesantren area when needed, which to some extent helped me to detach myself from fieldwork chores, especially when they were getting too much to handle.

17) It is a technique of surveillance that generates a sense of being permanently vulnerable to the central authority, whose towering outline of power is visible but unverifiable (Foucault 1977: 201).

18) In various traditions, the docile bodies, bodies that are manipulatable, have become an object and target of power. They are shaped, transformed and improved through different techniques of disciplinary practices, in order to increase the aptitude of those bodies (Foucault 1977: 138), as for example military service.

A male-only film screening

One, after spending the whole day in the pesantren, I returned to Kidang's mosque for the *maghrib* prayer. As usual, after the prayer, I remained in the mosque for joining the santri in a collective recitation of a middle-length *surat* (verse) of the Qur'an. But this time, as soon as we finished the recitation, a santri of the OSPK board member made an announcement that after *isya* (the night prayer) an open-air cinema screening would be held in front of the mosque. The solemnity of the praying space suddenly broke into joyful screams coming from the santri. One of them who sat next to me half whispered, as if he wanted to explain to me about his friends' reaction, this way: "We never watch a film. So (all of us) are happy (for hearing such announcement). We live in a remote area, so (we) become like that". After a very brief talk with him, I left the mosque for picking up my research equipment in my room. Fifteen minutes later, when I arrived back at the pesantren's mosque, I had found a large screen was erected on a terrace of the pesantren's office that looks onto the mosque's main door. I noticed, a small table was put next to the screen; a laptop and beamer were put on it; and a sound-system amplifier stood beside it. An assistant *ustadz*, whom I later came to know as Jalal, was operating the laptop. I came closer to him, asking about the screening plan. He told me that the screening was a back-up plan for a guest lecture and as the invited speaker was not able to come on the very last minute, a substitute for him could not be found. But he also added that an activity like film screening was good for refreshing the mind of the santri who had just finished their exams; otherwise they could be bored if having no activity.

Once the *isya* prayer was completed, all santri quickly dashed onto the mosque's main veranda, from where they could get the best view to the film screen that was on the terrace of the pesantren's office. Those who did not find sitting space on the veranda, put a table behind the mosque's door, or spread a carpet in between the mosque and the pesantren's office, to use as their seat. There were many santri who squeezed themselves on the veranda, standing on their feet throughout the film screening. In the meantime, I saw the screen being turned on, and Jalal's hand selecting the film to be played. After a brief moment, the lights around the mosque were turned off; the santri suddenly cheered, turning the ambiance of the mosque, which minutes ago was overwhelmed in solemnity, now one of excitement and anticipation.

The screening started with Walt Disney Picture's *Finding Nemo*. Yet, only after a few seconds, some santri began to shout in Arabic "*baddil*, *baddil*!" (change, change!), asking Jalal to change the film. Then, *Finding Nemo* was turned off from the screen, only to be replaced by *The Medallion* (2003), an action-comedy film of an American - Hong Kong production starred by Jacky Chan. When Jacky Chan appeared on the screen, many clapped their hands. After a minute or so, however, other santri yelled *"qudamaaa, qudamaa!!"* ('old, old!'), which means, they have watched the film and wanted it to be changed with a newer kind. *The Medallion* was then quickly stopped. The screen was left blank for a while, before it projected another film, a Singaporean production entitled, *"I not Stupid"* (2002). The santri clapped their hands once more

and yelled even louder. Nevertheless, no sooner than the audiences lowered their noises, the film pictures were suddenly corrupted, making the attentive audience angry and impatient. Apparently, there was a 'technical' problem with the film's files, suggesting that the Jalal's films were illegal downloads from the Internet. Jalal continued to work on his laptop to solve the problem. After about ten minutes, during which the santri kept complaining to each other, the film finally worked again. Yet, before it was re-started, Jalal stood up toward the santri audiences. Half-screaming, he said to the santri that the film had many lessons to them from which they could learn, and he wished them to accept those lessons. (His voice, however, was drowned by the din of the chattering santri). He then clicked the "play" button. The film resumed. And the santri cheered in excitement again.

Not all santri joined the film screening, though. I noticed a few of them kept staying inside the mosque, seemingly unbothered by noises of excitement outside. Some were praying the late *isya*; the others were studying; the rest were just lying down on the mosque's floor. As the film continued, the enthusiasm from the audience also increased. Their reactions, though, varied from one scene to another. They booed at an implicit kissing scene, clapped their hands at the action parts, applauded when the film's protagonist fights against the bad guys, and laughed out loud at the funny moments. The film lasted about two hours. Yet, I saw the majority of audiences stay awake in their seat and, on their feet. Only very few of them fell asleep. The low quality of the film's pictures and the unpleasant seats did not seem to bother the joyful sensation that the film screening offered that night. When the film finally ended, there was no audible reaction from the santri who quietly left the mosque area: the noises heard during the film screening immediately turned into silence.

The secular as relational

The pesantren's mosque where the film screening took place, facing to Mecca direction, situated at the center of the pesantren, and central to Kidang's ritual activities, is an 'imago mundi' (Eliade 1956: 42), or the Kidang people's center of the world. In the Eliadean sense, the mosque is manifested as a sacred space. In contrast to the mosque space, the screened films, with their origins as a US Hollywood, Mandarin and Singaporean film containing an implicit kissing scene, brings Kidang santri audiences into a world that is, not only beyond the pesantren's spatial boundaries, but also probably beyond Kidang's disciplinary practices. The joyful noise from the packed santri audiences throughout the film screening, along with them staying until the last moments of the film, nevertheless, revokes any contradiction between the sacredness of the mosque and the secularity of the films screened, and it also reveals an overlapping affinity between them. For Eliade, the mosque's veranda is viewed as the "threshold", that is, the boundary that allows the continuity of the secular with the sacred worlds (Ibid.: 25). Yet, since many santri did join the screening from the mosque's very interior space, (and yes, all of them were still in their praying outfits), Eliade's idea of the "threshold"

space, implying the hierarchical difference between the sacred and secular space, is also not unproblematic. Here, I would rather argue that the santri's experience of a space is relational (rather than hierarchical): that is to say that space is never a bounded and fixed entity, but is continually shaped and reshaped through various negotiations, and in different circumstances. It is not the mere mosque "threshold" that allowed the Kidang santri audiences to have the film screening without disciplinary mechanism, but it is the presence of Jalal as a representative of Kidang's authority. That is Jalal's combination of a 'pedagogic' and 'entertainment' discourse about, and during the films screened, along with the fact that the screening was organized when santri were on their break from learning activities.

