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

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Epilogue

I remember at the time I had just begun the research for this dissertation in 2011, my quick search on YouTube for “*pesantren*-themed films” showed only a few results; with the trailer of Aisyah’s first film, *Hidup*, topping the list. Roughly, seven years later, at the time of writing the concluding part of this dissertation, however, the result of a similar query has massively increased some ten thousand videos.¹ Despite many of the videos not being categorized as films, but videos of, mostly, religious learning (*pengajian*) and documentations of *pesantren* activities, my quick exploration of the list of these videos testifies that more and more films are increasingly uploaded onto YouTube channels by people who live in *pesantren* throughout Indonesia. It should be stated, however, that majority of these films are concerned with the representations of everyday-lived realities of the *pesantren* world and that they can be considered articulations of being Muslim and being *modern* among the younger generation of *santri*.

In this dissertation, I have examined the rise of cinematic practices among the *santri* communities through the salience of tradition, that is, the ways in which notions of tradition become important in and to everyday life circumstances of the *santri*, especially with regard to their engagement with image-making technologies, and their aspirations

1) One of them is a short film *Terlambatkan?* (Are we Too Late?), which was produced by *Kopi Ireng* (Black Coffee). An acronym for *Komunitas Fotografi Tebuireng* (Tebuireng Photography Community), *Kopi Ireng* is associated with *Pesantren Tebuireng*, a traditional *pesantren* in East Java, established in the late 19th century by Hasyim Asy’ari, one the founding fathers of NU. Later in 2018, the *pesantren* established *Rumah Produksi Tebuireng* (Tebuireng Production House) and by April 2019, the production house released a feature film entitled *Sakinah* (A Peaceful State of Life).

and negotiations to blend Islamic piety with symbols and spaces of modernity. In this regard, I am inclined to extend Asad's (1986) notion of "Islamic discursive tradition" beyond the establishment of orthodoxy, and broaden it to include Muslims' projects of exploratory discourses and practices (Ahmed 2015) over "living" (Marsden 2005) Islamic tradition through the concerns, complexities, and fluidity of the everyday life circumstances.

This conceptual framework gives insights into how the pesantren people have personally and collectively established connections between revelatory texts of Islam and mundane practices of the everyday life, as revealed in my ethnographic stories about the need to have the *kitab kuning* in the establishing shot of Aisyah's films and the use of religious discourse by the Kidang people for justifying their cinematic practices. In addition, this approach also enables us to recognize a range of desires, struggles, and morally ambivalent situations through which they negotiate and make meaning of the social changes that occur in and surrounding their worlds. Evidence of this strongly resonates from the santri's engagement with the material forms of film technologies. More importantly, the focus on the salience of Islamic tradition, while linking together ordinary practices of Islam, social changes and cultivation of the Muslim-selves, illuminates the ways in which those who even consider themselves as pious and 'elite' Muslims do not simply aspire to perfectionist ideas of pious life. As my stories of Baso and Jalal reveal, they also account for pragmatic sensibilities of living Islam in accordance to the complexity of everyday life considerations.

In this dissertation, I have also invoked an idea of looking at the cinematic santri as a figure of modernity, which I define as a real person who is at the center of a constellation of many different things that happens simultaneously in a society at one particular historical moment (Barker and Linquist et al 2009). As I showed throughout the chapters of the dissertation, such an approach helps me to provide a productive entry into a range of dispersed social, political, historical and religious processes, with regard to the rise of cinematic practices among the santri Muslims in contemporary Indonesia. In particular, it enables me to draw attention to the political dimensions of the current popularity of cinematic practices among the santri. As I have explored in Chapter One, the term 'cinematic santri' implies a strong and contagious energy that the santri have invested in campaigns that highlight the significance of cinema in articulating their political differences. In this regard, the cinematic santri emerges within a particular field of cultural production, and the politics of Muslim identity and visual representation of Islam are crucial to the willingness of the pesantren people to (re)turn to the film arena. By focusing on the ways in which Sahal has organized his cinematic practices in the headquarters of NU and beyond, I have tried to show how the santri have characterized their cinematic practices through an identification with NU-pesantren tradition not only to be recognized among each other, but also to position themselves in the country's cinematic battle of Islam vis-à-vis the modernist and Islamist Muslim groups with regard to the right interpretation and practice of Islam.

