

Traditional Ulama', Islamic Traditions, and *Ngaji Pasanan* Within The Networked Society: A Netnography Analysis

Mohamad Sobirin

UIN Prof. KH. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto
Jl. A. Yani 40-A (+62 281) 635624 Purwokerto 53126
E-Mail: msobirin.sahal@gmail.com

Abstract: In Ramadan, kiai in various *pondok pesantren* (Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools) conduct lecturing activities known as “Ngaji Pasanan”. This tradition has been going on for a long time ago till today. However, since 2017 up to now, it has been seen to be held by taking advantage of digital information technology through live streaming via Facebook, YouTube or other media platforms. In 2020, online “Ngaji Pasanan” has become a trend nationwide. This study aims to reveal the context of the online “Ngaji Pasanan” phenomenon, which is carried out by the ulama' in *pondok pesantren*, by taking two samples, namely K.H. Mustofa Bisri and K.H. Said Aqil Siradj. Data collection and analysis used a netnographic approach. This study found that: First, “Ngaji Pasanan” of the two traditional Ulama' who used digital media were actually conducted offline, but were mediated by the internet and broadcast online. Second, through the online “Ngaji Pasanan”, the two traditional Ulama' not only convey the teachings in the *kitab kuning* but also contextualize them into socio-religious issues within the digital world, beside they also produce religious discourses and actual nationalities that are being debated by the public, whether in the online or offline context. Third, the presence of traditional Ulama' in the digital space, on the other hand, has been used by netizens to support their opinions by framing their positions on controversial religious and political issues. Fourth, the presence of traditional ulama' in the digital space is more driven by their insistence on addressing the flow of religious and national discourse in

the digital space compared to their affirmation of the use of digital technology to carry out the academic tradition of *pondok pesantren* in Ramadan, namely "Ngaji Pasanan."

Keywords: Traditional Ulama', *Ngaji Pasanan*, Islamic Tradition, Online Media.

A. INTRODUCTION

Ngaji Pasanan is very popular term among students at Islamic boarding schools (*santri*) or traditional Muslim in Indonesia to describe the activity of studying certain traditional books (*kitab kuning*) during the month of Ramadan in Islamic boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*). Usually, the participants of *Ngaji Pasanan* consist of students (*santri*) from the local Islamic boarding school and students from outside the local Islamic boarding school who take advantage of Ramadan to study certain traditional books (*kitab kuning*) at the same time with the intention of *tabarukan* or *ngalap berkah* (seeking blessings) to the *kiai* of the intended boarding school. These kind of *santri* are referred to as *santri kelana*.

In 2017-2018, and from then until Ramadan in 2020 when the Covid-19 pandemic was going on (Arifin, 2020a), there was a different practice in *Ngaji Pasanan* tradition that was carried out by the Islamic boarding schools, when compared to the practice of *Ngaji Pasanan* in previous years. Because since then, *Ngaji Pasanan* has utilized digital information technology so that it appears to have a very broad reach and has been followed by students many times over last year. Since that time, the *Ngaji Pasanan* has been prepared to be more "modern" and "technologic" than in previous years, because of the live streaming video facility provided by social media which is used by several Islamic boarding schools to hold live *Ngaji Pasanan*, such as YouTube, Facebook, IG TV, and new applications based on video streaming and online TV, such as Nutizen, which coordinates the practice of *Ngaji Pasanan* tradition among several Islamic boarding school in Indonesia.¹

¹ I found some of the practices to online *Ngaji Pasanan* tradition, i.e.: 1. Nutizen (Fan Page and Application), presenting live activities of various traditional books (*kitab kuning*) learning from various Islamic boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*) such as; *Tafsir Yasin* live from Ponpes Tegalarjo (presented by Gus Yusuf Chudlori), *Al-Hikam* live from Ponpes Darul Ulum, Poncol, and *Idhatun Nasyi'in* live from Ponpes Krapyak, Yogyakarta; 2. K.H. Ahmad Mustofa Bisri (Gus Mus Channel), presenting *Bidayah Al-Hidayah*, live from Ponpes Raudlatut Thalibin, Rembang.

Researches on *Ngaji Online* have actually been carried out by several researchers before me, such as Arifin's research which focuses on revealing the *kiai's* relationship with his students through the existence of *Ngaji Online* in the middle of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 (Arifin, 2020b), Muttaqin's research seeks to uncover the meaning of the *Ngaji Online* by several Indonesian Ulama in 2019 (Muttaqin, 2020), and Miftahuddin's research which specifically looks at the effectiveness of preaching carried out by Gus Mus via Twitter (Miftahuddin, 2018). However, the whole research does not explore the socio-historical context of the online *Ngaji Pasanan* tradition, nor does it explore how the existence of traditional ulama' and their religious views at the time of *Ngaji Pasanan* took place in the internet user communities. Therefore, this research focuses on answering the following questions: what is the socio-historical context of the tradition of *Ngaji Pasanan*? Are there any aspects that have changed from the *Ngaji Pasanan* tradition which is held offline and that which is held online? In addition, an important question is where is the position of traditional ulama' and their Islamic discourse which are originated from the Islamic tradition of Islamic boarding schools (*kitab kuning*) within religious discourse that takes place in the digital space? To answer these questions, I use a netnographic approach.

B. NETNOGRAPHY AS AN APPROACH

This study uses netnographic theory as an approach in data collection and analysis. Substantially, traditional ethnography and netnography do not differ

Its activity could be watched via YouTube channel; 3. K.H. Said Aqil Siraj, reading Tafsir Yasin at every after *subh*, broadcasted through the Fan Page "Teras Kiai Said"; 4. Habib Muhammad Luthfi bin Yahya, streamed through the FanPage IlmuTasawuf.com; 5. K.H. Zainal Abidin Abu Bakar, reading *Irsyadul Ibad* live from Pondok Denanyar Mambaul Ma'arif Denanyar, Jombang, live streamed via YouTube Channel; 6. Kyai Kuswaidi Syafi'ie, Maulana Rumi Islamic Boarding School, Bantul, reading *Fusus Al-Hikam* by Ibnu 'Arabi, could be watched through his account; 7. K.H. Mukhlis Hasyim, Al-Hikmah Islamic Boarding School, Brebes. reading *Ihya' Ulumuddin* etc., live from the Alhikmahdua.Net (FanPage) or YouTube Channel; 8. K.H. Faqih Abdul Kodir, Cirebon, reading *Nabiyyur Rohmah*, live at FB Fahmina Institute; 9. K.H. Imran Jamil, reading *Al-Hikam*, live on the website www.rlisafmjepara.com; 10. K.H. Ali Imran, from Nur Al-Anwar Islamic Boarding School, Lamongan, reading *Taisir at-Tanwir fi Isqoti at-Tadbir* and *Akhlaq al-Mu'min* can be watched through Ustadz Ali's Noran Bareng account; 11. K.H. Hasyim Hadi, Ambarawa. He reads *Durar as-Saniyah* and *Risalah Ahl as-Sunnah*, live through the PonPes Al Mujahidin Facebook account or Instagram [ppalmujahidin](https://www.instagram.com/ppalmujahidin); 12. K.H. Husein Muhammad, Cirebon. He read *Bidayah al-Hidayah*, broadcast live on FB Fahmina Institute; and many others.

much (Robert V. Kozinets, 2009, p. 5). Netnography is defined as a form of ethnography adapted for the social world that is mediated by computer devices (Brajkovi, 2011; Lee, 2010). In short, netnography is a method specifically designed to study culture and online communities (Sobirin et al., 2020; Hidayah Sita, 2012, p. 6). Therefore, the stages in data collection are almost the same as those in traditional ethnography. The steps in netnography thus start from making research boundaries and making questions, selecting online communities as the object of the study, participating in observations, followed by analyzing data and presenting ethnographic reports (Addeo et al., 2019; Pettit, 2010).