A female-only film screening

The relational feature of space in Kidang becomes more apparent at my participation in the pesantren's film screening for female students. The organization of film screening in Kidang, like any other activities in the pesantren, is a clearly demarcated and gendered experience. But in the female section, the film-screening activity is held more regularly, and this is mostly thanks to female members of Kidang's Matapena.

During my research, I was only able to attend their screening once. For this occasion, considering Kidang's gendered segregation rules, *ustadz* Taufik advised me to attend the screening with a male companion, for which he offered himself to be such a one. Before his offer, however, I had earlier asked Imam, an assistant teacher of Kidang who had become my roommate during my first phase of fieldwork, to come with me. As far as I stayed in Kidang, Imam had always become my devoted companion on my regular visits to the santriwati's area. Nevertheless, when I told him that Taufik would also join us, Imam hesitantly told me that he could not go with us for reasons he did not want to further specify. However, upon insisting, he finally joined Taufik and me in the screening.

The screening at the female spaces was held on a Friday afternoon in one of Kidang's santriwati classrooms, which was transformed into a make-shift cinema. Tables and chairs were moved to the room's backsides, leaving the middle area of the class empty, around which the santriwati sat cross-legged on the floor. In front of them, a laptop and a projector were put on top of a table standing before a whiteboard that is latched on a front wall of the classroom. From the laptop, the beamer projected the film onto the whiteboard.

When we arrived at the classroom, the film was being played. Around twenty santriwati were sitting casually on the floor. After noticing our arrival, though, they immediately changed their sitting positions, and flocked to a rear corner of the class. Contrary to the santriwati's sudden retreat, Taufik confidently led our way entering the classroom. After we sat down on the floor in the other corner, Taufik quickly explained to the santriwati the purpose of our visit.

No sooner did he finish his explanation than I quickly sensed an awkward silence in the room. The santriwati looked stiff in their position, and a few of them left the classroom in shyness. Imam also barely said anything. He repeatedly tapped my back and asked me if he could return to his room, to which I only insisted him to stay. His bashful face indicated that he was embarrassed to be there among the female santri. It seemed only Taufik who looked relaxed in the room. Although I knew that he avoided looking to the santriwati, rather tried to stay focusing on the screen and at times on his mobile phone.

Half an hour later, though, Taufik's mobile phone rang, and after talking to someone over the phone, he decided to leave Imam and me with the santriwati. His departure seemed to have an effect on the atmosphere in the room. As he disappeared behind the classroom's door, the santriwati started to make some noises and became more responsive to the film that was being screened. I also noticed that Imam slowly changed his sitting position into an easy one, forgetting his question to leave the classroom. As the situation in the classroom calmed down, a santriwati came closer to us for offering a bag of biscuits that she brought to the classroom. Only by then I realized that many of them came to the classroom with drinks and snacks as a refreshment, indicating that Kidang's gendered segregation rules have influenced, for good or ill, the ways I conducted my fieldwork in the female areas of Kidang pesantren.

This story shows how the pesantren's rules of gender division and spatial surveillance have been embodied and internalized by the Kidang santri. For the reader's information, the film that these female santri watched was entitled *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* (When Love Glorifies, 2010). It is full of Islamic references, and at once contrary to the kind of film that the santriwan had screened at the other occasion, which had nothing to do with Islamic themes. Yet, the film seemed to be less crucial to the ways film screening has to be structured in terms of gender. Likewise, the mere appearance of male bodies in the female's classroom did not necessarily trigger the sudden changes in bodily conduct of the santriwati. I argue, it was the (bodily) presence of Kidang's higher authority, Taufik, a grandson of Kidang's *kyai* and at once a head division of Kidang's language affairs, that has put both the santriwati and Imam a senior santri, (and me too), into a direct gaze of Kidang's disciplinary and spatial surveillance. This is the reason why Imam was hesitant to join the screening after knowing Taufik would come too, as well as why the santriwati were quick to calm down following the disappearance of Taufik from the classroom. The notion of spiritual authority seems to have played crucial roles in the process of internalization of Kidang's spatial regulations among the Kidang people. Yet, this does not mean that when the authority is invisible to their eyes the santri will ignore the pesantren's spatially disciplinary mechanism. To explore it, I will move to the case of santri leaving the pesantren grounds for the cinema and its surrounding spaces.

Practices of cinema going by the Kidang santri

Baso's case: an extension of space

Baso is an assistant teacher (ustadz pengabdian) at the Kidang pesantren. My interaction with him started during my early days in the pesantren. On the first night of my arrival, he stopped by the room that I had been assigned to, and we exchanged basic details about our personal backgrounds. Baso was born in Ambon, Maluku, in 1982, and after finishing elementary school, he was sent to Gontor pesantren. After finishing his study in Gontor seven years later, he moved from one pesantren to another throughout Java. Yet, unlike Gontor, the later pesantren he attended were of *Salafiyah* type. Finally, in 2005, he decided to live in Kidang and work as an assistant teacher, or *ustadz pengabdian* (lit. '*ustadz* on service'). I remember, as soon as he left the room that night, Ulin and Imam, the two senior santri who were my roommates, told me that Baso had never returned to his home after leaving Ambon, and nobody knew why.