This dissertation, however, has extended dimension of the political into one that is reflecting the dialectical relations between the individuals and the government (Eickelman and Piscatori 1996). NU is a community where the existing system of the country's film infrastructures do not regard them as main audiences (Chapter Two). In response to such marginalization, many of my santri interlocutors often generated among themselves "a sense of cinematic solidarity", that is, a collective emotion among the cinematic santri to help and support each other for the mobility and development of their cinematic projects, the connection of which is shaped on the ground of their common identification with the tradition of NU and pesantren. In this regard, their turn to cinematic practices articulate their critical stance against the presumed ignorance of the state towards the lack of film-screening infrastructures in small town and rural Indonesia, which (not) coincidentally, is where the main pockets of the NU-santri communities are situated, as well as their social distinctions and political identities of being the NU-santri filmmakers/activists. This in turn, however, has ushered in some unintended consequences. That is, as much as the notion of NU-pesantren tradition has the potential to provide a cultural bond among the cinematic santri, the very same tradition, or an identification with the very same tradition, has the equivalent potential to limit the mobility of santri's cinematic projects within the provision of NU-santri communities, and not *seldom* render them exclusive to those who are "rivals" of the NU-santri groups.

There is also an ethical dimension in the ways NU-pesantren tradition is crucial to the santri's engagement with image-making technologies. The rising popularity of cinematic practices among the santri illuminates changes in multiple sectors of the socio-political life in and surrounding the santri communities. In particular, it reflects changes in social and economic backgrounds of the pesantren families, the modernization of pesantren's educational systems largely imposed by the state, and the (global) proliferation of new media technologies which is also felt across the santri communities, among many others (Chapters 1 and 3). For the cinematic santri, however, rather than being frightened by these changes in society, they take it as opportunities that may help remove upon themselves the imposed stereotypes of being "backward Muslims", and to open up new possibilities of improving their quality of being 'cool' and pious Muslims in the secularizing societies and spheres. As I have explained in Chapter Three, they do so by foregrounding their cinematic practices upon the maxim of "preserving the old tradition that is good and taking up the new tradition that is better," the social practice of which is established through the santri's historical scholarship of learning the classical texts of Islam. Consequently, their turn to cinema is essentially directed toward preserving the domination of textual tradition in the pesantren world through the film medium, meaning that their turn to cinematic practices is in practice a reproduction of pesantren's new (textual) tradition of, and, through a film medium.

While cinematic 'visual' tradition is newly introduced among the santri, the ways in which they have established their capacity to engage with image-making technologies

and practices is, both epistemologically and practically, still, and perhaps will always be, an ongoing, if not unfinished process. I suggest here that this process is highly contingent upon various intentionalities, which do not come as inevitable, but socially and relationally constructed at the intersection of individual agencies, institutional authorities, and social situations. I explore the construction of these intentionalities in Chapters Four, Five and Six, and focus my explorations on the manifold ways the santri have subjectively and collectively translate their intentions and desires of engaging with image-making technologies and cinematic practices through the complexity, struggles, and moral ambivalence of living Islam in their ordinary practices of everyday lives. I show here that, while a turn to cinematic practice by the santri can be imbued with a range of fluid and conflicting desires, the santri have always tried to keep linking such desires with Islamic moral registers, characteristics, particularly, with those of an NU-pesantren tradition.

Yet, notwithstanding the adherence to tradition, or the lack of desire to challenge or depart from tradition, many parts of the dissertation also provide insights into how the medium itself fosters significant changes to tradition. I see tradition as something that is never fixed and rigid, but one that is flexible and contingent upon particular settings and circumstances. The prominent role of women in Kidang's cinematic practices, the communicative possibilities offered by film technologies, and the publicizing of what is (the daily life) in the pesantren looks like, all of these, while seems to be enabled by the embrace of cinema, will bring forward into the pesantren's world some new challenges, practices and circumstances that might facilitate a new tradition to "spring" (Kapfer 1988). Perhaps what I imagine happening in the future is the possibility to expanding the democratic spaces within which the (young) female santri are enabled to speak their voices, one that do not only challenge the male-dominated narratives of NU-pesantren tradition, but also reach wider and global scales of recognition.

Finally, in a summation of the relationships between Islam, everyday life, and the uptake of santri of image-making technologies and practices, I would like to re-emphasize that, while the traditionalist Muslims are strict adherents of religious practices prescribed by the earlier generation of *ulama* from the medieval period of Islamic history, they are, just like many other human beings, by no means lacking in knowledge about how to feel at home in the modern world. It is through their continuous interpretation of that very notion of tradition which they inherited from the medieval period of Islam, that the Muslim santri are able to negotiate their faith and religious beliefs with mundane aspirations, struggles, and moral ambivalence of the everyday live circumstances, especially ones that they encountered through the material forms of image-making technologies and practices. While the term 'cinematic santri' reflects a symbolic agency of the santri as a figure of modernity, the santri and the everyday lives of Muslims - even those in pesantren - are just as ordinary and multi-faceted as anyone else's.

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