In netnography, data are obtained from hypertext interactions of netizens. This hypertext format data includes all forms of symbol exchange in the form of writing, sound, or images. In netnography, jotting or transcription is no longer required. Researchers can analyze data and display ethnographic reports directly in hypertext (hypermedia) (Hidayah Sita, 2012, p. 7; Robert V. Kozinets, 2009).

In this research, I chose *Ngaji Pasanan* held by K.H. Mustofa Bisri and K.H. Said Agil Siradj to be an online community to observe. Because their activities were broadcast live via several online media and social media platforms and viewed by a bunch of netizens. My participation in digital observation is by following their accounts and channels and researching their digital engagement with netizen. Therefore, hypertext data, I mine from all their activities with netizens, using the Social Network Analysis approach (Steketee et al., 2015) developed by Media Kernels Indonesia through Drone Emprit-Astramaya (Adji et al., 2019; Arianto, 2020; Fahmi, 2017; Suharso, 2019). Furthermore, I selected the collected data into the following categories: (1) digital data related to the two traditional ulama 'names, (2) digital data posted in the range of the month of Ramadan which coincides in 2017-2018.

Meanwhile, the discussion regarding data analysis and hypertext writing: because it is multilinear, the research process is no longer chronological. Therefore, data documents and analysis documents are interlinked and there are no specific boundaries between data and analysis. In the analysis stage, the use of frameworks and theories in netnography will greatly depend on the decision of the researcher, as in ordinary ethnography. The latest online ethnography is very participatory and democratic, so that the reading of the text has a very fluid character. Because it is participatory and democratic, researchers

can shift the research subject in constructing a discourse about a cultural representation (Hidayah Sita, 2012, p. 7; Robert V. Kozinets, 2009).

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

1. Traditional Ulama' and The Tradition of *Ngaji Pasanan*

The Indonesian Muslim community, especially in Java, prefers to call traditional ulama' as kiai (the use of the term traditional ulama' can be seen in Bush & Fealy, 2014; Pribadi, 2014). *Kiai* as a word is not a loan word that comes from Arabic vocabulary but is an indigeneous term in Javanese culture that has been existed for several centuries. Traditional ulama' in the social structure of Indonesian Muslim society occupy positions as religious leaders as well as community leaders. Symbolically, their clothing cultural identity is shown by *sarung* and *peci* (a distinct cap). They do not only wear this cultural identity when doing activities inside their community, but also outside their community. They use it on various occasions and activities, both informal and formal. This can be seen, for example, from the appearance of Kiai Mustofa Bisri, Kiai Said Aqil Siradj, Kiai Ma'ruf Amin, Kiai Maemoen Zubair, and other *kiai* in several state or formal activities that they attended.

Meanwhile, Indonesian people often call those who preach by using and through electronic media or other modern technology products as *ustadz* and *ustadzah*. Triantoro conducted studies about the *ustadz* as a new world culturally and an emerging authority socially by using the theory of religious authority (Triantoro, 2020). In their society, they are not always in the social structure as community leaders, although they may be positioned as religious leaders, or they may not be both. Symbolically, their dress identities differ from traditional ulama'. Their dress appearance that is closely related to branded fashion products reflects modernity, which is synonymous with industrialization and commodification products.

Geographically, most of the kiai live in rural areas, whereas the ustadz and ustadzah generally live in urban areas. Even so, for the context of kiai, in the last two decades, many kiai have emerged in urban areas. They actually come from the village, but after graduating from college they settle in the city and establish Islamic boarding schools for students in urban areas. This is the reason why many kiai start to live in urban areas. However, this does not apply to ustadz, because the mention of ustadz is not usually given by the village

community to the figure of a cleric in the countryside. In my observation, the mention of *ustadz* and *ustadzah* in Indonesia began to bloom and become a culture since the appearance of several *ustadz* and *ustadzah* celebrities in various mass media since the early 2000s, such as *Ustadz Jefry Al-Buchori*, *Ustadz Arifin Ilham*, *Ustadz Maulana*, and several others (studies on these mentioned *ustadz*, please refer to Hefner, 2010). Since the momentum, the use of the terms *ustadz* and *ustadzah* is increasingly being used by Indonesians, not only in urban areas, but also in some rural areas, and even in traditional Muslim communities (*pondok pesantren* communities in *Nahdlatul Ulama*). Is this phenomenon due to the openness of Muslims in rural areas and traditional communities or is it because of the strong influence of electronic and digital media in shaping public opinion and behavior in this context? To answer this question, of course, requires a separate study, however what happened seems to have a strong possibility to be called as a phenomenon of the hybridization of popular Islamic culture into the heart of traditional Islamic tradition. The calls of *ustadz* and *ustadzah*, have become easier to hear these days along with the tragedies of extremism and terrorism in the country involving communities that have a tradition of greeting their *ulama'* with *ustadz*, such as *Ustadz Abu Bakar Ba'asyir* (Atran, 2005), and many others (Agussani, 2020; Centre et al., 2018; Junaedi et al., 2020; Rahmanto et al., 2020).

Thus, the term *kiai*, although it is already very popular among Indonesian society and is used much earlier than the term *ustadz*, in an academic context, the term was first introduced by Geertz in 1960 in the framework of anthropological studies to represent *ulama'* and Islamic figures in social life of Indonesian Muslim community (Burhani, 2017; Geertz, 1981). Meanwhile, Horikoshi consistently distinguished the use of the term “*kiai*” from “*ulama*” because of the formal function he played. “*Ulama*” play more administrative functions, while *kiai* tend to play at a cultural level. By using this argument, we can understand why the formal association of the community of owners of Islamic religious knowledge in Indonesia uses the term “*ulama*” instead of “*kiai*”, namely the Indonesian Ulama Council (*Mejelis Ulama' Indonesia*), and not the Indonesian Kiai Council (*Mejelis Kiai Indonesia*) (Horikoshi, 1987). Therefore, in this paper, I deliberately use the term “*kiai*” for the object of this study, if I occasionally use the term *ulama'* then I mean traditional *ulama'*. Because the object of my analysis in this study is the cultural aspect of the *kiai*

along with the socio-political function in the context of da'wah in the digital space they take a role. Meanwhile, in my opinion, ustadz plays a more non-formal function as a preacher in the media which is full of industrial interests.

During Ramadan, traditional ulama 'in almost all Islamic boarding schools in the country will almost certainly open special class to study Islam for a month. This special class of quick chanting is known as *Ngaji Pasanan*, in a separate area, West Central Java and West Java, known as the *Pasaran*. Usually, *Ngaji Pasanan* is very much hunted by the students. For a long time, it has not been known since when and by whom this tradition was initiated. The *kiai* have practiced the *Ngaji Pasanan* as an effort to get used to the sunnah worship that is carried out in Ramadan. *Ngaji Pasanan* is designed by the *kiai* so that people, especially students, continue to carry out positive activities (*fi'il khairat*) during Ramadan.