Baso, like many other santri, has never attended any film screening in a commercial cinema. He must be aware about the prohibition of leaving the pesantren ground by the rules of Kidang's disciplinary practices, and about the fact that, as an *ustadz*, he has to show to his santri an act of obedience and discipline in regard to the pesantren's rules. However, the *Cinema 21* release of N5M (discussed above) had encouraged him to break his personal habit and go to the cinema for a film screening. Possibly, the fact that the film was about santri of his pesantren alma mater, i.e. Gontor pesantren, triggered his curiosity to watch the film in cinema. In short, despite the head of Kidang's *Kepengasuhan* division to whose authority Baso is responsible of his supervisory assignments had beforehand rejected Kidang santri's plan of a private screening of the very same film in the city's only cinema, Baso firmly decided to join us (Ulin, Imam, and I) to go to Aisa Mall, where the only cinema theater of a *Cinema 21* chain existed in the centre of town, and to watch the film.

Before our departure to cinema, we carefully arranged our movements from the pesantren ground. Ulin, Imam and Baso agreed that the best time to go is on a Friday afternoon. Every Friday, the Islamic holiday, learning activities are suspended in Kidang, during which Kidang's santri are allowed to leave the pesantren area with approval from their assistant teachers. Yet, for the assistant teachers like Ulin, Imam, and Baso themselves, permission is not necessary. At least that was what they tried to assure me when we were setting up our plan. Still, from the way we snuck out of the pesantren, I quickly gathered that we were going to a place we should never visit.

Avoiding any attention from the Kidang santri, we left for the cinema separately. Baso went to the city early in the morning. He told me that lately he had been bored of staying in the pesantren, and to pass the time, every Friday for the last six months he had been hanging out in the city's central mosque. He always went to the mosque early in the morning and returned to Kidang before the evening prayer. So, Baso left earlier than the rest of us, promising that after attending the Friday sermon at the city

mosque, he would meet us at the entrance gate of Asia Mall. In the meantime, Imam, Ulin and I were supposed to leave together the Kidang ground an hour after the Friday sermon. But Imam was unexpectedly asked to meet with one of the pesantren's high authorities right after the sermon. So, Ulin and I decided to leave him behind and then wait for him at the near end of the street, where we could catch public transportation to the cinema. As we approached the main gate of the pesantren by crossing the front yard of the pesantren's mosque, Ulin and I suddenly realized that a religious learning session was going on inside the mosque.[19] I sensed that we immediately increased our speed, and I noticed that Ulin kept looking at the ground as if he wanted to hide his face. After passing the gate, he told me that instead of the main road, we had better take a shortcut, a narrow street that crosses the paddy fields and neighboring houses in the back of the southern end of the pesantren. Arriving at the meeting point and waiting for Imam to join us, Ulin repeatedly complained that we shouldn't have walked in the front yard of the mosque.

When the three of us got to Asia Mall, we found Baso already standing on the steps at the mall's entrance. He had worn a hooded jumper and had fully covered his head with the hood. As soon as we greeted him, he worriedly told us that while waiting, he had been spotted by a girl (seemingly) from Kidang. He said he felt uneasy because the assumed santriwati might think that he was up to no good. In fact, inside the mall, each time we crossed paths with a crowd of girls, Baso glanced at them suspiciously, worriedly asking us if they were santriwati from Kidang pesantren. As we were approaching the cinema theater in the basement, I sensed that he looked increasingly uncomfortable. The glance of his eyes and his gait looked very awkward. As I tried to make a bit of conversation with the ticket lady, Baso sat on a bench in the lobby, became very quiet, continuously looked around the hall, and kept his hood over his head.

At 4:00 pm we went inside the screening hall and sat next to each other to see the film. At one point, Imam told me that he thought Baso was crying. It was a scene where one of the film's santri leading characters had to leave pesantren and goes home because his family cannot support him any longer. Later I would understand why that scene was so personal to Baso, for he would tell me the story that he'd kept secret for almost 14 years, the reason why he could never go back to his own village.

After about two hours, the film came to its end. Ulin reminded Imam and Baso that they had a meeting with the pesantren's high authority after the night prayer, at 8pm. We quickly left the cinema only to find that outside, it was raining torrentially. We heard the call for evening prayer and decided to drop in at a mosque next to the mall's parking lot. After finishing our prayers, the rain was still falling heavily, and we decided to stay longer. Sitting in a corner of the mosque, we chatted about many things: the film we had just seen, the girls we had encountered in the mall, the missed meeting with the

19) Later I would know that the learning season is intended not for the santri but for their parents who are only allowed to visit their children during the pesantren's holidays.

Kidang official, and the worry of being sighted by Kidang's authorities. Still, the three santri were much more relaxed in the mosque than they had been in the cinema and mall space. Ulin took off his cap and long-sleeve shirt, and Baso took off his hooded jacket, leaving them in their short-sleeve t-shirts. Baso started to relax. At one point in our conversation, he told us that this was the first time he had seen a film in a theater. He said, "I wondered how it would be. But, now I know."

Obviously, there was a strong feeling of curiosity and vivid desire about the world out there in regard to Baso's decision of cinema going, not to mention his need of pleasure to relax him from his family problems and boredom of living in Kidang. Yet for him, as well as for Imam and Ulin, a decision to go to cinema can be followed by a feeling of guilt, and that of transgressing the pesantren's boundaries, and of being seen as bad person for making a trip to the movies. The story of santri's cinema going experience is indeed a story about tension between desire and discipline, between pleasure and obedience, and between being a citizen of the pesantren or becoming part of the global (and secular) culture.

In my view, such tension has resulted from Kidang's disciplinary regulations and explicit discourses on unauthorized and authorized spaces. For Kidang's santri, the mosque and pesantren areas are not only the "sacred" places in which they study and practice the ethics and rituals of Islam in their everyday lives, but also the "authorized" space in which they are supposed to be and not to leave. In contrast, the Asia Mall and *Cinema 21* can be experienced as a profane space they are not allowed to be seen in and to be around. Not only because of the socio-historical association of a cinema building and its surrounding spaces with an aura of adventure, illicitness and publicness we have discussed earlier, but also because these places are beyond the pesantren's authorized boundaries. In other words, while leaving the pesantren's authorized zone without permission alone can be experienced as an act of transgressing Kidang's spatial regulations, the secularity of cinema building and its surrounding places have put more weights on the transgressive features of the santri's desire of going to cinema.