The timing of the implementation of *Ngaji Pasanan* between one Islamic boarding school or *kyai* and another Islamic boarding school or *kyai* can be the same and simultaneously but can also be different. In general, this typical academic tradition of *pesantren* is held at any time other than at night. Because after *tarawih* prayer, the activity that has become a tradition is *tadarusan* Al-Qur'an. Although it is not uncommon for some traditional Islamic boarding schools to do the recitation activities at night, most of the students do not attend formal school in the morning. This time choice also refers to the preferred parts of time during Ramadan. There are *kiai* who choose the time after *fajr* prayer. The reason is that during the day, after the *fajr* prayer is classified as the most important (*afidhalul awqat*). There are also those who choose to hold the *Ngaji Pasanan* after the midnight. The reason is, for the whole night until early morning, is the most important time as the doctrine of the virtue of *qiyamul lail* on the night of Ramadan. There are also those who choose after the *Isha* prayer with the consideration that this time is more important than *Ngaji Pasanan* during the day.

Ngaji Pasanan tradition, in practice, a *Kiai* appears to read certain traditional Islamic books (*kitab kuning*) using *bandongan* method (Fatchan et al., 2015; Kamal, 2020; Sauri et al., 2016; Thoriqussu'ud, 2012), while the students listen enthusiastically to what is conveyed monologically by the *kiai*. The *kiai* will read the meaning of the words in the book, then explain it at length with various examples to understand the students of the meaning of the sentences in the book. While the students, apart from listening, also recorded

the cleric's information using the model of the interlinear translation (*ma'na gandul*) (Ricci, 2020) and the meaning of *hasyiyah* (Salim, 2012) model at the edge of each page of the book. The books studied in the *Ngaji Pasanan* consist of books with the genre of Sufism, Morals, Tafsir, and Hadith. Although there are books of Fiqh, they tend to be rare, for the reason of the month of Ramadan in relationship with the purpose of selecting the material is to motivate faith and piety. The narrations of prophets, companions, and traditional Muslim scholars which contain advice are more commonly found in books with the genre of Sufism and morals.

2. Nutizen, Live Streaming based New Media, and *Ngaji Pasanan*

Nutizen is an application developed by a few young figures within NU who have a passion for mastering digital communication technology. This application features TV broadcasts, live broadcasts, video on demand, podcasts, radio, and news aggregator as well as Islamic information. Netizens can enjoy free to air TV broadcasts in Indonesia as well as channels from traditional ulama' (*kiai-kiai*), such as Gus Mus, Kiai Said Agil Siradj, Habib Luthfi, and many others. All these services can be accessed via cellphones, tablets, laptops, and TVs, of course, with an additional set up box. At the beginning of its existence until 2017, Nutizen was present in Android, Website and TV formats. If there is internet access, the community can enjoy several existing channels. However, unfortunately the existence of Nutizen seems to be eliminated along with the existence of Islamic boarding school and ulama' accounts on social media which have been functioned to broadcast *Ngaji Pasanan* activities in live since 2019 up to now.

I interviewed the Director of Nutizen² after observing the content and features in the app. Based on interviews and digital observations of Nutizen content, I see that the motive behind Nutizen's presence is to provide Islamic information and knowledge for netizens from a credible and trusted source of Islamic authority amid a flood of Islamic information and knowledge on the internet. Nutizen's developers' value that a lot of Islamic teachings and authorities in internet do not have strong scientific Islamic transmission (*sanad*) as it is followed by the *pesantren* tradition. According to Nutizen's people, these

² The interview with the Director of Nutizen, Savic Ali, via Whatsapp, took place between Wednesday-Saturday, April 21-24, 2017.

do not have a moderate ideology. Apart from that, specifically the presence of Nutizen and social media accounts based on Islamic boarding schools and traditional ulama was also encouraged by students' communities (*santri-santri*) who wanted to learn from traditional ulama in certain Islamic boarding schools but due to various obstacles they could not attend, and the online broadcast of *Ngaji Pasanan* was able to answer their wishes. Likewise, there are many alumni of the Islamic boarding school who feel homesick for the atmosphere of the boarding school and learning activities during Ramadhan, with the presence of online *Ngaji Pasanan* they could treat their nostalgia and keep in touch with their *kiai*.

During Ramadan 2017-2018, Nutizen provides technology for live streaming of *Ngaji Pasanan* in more than 30 Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. For a month, anyone, especially NU residents and the wider community, can attend traditional Islamic book recitation at various Islamic boarding schools every day via a smartphone. Ramadan, since then, has become an event for alumni of the *pesantren* to reunite and get in touch with their *kiai*.

Because, since then, apart from Nutizen, YouTube, IG and FB, they have also provided live streaming facilities. This service is used by many parties to broadcast live *Ngaji Pasanan* which are handled by several groups, not only by *kiai* in Islamic boarding schools but also by academics at Islamic colleges and universities in Indonesia. They broadcast live *Ngaji Pasanan* activities through their institution's social media accounts, some of them broadcast it through their personal social media accounts. In 2016, I noted that there were only about 25 Islamic boarding schools that had awareness of digital technology and were willing to air their *Ngaji Pasanan* activities. However, in 2018 there were more than 100 *pesantren* and *kiai* broadcasting their *Ngaji Pasanan* activities in online way. Some of them are Krapyak, Tegalrejo, Leteh, Sarang, and many others. Meanwhile, in 2020 it will be almost difficult to find a boarding school that does not organize online *Ngaji Pasanan*. This description portrays the picture of the development of the relationship between *pesantren*, *kiai*, *santri* and Indonesian Muslim scholars with the digital information technology in the the tradition of *Ngaji Pasanan*. In addition, it could be stated that since then, the emergence of living Islamic tradition of *pesantren* within digital world has aroused.

3. Digital Engagement of Traditional Ulama' during *Ngaji Pasanan*

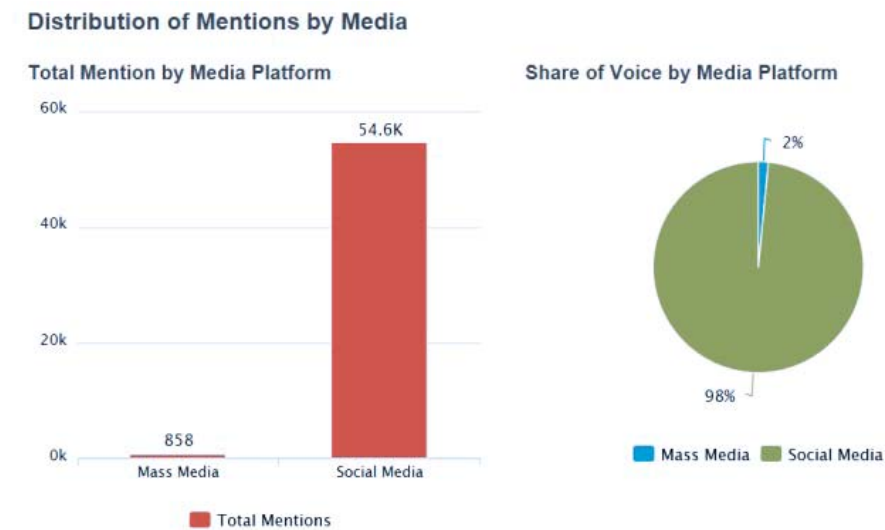
I took a sample of two traditional Ulama' who appeared in the online pulpit during the momentum of *Ngaji Pasanan* between 2017 - 2018, namely K.H. Mustofa Bisri and K.H. Said Aqil Siradj, as the object of this study. The two traditional ulama' present on Nutizen and several social media platforms. The selection of the two ulama' is based on the popularity rating level of both in online and social media, the difference of their position in the organization structure of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (K.H. Mustofa Bisri is in Board of Advisory of PBNU, while KH Said Aqil Siradj is the General Chairperson of PBNU), and the differences in the places where they live (K.H. Mustofa Bisri and his Islamic boarding school are located in the regency city, while K.H. Said Aqil Siradj and his Islamic boarding school are located in the capital city of Indonesia).

In this section, I intend to reveal the presence of the two traditional ulama' 'above in the digital space (digital engagement), before describing the practice of online *Ngaji Pasanan*. This elaboration is intended to show the context and identity of the two in the digital space. The following is a portrait of the two in the middle of an online pulpit that I explored using CAQDAS called *Drone Emprit-Astramaya* with time restrictions during the month of Ramadan 2018 and a month and two months before and after.

K.H. Mustofa Bisri is a kiai who is often called Gus Mus. Even though he belongs to the old ulama' (affiliated with *Nahdlatul Ulama'*), he is active in the virtual world. Gus Mus has social media accounts on several platforms, namely Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. He manages the accounts himself.

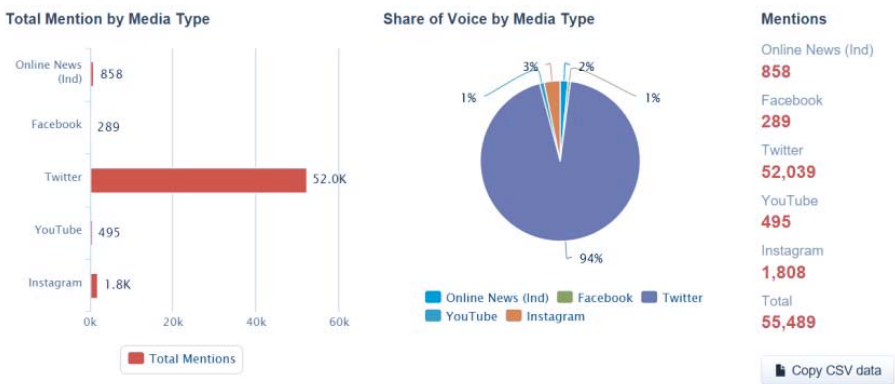
Netizen conversations about Gus Mus from 1 June to 15 November 2018 on social media, especially Twitter and news on online news portals, show his strong presence in the virtual world. In that range, the number of netizen conversations on mass media was 858, while on social media it had a much larger number, namely 54,631. The percentage of that number is conversations on mass media at 2%, and conversations on social media at 98% (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 1.



Netizens’ conversations about Gus Mus on social media, if examined in more detail, show that conversations on Twitter have the largest number; 52,039, this amount is equivalent to 94%. The remainder of the total number of conversations on social media is 6%, in detail divided into 1% on Facebook, 3% on Instagram, 1% Yuotube, and 1% online news (Fahmi, 2018).

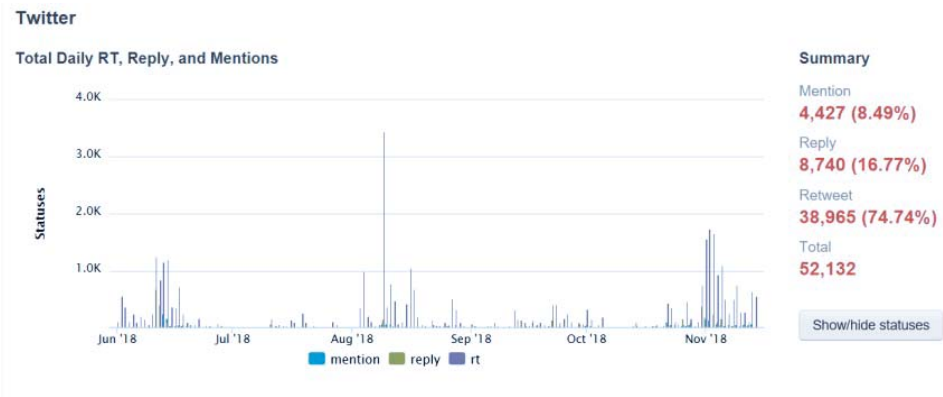
Figure 2.



Based on the trend of conversations about Gus Mus being more dominant on Twitter, it is important to look in more detail about how netizens are doing Gus Mus’ activities on Twitter. Activities on Twitter are divided into 3, namely mentions, replies, and retweets. Total activities per day about Gus Mus are mentions of 4,427 (8.49%), replies of 8,740 (16.77%), and retweets of Gus

Mus' status of 38,965 (74.74%). The total of these netizen activities was 52,132 (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 3.



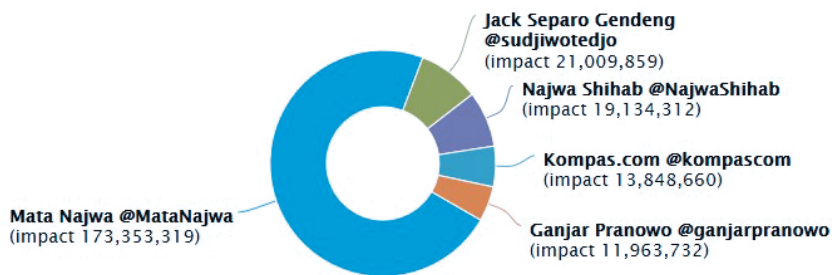
Meanwhile, the profiles of netizens who talk about Gus Mus on Twitter are dominated by netizens who only have 1-5 posts, with a total of 27,026. Meanwhile, netizens with the highest frequency in posts (50 and more than 50 posts) only amount to 14 netizen accounts, illustrated as follows (Fahmi, 2018):

Figure 4.

Post Frequency	#Users	#Statuses
1-5	27,026	39,220
6-10	854	6,278
11-15	228	2,848
16-20	83	1,471
21-25	26	584
26-30	20	550
31-35	8	262
36-40	9	344
41-45	3	126
46-50	2	94
>=51	14	1,248
Total	28,273	53,025

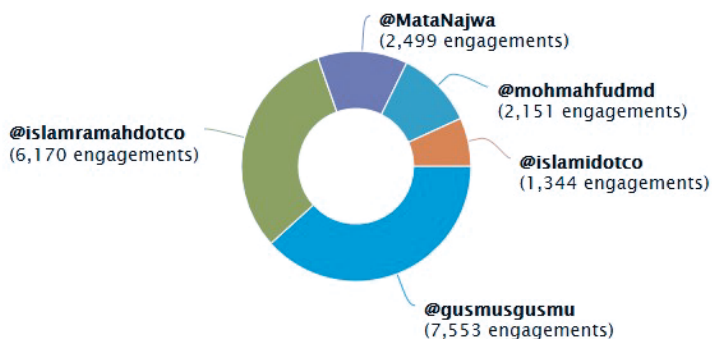
On another dimension, there are netizens who have an impact on the occurrence of conversations about Gus Mus on social media. Apart from showing their relationship with Gus Mus, their account also shows how the presence of Gus Mus on Twitter social media is welcomed and responded to by netizens. Some of these accounts are @MataNajwa, @sudjiwotedjo, @NajwaShihab, @kompascom, and @ganjarpranowo (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 5.