Their uneasiness, I argue, also comes from the fact that they entered a foreign, less sacredly defined territory. Asia Mall, which is five stories high, is one of the biggest shopping malls in the close provision of Kidang. Fashion stores and supermarkets occupy the largest parts of the mall, but it also contains beauty centers, American fast-food franchises (e.g. KFC), a local's nation-wide bookstore (Gramedia), a hardware store (ACE-Hardware), cafeterias (e.g. J-Co), a fitness center, game facilities and a cinema theater. It also contains a hotel that consists of 60 rooms, located in the highest floor of the mall. There is a small mosque next to the mall's parking areas. With these facilities, people of different ages, especially during holiday and off-hours times, thronged the mall's spaces for various forms of reasons, such as for economic, social, cultural, and religious activities. Many of these people are dressed up in fine clothes, branded shoes, and wear expensive perfume, very much in contrast to the modest appearance of Baso, Imam and Ulin. My recurrent visits to the mall with the santri, as it will become clearer

later, indicate that it has never been easy for the santri to deal with the publicness of the mall's spaces. I think, the fact that Baso decided to wait for us at the mall's entrance, instead of inside the mall, is telling of his difficulty to adapt to the mall's publicness.

In addition to that, a notion of space extension seems to be crucial here. Baso's constant fear of being seen when in the mall by the pesantren people who are supposed not to be in there either, along with his hiding with the hooded jacket, seems to indicate that the pesantren's alert gazes continued to work even more intensely, despite the santri were far beyond the pesantren's areas. The operation of Kidang's spatial disciplinary surveillance has relied upon panopticism and resultant bodily conducts. These techniques, exploiting the power of imagination and corporeal sensations, seemed to have strongly impacted upon the santri's internalization of spatial regulations. Considering that the pesantren's space that these santri have left is literally open (unfenced), it is arguable that its imagined borderlines seemed to have recalcitrantly extended into where the santri now ventured, i.e. the cinema theater. That is why, even when the pesantren's towering authority is on the surface no longer visible, their behavior shows that the secret excursion to such a secular space as a cinema theater has provoked a feeling of being observable and vulnerable to the pesantren's disciplinary mechanism and spatial regulations.

A number of strategic negotiations have to be appropriated by the santri in order to reduce the tensions they felt. In the case of Ulin, Imam and Baso, such strategies are hinted at through their timely organized departure from the pesantren grounds, their bodily behaviors when in the cinema space, and their stop by at the mall's mosque. In this regard, I find it crucial to discuss the mosque space in its relation to the cinema space, due to the latter's significance as a place to drop by on each of my excursion to cinema-related spaces with the Kidang santri. Larkin (2008) has linked the space of cinema to that of market in term of their uncontrollability to public sociability; and Gilsenan (1982) on the contrary, has linked the space of market to that of mosque in term of their interconnectedness in Muslim society. Here, putting together both Larkin's and Gilsenan's, the santri's stop at the mosque as part of santri's strategy of leaving Kidang's grounds can be seen as two interrelated meanings. Firstly, it reflects that, when outside Kidang's authorized boundaries, space is also recognized by Kidang santri through its divide between "secure" or "insecure", "sacred" or "profane", and "religious" or "secular", definition of which is strongly influenced by Kidang's production of tempo-corporeal space. Secondly, the fact that they did not feel compelled to talk about the girls they encountered and the film they have watched in the cinema while they were in the mosque speaks to how the process of meaning-making of the world for being a Muslim santri often transgresses and overlaps the religious and secular boundaries.

The fact that Baso was the most uncomfortable of the three senior santri warrants further reflection. Unlike his two friends, Baso had never gone to a cinema before, and he has lived a very different and tougher life than his two peers, including a family problem closely similar to that of one of the film's characters. The combination of

the "first experience" factor and his personal-family background seems to have added a further emotional layer to his first cinema going experience. Baso's case illustrates that santri have individually shaped their cinema going experiences and made them meaningful in term of "their own pasts" and their own "social and historical factors" (Samuels 2012: 3). By this I mean that our approach to the ways the Kidang people have dealt with the secular should be one that places the santri as agentive Muslim subjects.

I will now tell the story of Jalal, in which I will further explore how as an agentive subject, santri will personally explore the sensual and material qualities of the built cinema and its surrounding spaces.

Jalal's case: an explorative subject

Jalal was born in 1992, and was raised in a family with a strong pesantren background in Bandung, about 80 kilometers to the northwest of Kidang. His parents sent him to Kidang after he graduated from elementary school. Having finished high school in Kidang, he now works in the pesantren as an assistant teacher, besides pursuing his bachelor's degree in Islamic education at Kidang's Islamic college.

My interaction with Jalal only started in the late months of my stay in the pesantren. I had actually seen him since my early stay there. I remember, once during my first weeks in Kidang, a santri came to me for a question if I could let him copy my film collection. I was surprised by this question because I had never met the student before. About a year later, when I returned to Kidang for the second period of my fieldwork, I came to know him as Jalal. Many people in Kidang told me that, Jalal was the one who had a lot of films stored in his laptop, he mostly (illegally) downloaded from the Internet through the pesantren's Wi-Fi connection (the access of which is granted by his position as an assistant teacher).[20] When I got to know him better, he would admit that unlike the majority of the Kidang santri, he often went to a cinema theater for a film screening. Jalal had also often directed santri's drama performances for competitions and he had made a few short films with other male students (see chapter 5 for discussion about his films). Based on this information, on one evening I came to Jalal for an interview. Although I didn't bring any kind of recording equipment, the interview turned to be a very long night conversation in his room. And we ended up making an appointment to watch a film together in a cinema theater.

We agreed to meet up at *Asia* Mall on one Monday afternoon. I went to the mall earlier in the morning, hanging around first in one of the mall's cafés while waiting for Jalal. Before two o'clock, Jalal texted me if he was on his way to the mall, accompanied

20) These illegal downloads may wonder us to question the extent to which the Internet is seen as a secular space for the santri. In regard to the (il)legality of the Internet space, see also my discussion on the social life of film-related technology, including the Internet, in chapter 5 of this dissertation. In short, it seems that Jalal and many other santri take for granted their illegal downloading activities on the Internet space. Only when it comes to pornographic materials, that the santri will be seriously concerned.

by Nurman, another senior santri. In about thirty minutes, I saw him standing next to the mall's lift. On my way to approach him, he gave me a sign that we needed to hurry up to take the lift to the ground floor, where the *Cinema 21* is located, and then told me that the film was about to commence. Letting him lead our way to the cinema hall, I asked him if he had decided upon the film he wanted to watch, to which he nodded his head. Meanwhile, Nurman looked very quiet, and only spoke when necessary. As soon as we arrived at the cinema's main door, Jalal dashed to the ticket desk while I glanced for a while at the film display. I remember there was only one Indonesian film that was being screened, and the rest were Hollywod films. I thought Jalal would watch one of these Hollywood films. Not only because I thought that they were his preference (which was apparently a mistake!), but also because the poster of the Indonesian film implied a kind of nudity contained in its scenes. Moreover, on the lower part of the film's poster, it was labeled D, or *Dewasa*, indicating that the film was intended for an adult audience. Yet, when I arrived at the ticket desk and asked him what film should I buy for the ticket, he told me in a confident way that we were going to watch the Indonesian film.

It was a comedy genre film entitled *Kawin Kontrak* 3 (Temporary Marriage 3), a sequel of the same-titled films centering on practices of temporary marriage in a village in Western Java. In the cinema theater, Jalal sat next to me. During the screening, I often observed his reactions regarding particular scenes, especially those that showed various parts of female's body (*aurat,* or 'aurah), and those that display intimate acts such as kissing and cuddling between female and male characters. He seemed to enjoy the film very much as he constantly laughed at the funny, but mostly, lascivious parts of the film. However, I noticed that he looked quite cool at the kissing and cuddling scenes. As a particular example, I didn't see him avoid looking at such scenes, as I expected him to do, and as I saw Nurman did. Out of curiosity, I tried to ask him about his film choice right away as we left the cinema hall. He told me that he had been wanting to watch the film for long time. I then further asked him if the film, considering its nudity, worried him as a santri. To my surprise, he told me that he had expected that the film, classified for adult audiences, would feature erotic and nudity. Yet, he added, he did not worry about those scenes because the place where he watched the film, i.e. the cinema, is a public space.

Significantly, in contrast to Baso, Jalal seemed to be at ease in the cinema theater, and relatively knowledgeable with cinema-going practicalities and with film classifications. This perhaps can be seen as a performance that Jalal intentionally created in order to show me how modern he is as a santri and as compared to his peers in Kidang. Yet, even if this is true, the fluency of the ways he was doing it must be a result from his regular experience of visiting cinema theaters. Therefore, I doubt to conclude that his excursion to cinema is less transgressive than Baso's. His decision to watch the film on a Monday afternoon, instead of a Friday, is worth noting. I have said earlier that on every Friday the Kidang santri are allowed to leave the pesantren ground as long as they have approval from the pesantren's *Kepengasuhan* division. Conversely, on Monday, an active day in Kidang, all santri are obliged to stay inside the pesantren

ground by Kidang authorities. This means that those who leave to go to the cinema on Monday are less likely to be caught by other people of Kidang than those who leave on holiday times. I remember, after the film screening ended, Jalal and Nurman hastily left the Mall, trying to be back in Kidang area before the *maghrib* prayer. I think their presence in Kidang area by the *maghrib* time, when all people in Kidang are supposed to be seen, is imperative, as they will escape from suspicious questions from either the santri or the higher authority of Kidang. In other words, Jalal shared Baso's constant feeling of being seen in the cinema space, yet he could deal with that feeling better, thanks to his experience of visiting the cinema space.

Moreover, unlike Baso and many other Kidang men and women, Jalal viewed the openness of cinema space in an exploratory way. He said, that one should not worry too much about watching an adult classified film in a highly open space like *Cinema 21*. His statement implies that the publicness of a cinema theater is not always threatening, but conversely can be one that is protecting its audiences from acting and being acted upon illicit behaviors. His argument has a point. *Cinema 21*, in spite of its relatively secular characteristics, is not totally secular either. I remember, when I was observing a screening of an Islamic themed film on a Ramadan evening, the screening was interrupted by some ticket ladies who entered the hall for selling snacks and drinks for those who want to break their fasting. Indeed, it is less a religious, than commercial action. Yet, this indicates that it is always possible for the film audiences to be religious in many other ways while inside the cinema space not to mention that many cinema theaters have a prayer room as part of its amenities. Still, as far as I know, Jalal's view is by no means common among the Kidang's santri and its higher authorities. Even Aisyah, a female member of Kidang who is the pesantren's cinematic figure, admitted that she would never attend a film screening in a cinema theater on her own but always with either her female friends or male relatives, implying her anxiety about the illicitness of a cinema theater as a mix-gender space. I don't mean, however, that by treating cinema space as such (and watching an adult classified film in cinema) Jalal becomes less pious than his santri peers who stayed in the pesantren.

Asad (1986: 14) has highlighted the role of authority in relation to the production of the correct form of Islam as a discursive tradition. Ahmed (2015: 282), however, on criticizing Asad's oversimplification of authority as necessarily prescriptive, argues that authority that is operative in Islam (and in other religions) can be explorative. According to him, while the prescriptive authority gives to its proponent a license to prescribe to another, the explorative authority grants its bearer a license to explore (by) himself a range of possible and contradictory meanings of being Muslim that at once are unsettled and unsettling (p. 284). I find Ahmed's notion of the explorative authority especially useful to better understand Jalal's regular frequents of cinema as well as his preference of watching adult-labeled films. Instead of looking at them as "transgressing the correct norm of being santri prescribed by Kidang authority", I argue, as such is illustrative of his exploration to discover a range of possibility of being santri. Put differently, it is part

of his subjectively exploratory experience of "meaning making of the self" (Ahmed 2016) and of "self-fashioning" (Soares and Osella 2009), for being a Muslim in a "secular age" (Taylor 2007) in the sense that the rise of secularity is now irresistible and inescapable in every society. This way, both the secular and the religious are coexistent in and can be part of *Islam*.