The engaged user in the Gus Mus account, which means an account with retweet and reply in the Gus Mus and RT accounts as well as a replay of Gus Mus's status by users / netizens who are then retweeted and repaid by other netizens shows the existence of an account that is not much different from the accounts, which had an impact on Gus Mus's conversations on social media. These accounts are Gus Mus's own accounts, @matanajwa, @mohmahfudmd, @islamidotco, @islamramahdotco, @na_dirs, @nu_online, and some others. Here are the accounts with the largest total engagement (Fahmi, 2018):

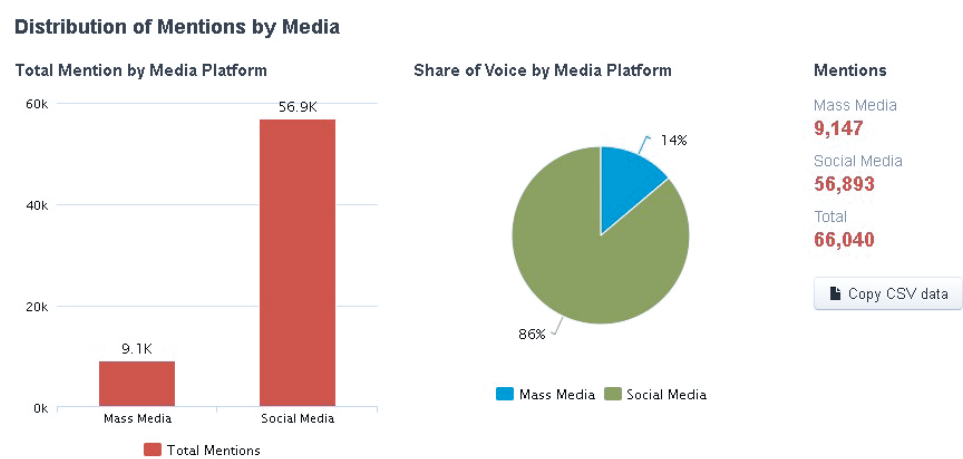
Figure 6.



Meanwhile, K.H. Said Aqil Siradj is one of the national Islamic figures who has attracted the attention of several groups because of his views and actions which have drawn polemics. He is the caretaker of At-Tsaqafah Islamic Boarding School and Chairman of the PBNU. He has social media accounts on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and Youtube.

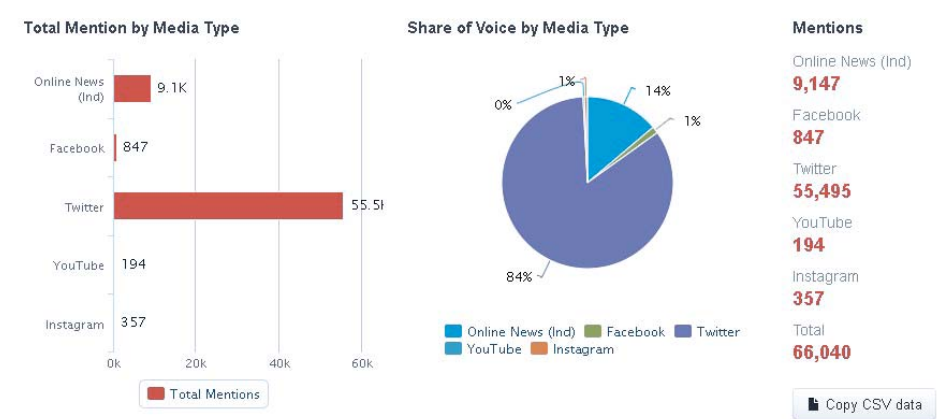
Netizen conversations about Said Aqil Siradj from 1 June to 15 November 2018 on social media, especially Twitter and news on online news portals, show its strong presence in the virtual world. In that range, netizen conversations on mass media were 9,147, while on social media they had a much larger number, namely 56,893. The percentage of that number is conversations on mass media at 14%, and conversations on social media at 86% (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 7.



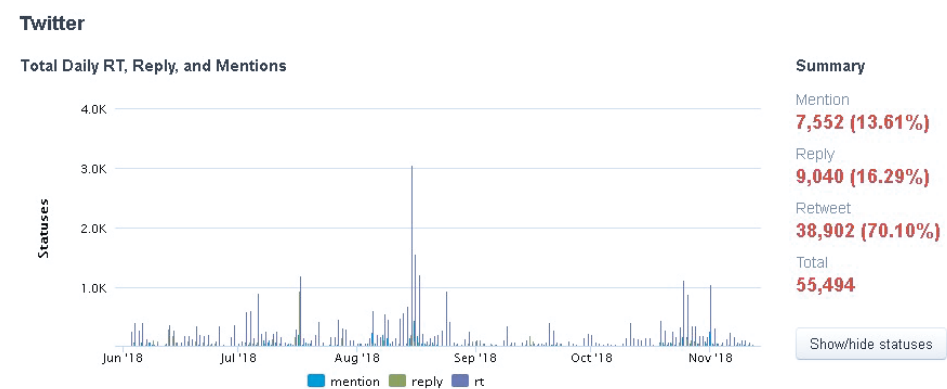
Netizen conversations about Said Aqil Siradj on social media, if investigated in more detail, show that conversations on Twitter have the largest number; 55,495, this amount is equivalent to 84%. The remainder of the total number of conversations on other social media and online media is 16%, specifically divided into 1% on Instagram, 1% on Facebook, 0% on Youtube, and 14% online news (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 8.



Based on the trend of conversations about Said Aqil Siradj on Twitter which reached the second highest, it is important to look in more detail about the activities of netizens in presenting Said Aqil Siradj on Twitter. Activities on Twitter are divided into 3, namely mentions, replies, and retweets. Total activities per day about Said Aqil Siradj are mentions of 7,552 (13.61%), replies of 9,040 (16.29%), and retweets of the status of Said Aqil Siradj of 38,902 (70.10%). The total of these netizen activities was 55,494 (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 9.



Meanwhile, the profiles of netizens who talk about Said Aqil Siradj on Twitter are dominated by netizens who only have 1-5 posts, with a total of

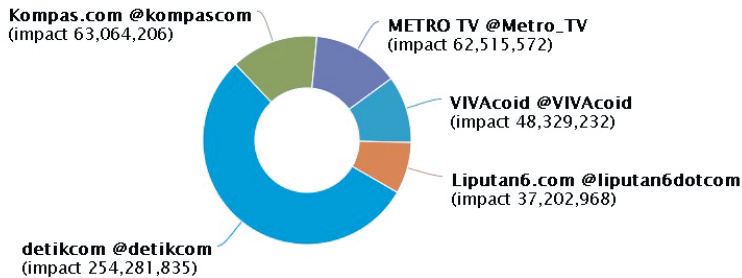
20,455. Meanwhile, netizens with the highest frequency of posts (50 and more than 50 posts) only amount to 32 netizen accounts, as illustrated as follows (Fahmi, 2018):

Figure 10.