Of course, in order to explore, one does not only need a will to do it, but also a capacity to do so, which can be attained through a possession of "authority" and a process of "value-making" (Ahmed 2015: 283). At this point, let me mention the case of the OSPK security division, through which I will examine the ways by which the Kidang santri have gained some sort of capacity regarding their practice of escaping the pesantren grounds.

A capacity to leave

The OSPK's case: a possession of authority

During my second period of fieldwork in Kidang, I hung out with santri board members of the OSPK more often than with the others. In the beginning, I thought that this was because they were more approachable than their fellows. But later I would understand that those hanging outs were a conscious choice, realizing that santri of the OSPK board members often struck me with their capability of circumventing the spatial regulations and gendered division in Kidang, a capability that I was less easily able to note from my hanging out with the other groups of santri. I do not mean that other groups of Kidang santri have never 'endeavored' to leave the pesantren grounds, as indeed they do. However, while OSPK santri are relatively older and have more experience of living in the pesantren, it is their (newly-acquired) status in Kidang's structure of authority that has given them a capacity to challenge the pesantren's regulation of spaces to an extent that other groups of Kidang santri are hardly capable of keeping up with.

To prove this point, I will narrate the story of their first ever cinema-going experience as follows. Many of them often animatedly recalled, usually on my attempts of soliciting them about film-related practices in Kidang, that their first ever cinema-going experience occurred on the very first hours after they were inaugurated as board members of the OSPK. According to their narrative: led and organized by their assistant teachers, still in *maghrib* time right after the inauguration ended, and still in their inaugural outfits, around sixty of them left the pesantren ground through different routes, before meeting at the nearest end of the main road, in which their rental cars were ready to lift them to the cinema theater, unnoticeable by the Kidang's head of *Kepengasuhan* division, i.e. *ustadz* Rizal. The occasion, I was told, was intended by their assistant teachers to, ironically, motivate the santri before they go through a whole year of tedious work in the OSPK board membership.

My purpose of mentioning their first-experience story of cinema going here is also to highlight its significant impact on their everyday lives in Kidang notably after their

newly acquired status of authority in the pesantren. The "inaugural ceremony", I argue, can be experienced as "rite of passage", a symbol of the fifth-grader santri's transition from being "ordinary" santri to becoming "authoritative" ones. The excursion to a cinema-theater right after their official membership in the pesantren's authoritative bodies, and right under the supervision and companionship of their "senior" in Kidang's structure of authority, may actually become one that gives them a sense of entitlement to them escaping the pesantren grounds under particularly permissible conditions and strategic negotiations, knowledge of which were acquired through their experience of living in Kidang, but only officially handed down by their senior on that very event of the evening's cinema-going experience.

Irfan's Case: value-making processes and strategies of leaving

I will now focus on the case of Irfan, the current head of OSPK's security division, and on his discreet excursion to the city's market centers with his santri security fellows. Through his case I will highlight that "strategies of leave" taken by the 'santri' (of OSPK members) are similar to those of their 'senior santri' (of assistant teachers). This in turn makes it plausible to argue, having in mind the story of cinema excursion after the inauguration above, that the knowledge about how to leave the pesantren grounds is a sort of tradition handed down from one generation to another in Kidang. Yet, through his case, I will also show that, despite their similar strategies, how they valued their leavings might differ from one santri to the other.

I first became friends with Irfan in June 2013, a couple of weeks before the Ramadan fasting month commenced in Kidang. It was when I had an afternoon conversation with a group of the OSPK board members, in which his figure was standing out amongst his peers, at least to my attention. From that conversation, I began to build a friendship with him (if not we built it together), the closest friendship with the OSPK board members that I had. In short, after that conversation, Irfan often paid occasional visits to my rental house with or without my invitation, as well as tried to become my faithful companion whenever I hang out in the pesantren - not to mention the regular presents as well as attention that I gave to him. More significantly, we managed to leave the pesantren ground together a few times, despite his highly demanding workloads in the OSPK. One of our departures was on a Thursday afternoon of the Ramadan. As Irfan told me, it would be a visit to a city center with other members of the security division for repairing their broken flashlights, which are property of the security division. However, it turned out that the visit was more than just repairing the broken flashlights.

Irfan and I left the pesantren ground after the *dzuhur* (*ḍuhr*) prayer (at about 1:00 p.m.), just as when the majority of Kidang santri were starting a *bahtsul masa'il* (an answer and question forum concerning religious matters led by one of the Kidang *kyai*) in the pesantren's mosque. We left via a small muddy path in between the pesantren's graveyard and fish farm, before we continued our route via a shortcut that passes the

villagers' houses, the same shortcut that Ulin and I took a year ago. Irfan told me that the other six santri of the security division who joined had departed to the city earlier. But we managed to catch up with two of them nearing the shortcut's ends, from which we continued the excursion to the city by taking an *angkot* (*angkutan kota*, a typical minibus used as public transport in many Indonesian cities). After about an hour, as our public transport reached the city, we stopped at an intersection next to the city's grand mosque, only to find that the other four santri had waited for us at the mosque's veranda.

From the mosque, which is only a short walking distance from the city's market area, we started our adventure. Instead of going to a place for repairing their flashlights, though, we firstly went to "Toko Asli", a Muslim's traditional clothing store located at the western end of the city's market, because one of them wanted to buy a new *kopiyah* (a fez). But, failing to get the suitable *kopiyah,* we encountered inside the store a group of Kidang santriwati who were also, as I was told, board members of the OSPK's female section. I saw they exchanged a few words in a careful manner, about which I could not hear clearly, but later Irfan would tell me that the girls were going to the market, like these boys, for a pesantren-related errand. Leaving the girls in the store, we continued our tour to "Murah Plaza", another mall in the city, which stands across the Toko Asli.

Inside Murah Plaza, we walked around the stores window-shopping, before we finally spent almost an hour and a half in the game center. Cheerfully, they tried most of the game facilities available, likely indicating that gaming is not a serious issue for the santri. At about 4.00 pm, we left the game center for an afternoon prayer at the mall's prayer house, located close to the parking lots outside the mall. After the prayer, we walked back to the central market, where most of the electronic stores resided. We moved from one electronic store to another to ask if they could repair a flashlight, only discover that none of them provided that service. Fed up, Irfan suggested that we go for another tour to a department store that was newly opened in the city, to which all of us agreed. Then we walked up to the south, to another end of the market quarter where the store is located. Inside the department store, we took another tour of window-shopping, and finally we went off from it when we realized that the *maghrib* (*maġrīb*, evening) prayer was about to commence.

We walked more quickly to reach the nearest stop of public transport that would take us to the pesantren. However, no sooner had we reached the stop than the young students had an argument. One group wanted to break our fasting in the city's square; another wanted to return back to the pesantren. I let the santri take the decision, and they finally opted for the former. On our way to the square, however, all of these santri suddenly took a quick run, as if trying to hide their figures from one's sight. I looked around and saw a group of Muslim women wearing *jilbab* (veils) standing at another section of the street. When I caught up with the santri at the city's square, I asked them what was going on. They told me that they were seen by a group of *ustadzah* (female teacher) of Kidang. Since *maghrib* time was approaching, though, we stick to our plan

to spend the *maghrib* time in the city's square. Shortly afterward, we heard the call for *maghrib* prayer, and we quickly dropped by at a food booth for breaking our fasting. After we finished our meal, we went to the nearest *musala* for performing the *maghrib* prayer. After the prayer, as almost all of us look tired, we finally decided to return to Kidang. The broken flashlights, in the meanwhile, remained unrepaired.

Obviously, replete with discrete features, their excursion to the market space triggered a strong sense of worriedness among the santri. On our way, back to Kidang, I asked Irfan why they had to keep discreet their leaving. He told me this way:

> Because, despite we went to the city for repairing the flashlights, we did it without a permit ('*pergi tanpa izin*') from the pesantren's higher authority (i.e. the *Kepangasuhan* division). Well, if we asked for it, we surely won't be allowed to do so. Moreover, we did not want that other santri in Kidang knew that the security division had escaped from the pesantren area, because our division has never had any bad record so far.

Considering Irfan's answer above, the space they left for, i.e. the city's market areas, seems to be less threatening than the fact that they have transgressed Kidang's spatial regulations, that is, of leaving Kidang's areas without notification from Kidang's authority. Irfan might justify the leaving over the flashlight-repairing service, about which they did make an effort to do so: however, if we look at the places that we visited in the city center, along with the fact that the flashlights remained unrepaired, the leaving concerns less about the flashlight than about other personal purposes. If this is true, especially comparing Irfan's case with Baso's and Jalal's, an excursion to cinema theater by Kidang santri is no more *transgressive* than for them to go to other pesantren's non-authored spaces. I was also surprised, moreover, by Irfan relating his anxiety with the reputation of his security division, reminding me of Baso's worriedness of being seen as a bad person by other Kidang people for making a trip to a cinema theater. Kidang's cultivation of spatial sensibilities seemed to have casted a long shadow over the santri's collective perception about being a good santri, noting that under Kidang's disciplinary mechanism, as I have explained earlier, a body contravening Kidang's disciplinary practices will be labeled as "criminal" and put under Kidang public gazes. This in turn has put the santri under constant examination of both Kidang's authority and their santri peers.

'Fun' practices

Yet, in contrast to their secretive manners and tightening feelings, the young students were full of delightful expressions along the ways of our afternoon city tour. Aside from the fact that we spent most of our times in the mall at game centers and entertainment facilities, the mall is where these boys could see and be seen by the girls. Often time we came across a girl on our way, the santri would flirt in order to gain the girl's attention, such as by approaching her for some trivial questions or making particular noises with

their lips, a sort of cat calling.[21] In addition to that, places and things appearing to be symbolic of a Western lifestyle often attracted their attention. As on our arrival at the mall, for example, pointing his fingers to an American fast food franchise standing next to the mall's entrance, Irfan made an inquiry that we take a group picture with my camera at the background of the food franchise's name. Also, the santri often played jokes with objects we encountered on our excursion about which they were unfamiliar. When we took the lift to reach the game center in the third floor, for instance, one santri was pretending that he was "flying" because of the lift's upward movement; an act that provoked laughter from his peers.

Indeed, for these young santri, visiting city centers, malls and the like is not an activity that they can do in a regular basis due to their full-day activities in Kidang, as well as their high workloads at the OSKP board membership. Upon my hanging outs with Irfan and his friends, I often heard some complain about their laborious work as board members of the OSPK, along with the high responsibility that was assigned to them. I was also often told, or could overhear their conversations, about their wish to quickly get free from the board of the OSPK; about their lost motivation in the OSPK's tiresome tasks; and about their wearisome toward the pesantren's monotonous situations. It appears that "to kill the boredom" discourse becomes common among santri who escaped the pesantren grounds.

Bonding friendship

Going to these places, more importantly, can be experienced as bonding the santri friendship. As Irfan told me, his excursion with members of security division was purposed for tightening the bonds between them. That was why, Irfan added, ignoring my involvement in the group, they "went to the city only with all of us, not with the other santri". That said, to an extent that their excursion to the mall centers is replete with charms of discovery, with curiosity of knowing and experiencing the world out there, and with "fun practices" (Bayat 2010: 138) with their close friends, santri's excursion to cinema and city centers reverberates a celebration of being young santri in a secularizing society and sphere.