Post Frequency	#Users	#Statuses
1-5	20,455	32,692
6-10	1,203	8,953
11-15	327	4,134
16-20	143	2,539
21-25	73	1,650
26-30	28	776
31-35	18	593
36-40	7	265
41-45	9	386
46-50	2	95
>=51	32	3,412
Total	22,297	55,495

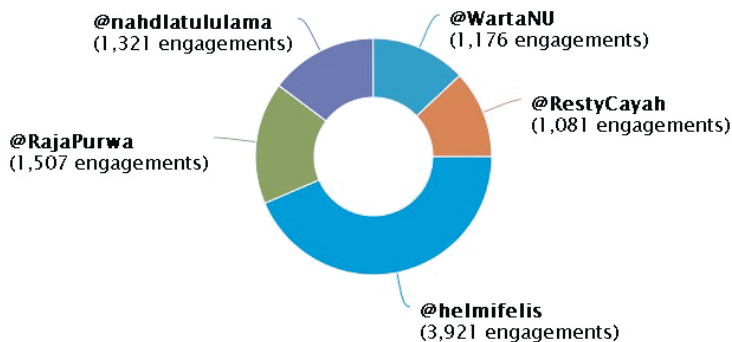
On another dimension, there are netizens who have an impact on the conversation about Said Aqil Siradj on social media. Their account, besides showing their relationship with Said Aqil Siradj, also shows how their presence on Twitter social media is welcomed and responded to by netizens. Some of these accounts are @detikcom, @kompascom, @metro_TV, @Vivacoid, and @liputan6dotcom (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 11.



The engaged user in Said Aqil Siradj's account, which means an account with retweet and reply in Said Aqil Siradj and RT's accounts and replays to Said Aqil Siradj's status by users / netizens who are then retweeted and repaid by other netizens, indicating the existence of an account that is not much different from accounts that have an impact on Said Aqil Siradj's conversations on social media. These accounts are @RajaPurwa, @nahdlatululama, @WartaNU, @RestyCayah, @helmifelis and some others. Here are the accounts with the largest total engagement (Fahmi, 2018):

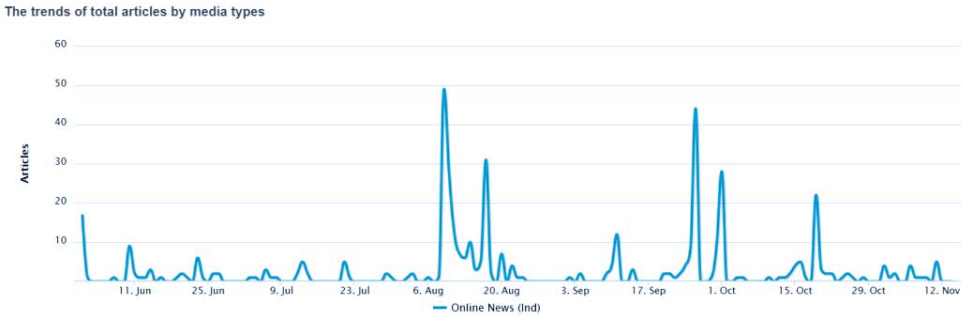
Figure 12.



4. Virtual Platform, Traditional Ulama', and Nationalities Discourse

The graph of the conversation about Gus Mus which took place in online media from June 1 to November 15 2018 shows that the peak of the conversation occurred on August 9, 2018 with the process starting from August 8 to August 20, the highest conversation after that took place sequentially on September 26, August 17, October 1, and October 19 (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 13.



The conversation in the form of articles in online media on August 9 2018 contained coverage of Gus Mus's views on the election of Rais 'Am PBNU, K.H. Ma'ruf Amin, to step up to accompany Jokowi as a vice presidential candidate in the 2019 presidential election. On that date there were 49 news articles that published this. The news that uploaded Gus Mus was shown with the surprise of Gus Mus when he found out about K.H. Ma'ruf Amin who stepped forward to accompany Jokowi. This news was also presented by presenting Gus Mus along with Ganjar Pranowo (Governor of Central Java). One of the news is *"Ganjar Pranowo dan Gus Mus Kaget Saat Tahu KH Maruf Amin Jadi Cawapres Jokowi, Ini Komentarnya"*, posted in <http://www.tribunnews.com/>, <http://regional.kompas.com/>, and many others (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 14.



Based on the content in the published news (Okezone News, 2018), the name Gus Mus in the digital space is included in the context of practical political discourse that takes place in the middle of the vice presidential candidate candidacy which will be teamed up with Joko Widodo from the NU circles.

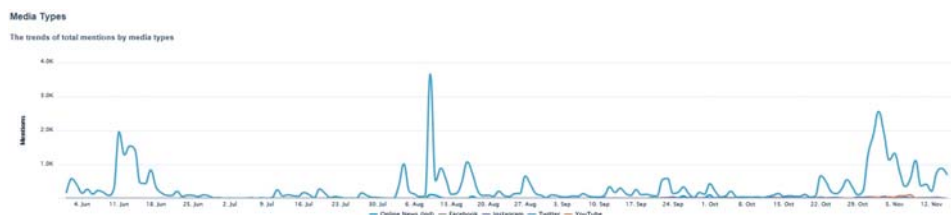
Furthermore, on 17 August, 26 September, 1 October, and 19 October, online media conversations about Gus Mus, regarding Gus Mus's views on "*Takbir Politik*" and Gus Mus' poetry read at Bung Karno's exile house (17 August), politics lobbying of KH Ma'ruf Amin at Gus Dur's residence (26 September), Gus Mus's Invitation for Prayers for the Earthquake and Tsunami Victims in Palu (1 October), and Gus Mus entered the 500 world influential figures with Jokowi (19 October) (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 15.



The conversations that are discussed in the online media can also be found on social media. Gus Mus is discussed dominantly on social media Twitter, and based on the graph displayed through the search using Drone Emprit (DE), it shows that the peak of the conversation with Gus Mus occurred 3 times; on June 11-13, August 9 (peak and highest rating), and November 2, 2018 (Fahmi, 2018).

Figure 16.



On 11-13 June 2018, the discussion showing the rising graph contained a tweet by Mahfudz MD which mentioned Gus Mus's account. The contents of his tweets were about Gus Mus as ulama' praised by Mahfudz MD,

"Sometimes I want to be like Gus Mus @gusmusgusmu, always cool and calm like Abu Bakar. But in the struggle, there must be people who dare to hit hard like Umar bin Khaththab. In both ways, there must be a representative line in the struggle, especially to fight against wrongful corruptors (Fahmi, 2018)."

Figure 17.



In the next tweet, August 9, 2018, which occupied the top position was discussed by netizens from June to November, namely regarding Gus Mus's views on PBNU administrators and political practices that should be played out. The following is the status of Gus Mus:

"NU administrators / leaders who must be careful in delivering statements; especially when it comes to practical politics. And it is best not to talk about practical politics at the NU office. It is not the place (Fahmi, 2018)."

Figure 18.



Based on the above quote, the name Gus Mus in the digital space has once again entered the context of practical political discourse as well as national politics which is linked to an Islamic perspective.

The third tweet, which was November 2, 2018, contained Gus Mus's appeal to all to be wise with a peaceful frame.