In relation to making friendship, furthermore, who is allowed and not allowed to come on their excursion becomes a matter of strategic concerns. One day, I asked Irfan to go to the city together with Abduh, a fifth grader santri I also often hang out with. Irfan's reaction however surprised me. He said this way, "No, I do not want to go with him. He is a *terroris*", a harsh reaction that caught me in a full surprise. Abduh, who often involved in Matapena's filmmaking programs, in my view, is a helpful and strong-minded santri. On our series of conversations, however, he often mentioned about

21) Since I had never caught any of their more senior santri doing such overtly flirtatious, if not harassing, behaviors with the girls on our excursion, at least not on my notification, as such is hardly synonymous with the santri way, and perhaps can be related to the fact that they were still growing-up teenager santri.

his friends who studied in other schools, whom he knew through his involvement in school's competitions and extracurricular activities, and with whom he preferred to hang out. He said, "My friends outside Kidang were nicer and much cooler than my friends here. I loved to go out with them mostly for playing soccer or basketball. Playing with them also gave me more experiences (one that he did not get from his santri friends)".

Nevertheless, it is his hangouts with non-Kidang students that have regularly put him under Kidang's disciplinary surveillance. This in turn has rendered him, in the eyes of Irfan and other Kidang people, "notorious" for his "rule-breaking" behaviors of Kidang's spatially disciplinary regulations. Significantly, when I asked Irfan what he meant by his word "*terroris*", he mentioned about Abduh's disappearance from Kidang's grounds and about him being avoided by many of his peers because of his notoriousness. If he went out with him, Irfan continued telling me, it will easily put obvious suspicion on to him from Kidang's *Kepengasuhan* division, as if, his behavior was a disease one would be contaminated by a mere contact.

Timing as strategy

Timing is also imperative in santri's strategies of leaving. Still on our way back from our Ramadan excursion to the market, I asked Irfan why he had the courage to leave Kidang without an exit-permit from Kidang's higher authority, especially considering their assignments as members of OSPK's security division, to watch out movements of santri in the pesantren area. He told me more or less this: "We had a courage to escape the pesantren ground because during the Ramadan, our task to control the pesantren's activities is taken over by the Ramadan Committee. So, we left the pesantren area because other santri handled our jobs".

Irfan's answer has a significant point. During Ramadan, the activities of santri in Kidang slightly change: while the amount of learning activities at classrooms are reduced, Ramadan and ritual activities of collective kind, such as recitation of the Qur'an, *bahtsul masa'il*, religious preaching, *tarawih*[22] prayer et cetera, are intensified. More significantly, in order to organize the Ramadan activities, a special committee, called the Ramadan Committee, is formed. Its members are all santri of a grade that is one level lower than that of the reigning OSPK's board members, signifying Ramadan as a training ground for them to the next year OSPK tasks. The Ramadan Committee looks after the pesantren's activities from the time students get up from their beds for *sahur* meal, usually at 3 a.m., to that when they go to their beds after the night's recitation of the Qur'an finished, usually at 10 p.m.. The Ramadan activities will finish on the last week of the Ramadan month, by which time the santri will be sent to their homes for celebrating *Idul Fitri* holidays with their families, and the Ramadan committee will be dismissed. This way, the Ramadan committee seems to be taking over a huge load of

22) *Tarawih* is a non-compulsory prayer usually conducted in congregation during the *Ramadan* nights.

responsibilities that in a regular situation is assigned to the OSPK's security division. Irfan and the security division's excursion on Ramadan, thus, were doable because of its good timing. At this point it is worth mentioning that after Ramadan passed by, it became less easy for me to make an appointment with Irfan outside the pesantren ground. Even, at many times of our appointments of leaving the pesantren ground, Irfan canceled our plan in the very last minute, telling me that a call for his security-related jobs had restricted him from leaving the pesantren ground.

Conclusion

I have shown in this chapter the effectiveness of seeing the secular and the religious as "vernacular practices" for understanding the practices of film screening and cinema going among the Kidang santri. As the secular associations that grow around the cinema space, which at the same time is at odds with the pesantren's spatial regulations and gender segregation rules, practices of film screening and cinema going among the Kidang santri can be experienced as "secular", one that is not authorized by the pesantren's authorities. Yet, at the same time, the santri is a "desiring subject" (Hafez 2011), who may yearn for visiting a movie theater and its surrounding spaces either for personal reasons, or for doing something fun with friends, or for experiencing the (imagined) world out there. Likewise, the santri is an explorative subject, who may explore a range of possible strategies, collectively or individually, in order to imbricate the tensions between the pesantren's secured spaces and the publicness of the cinema space. In this regard, notions of the secular and the religious, and the demarcation between them, are not just found, but "made" (Calhoun 2010: 48) by the Kidang santri. How this is made are staged at the very center of Kidang's production of space: this is a space that is publicly gazed, bodily sensed and temporally perceived, such as the santri's *strategies* of leave on Friday or during the Ramadan.

I have also described that as santri departed to a cinema theater, they felt an extension of the pesantren's space to the cinema, and a sense of being constantly observed by an invisible authority of Kidang. Yet, by looking at dimensions of space in relation to its tempo-corporeal sensations, I have tried to show that space does not only shape the experience of the Kidang's santri cinema going practices, but it is also shaped by the ability of Kidang santri to learn a sort of capacity to transgress the pesantren's spatial boundaries, as their leaving strategies appear as a complex arrangement of space, bodily conduct and timing. While the production of space at the Kidang pesantren, has been built on the basis of the pesantren's structure of authority, it is the very same authority that has 'authoritatively' enabled the santri to explore the many possible ways of escaping Kidang's spatial boundaries, the capacity that they have learned through their living times in Kidang, but only officially bequeathed as tradition by their seniors when they are inaugurated as part of the pesantren's authoritative bodies.

Finally, I conclude that the element of fear when santri are outside the pesantren

being transgressive (i.e. leaving and going to malls and movies) suggests that they 'make' the difference between the religious and the secular, but do so at a risk and also do not seem to unmake the distinction imposed by the authorities. Since the knowledge of how to leave the pesantren is passed on by the student-authorities themselves it is almost as if the pesantren has allowed a little 'escape valve' to be built in. In other words, the authorities are aware that every year the santri student-authorities take students into town by allowing a little license they may actually be retaining and affirming their authority.