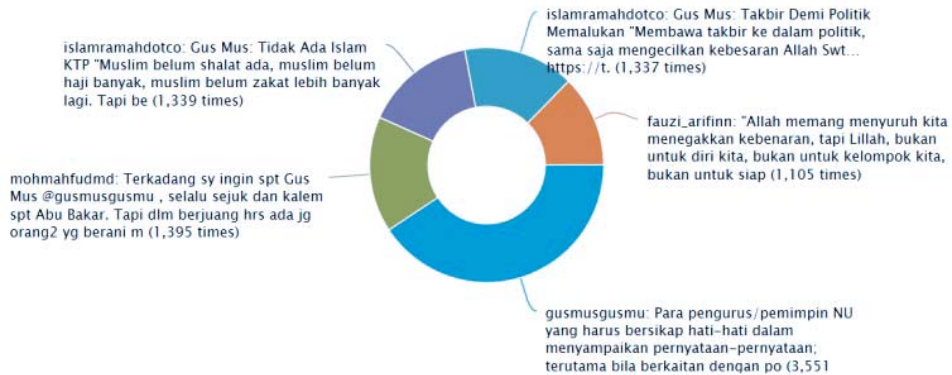
"Now stop burning that burns badly. Including burning emotions and flags. Comfort our country together and let the congregation seek His pleasure (Fahmi, 2018)."

Figure 19.



The explanation of the 3 peaks of Gus Mus's momentum discussed on social media (Twitter) above was shown by the activity of netizens by retweeting Gus Mus's status. In the following diagram, you can see some of the most retweeted Gus Mus statuses, along with their numbers (Fahmi, 2018).

Gambar 20.



The discourse surrounding and including Gus Mus in it in the virtual world can be traced through hashtags. Several hashtags that include the name Gus Mus in it show the discourse developed by netizens in framing Gus Mus. Some of these hashtags are #MataNajwaKarenaBendera (1516 tweets), #JanganSuriahkanIndonesia (970), # 2019GantiPresiden (540), and so on. The following is a picture of a column containing the hashtags of netizens explaining Gus Mus (Fahmi, 2018).

Picture 21.



For example, the hashtag #MataNajwaKarenaB Bendera, which is the highest number of hashtags in netizens' tweets, contains their status about Gus Mus's words on the Mata Najwa show quoted by netizens. The following is a quote from Gus Mus's statement,

"Allah does tell us to uphold the truth, but in the name of Allah, not for our sake, not for our group, not for anyone, but Lillah, for Allah alone. This is the word of God, not my word (Fahmi, 2018)."

Picture 22.



The next largest hashtag, #JanganSuriahkanIndonesia (970), contains Gus Mus's appeals that were quoted by netizens from various Gus Mus's advices on several occasions during speeches and during events. Among them are the following,

"Nationalism according to Gus Mus's view: Indonesia is our home, where we were born, grew up and grew, and died and were buried. So, take care and take care of it (Fahmi, 2018)."

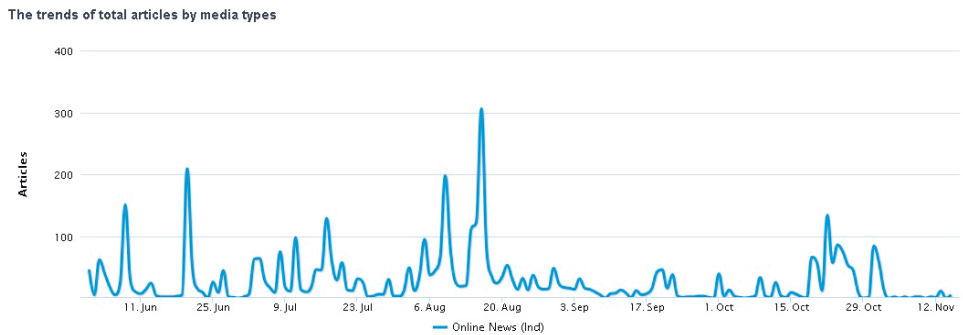
Picture 23.



Thus, based on the two data clusters based on the above retweets and hashtags, the name Gus Mus in the digital space is included in the context of national discourse and religious moderation. Therefore, in general the name Gus Mus in the digital space falls into three types of discourse contexts; (1) practical political discourse, (2) national discourse, and (3) religious moderation discourse.

Meanwhile, paying attention to the graph of the conversation about Said Aqil Siradj which took place in online media from June 1 to November 15, 2018 shows that the peak of the conversation occurred on June 20, August 9, and August 16 (Fahmi, 2018).

Picture 24.



Based on this quote, the name Said Aqil Siradj in the digital space is included in the context of the national discourse of the students.

News in online media on June 20, 2018 contained coverage of K.H. Said Aqil Siradj saying nationalism and scholars and students must unite to make Indonesia a strong nation. Said said this while commemorating the highlight of the birthday (*haul*) of the death of the Indonesian proclinator, Bung Karno, at Soekarno's grave in Blitar, East Java. He emphasized this in his speech,

“And only in Indonesia in this world, where there is a state, the philosophy is to unite religion and justice. To overcome the problems of this enormous nation, it cannot only be resolved by nationalists or santri alone, but must unite. In His grace and protection, full of happiness. Between religion and freedom, nationalism, must be one (Republika, 2018).”

Picture 25.



Furthermore, on August 9, 2018, there was a report stating KH Said Aqil Siradj, guaranteeing that NU would fully support the presidential candidate pair Joko Widodo and Cawapres K.H. Ma'ruf Amin. Without the need to be pushed around, NU residents will automatically fight to win the pair. Said stated,

“No need to move it, it will automatically move on its own. So, you don't have to be paid, you don't have to be pushed, you will all campaign (Media Indonesia, 2018).”

Picture 26.



Based on this quote, the name Said Aqil Siradj in the digital space is included in the context of practical political discourse.

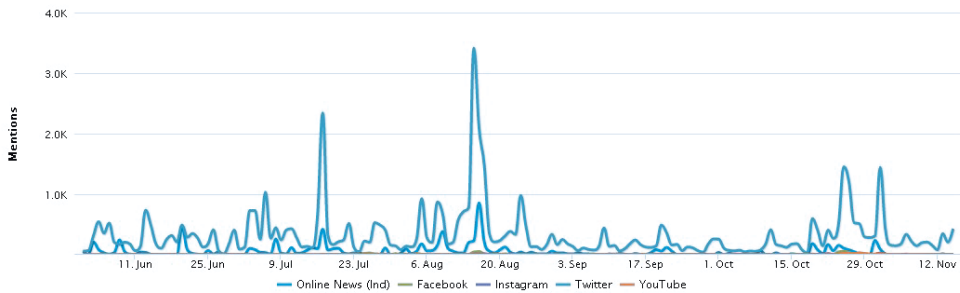
On August 16, 2018, presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto and vice-presidential candidate Sandiaga Uno met with the Chairman of PBNU K.H. Said Aqil Siradj at the PBNU office, Central Jakarta, Thursday (16/8/2018). The meeting lasted approximately one hour and was held behind closed doors. In this case, K.H. Said Aqil said the meeting was only to strengthen ties of friendship. Said conveyed,

“The brotherhood hopes that in the future everything will be better and be able to do politics with culture and morals, building this nation with good intentions. ami discussed earlier casually jokingly not tense. God willing, a PBNU member card is being prepared for Mr. Prabowo, if Mr. Sandi has already. In the future, the focus will be on the economic problem of how to reduce poverty, the people’s hardships, how to create a more just economy. Where the economic resources can be enjoyed by all Indonesian people, food can be guaranteed, at an affordable price (Alinea.id, 2018).”

The conversations that are discussed in the online media can also be found on social media. Said Aqil Siradj was discussed dominantly on Twitter social media, and based on the graph displayed through a search using Drone Emprit (DE) shows that the peak of the conversation with Said Aqil Siradj occurred 4 times; on July 17, August 15, October 25, and November 1, 2018 (Fahmi, 2018).

Picture 27.

The trends of total mentions by media types



On July 17, 2018, a discussion about Prabowo's request to Said Aqil Siradj over the words of Fadli Zon which offended Gus Yahya. Prabowo visited the PBNU office and delivered an apology through Said Aqil Siradj. Prabowo stated,

"I apologize for my brother Fadli Zon who was too curt at the NU figure Kiai Yahya (K.H. Yahya Staquf) who visited Israel. I will call him in the near future, now he is still abroad. He was there for Palestine, brother Fadli Zon also defended Palestine, actually the same goal (News, 2018)".

This is stated by the account @ARYA_DIM45_ "Prabowo Minta Kyai Said Aqil Maafkan Fadli Zon yang Telah Singgung Gus Yahya <https://news.baldatuna.com/prabowo-minta-kyai-said-aqil-maafkan-fadli-zon-yang-telah-singgung-gus-yahya/> ... @faizalassegaf @muannas_alaidid @Fahrihamzah @LawanPoLitikJKW @Syarman59 @fariji_lacak @wahyonokuP @semiaji_w @akoczuma @fadlizon BADUT DAIA INI MEMANG KURANG AJAR @prabowo (Fahmi, 2018)."

Picture 28.



Based on this quote, the name Said Aqil Siradj in the digital space is included in the context of national political discourse.

Second, the highest tweet occurred on August 15, 2018. The @Helmifelis account explained that Mahfudz MD was angry on a program broadcast by TV One. He explained that this was due to the words of the people around Jokowi. Meanwhile, according to him, this did not happen in Prabowo's party.

"RT @helmifelis: Mahfud MD was furious, Said Aqil and Kiai Ma'ruf Amin were beaten up badly. Tonight, NU seemed to have lost its authority. Who is wrong? What is wrong is their greed. Surrounded by Jokowi, all positions are greedy and greedy. Meanwhile in Prabowo's camp there is no such rotteness (Fahmi, 2018)."

Picture 29.



Third, the conversation about Said Aqil Siradj reaching its third peak took place on October 25, 2018 regarding the tauhid flag. The @Helmifelis account states that Banser lacks courage, unlike the jargon, Indonesian bulls are slaughtered.

“RT the ridiculous narrative of Indonesian Benteng Banser, what power do you have? In the demonstration, the people are still cheating on Said Aqil (NU) and Wiranto (Government). How could it be to say Benteng Indonesia. Like a kid in a Superman suit he thinks he can fly (Fahmi, 2018).”

Picture 30.

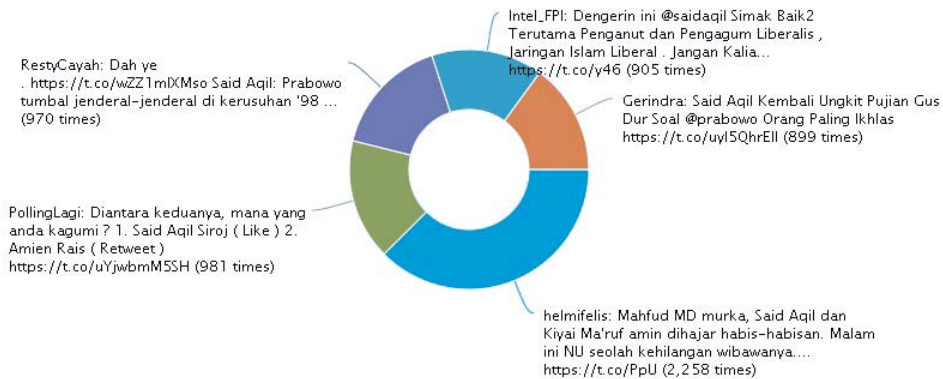


The last highest peak occurred on November 1, 2018. This was related to the news of the NU and Muhammadiyah friendship.

“RT Chairman of KH @saidaqil accompanied by Secretary General @Helmy_Faishal_Z and Vice Dean Prof. Maksum Mahfoedz visited the Central Leadership Office @ Muhammadiyah to meet with the General Chairperson @HaedarNs and General Secretary Abdul Mu'ti. Wednesday, (31/10) night (Fahmi, 2018).”

The explanation of the 4 peaks of Said Aqil Siradj's momentum discussed on social media (Twitter) above is shown by the activities of netizens by retweeting Gus Mus's status. In the following diagram, you can see some of the statuses of Said Aqil Siradj that were most retweeted along with their number (Fahmi, 2018).

Picture 31.



The discourse that covers and includes Said Aqil Siradj in it in the virtual world can be traced through hashtags. Several hashtags that include the name Said Aqil Siradj in it show the discourse developed by netizens in framing Said Aqil Siradj. Some of these hashtags are #SantriSiagaBencana (802 tweets), # 2019GantiPresiden (611 tweets). The following is a picture of a column containing the hashtags of netizens explaining Said Aqil Siradj (Fahmi, 2018).

Picture 32.



For example, the hashtag #SantriSiagaBencana, is the highest number of hashtags in netizens' tweets. This hashtag uses and mentions the name @saiadaqil regarding activities to help disaster victims in Tasikmalaya.

“RT LPBI NU Tasikmalaya distributes aid to survivors of flash floods in Cipatujah District and Culamega District, Tasikmalaya Regency, Monday, November 12, 2018#SantriSiagaBencana #NUPeduli #Kemanusiaan UntukSemua @nu_online @saidaqil @Helmy_Faishal_Z @ali_yoseph @YayahRuchyati @EmhaWahib (Fahmi, 2018)”

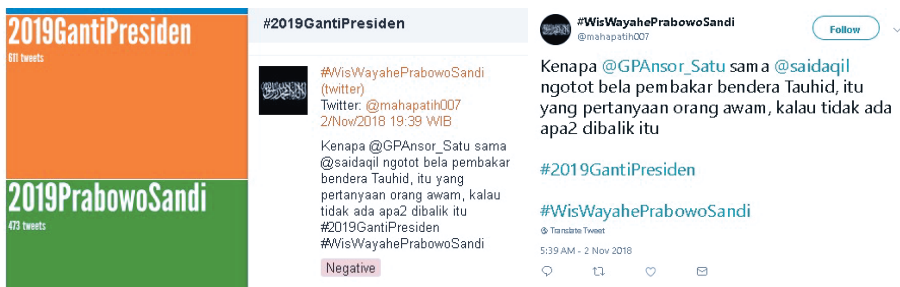
Picture 33.



The second hashtag is #2019GantiPresiden. Account@# wiswayahe PrabowoSandi criticizes Said Aqil Siradj and GP Ansor for burning the tauhid flag.

“Why does @GPAnsor_Satu sama @saidaqil insist on defending the Tauhid flag burners, that’s what the common people ask, if there’s nothing behind it # 2019GantiPresiden # WisWayahePrabowoSandi” (Fahmi, 2018).

Picture 34.



Based on the quotations and digital data above, the name Said Aqil Siradj in the digital space is included in the context of the discourse of religious moderation. Thus, based on the two data clusters based on the above tweets, retweets and hashtags, the name, in general, Said Aqil Siradj’s name in the

digital space falls into three types of discourse context like Gus Mus, namely, (1) practical political discourse, (2) national discourse, and (3) religious moderation discourse.

5. *Ngaji Pasanan* and Traditional Islam Narratives in New Media World

K.H. Mustofa Bisri or who is often called Gus Mus, holds online *Ngaji Pasanan* four times a day during Ramadan 2017-2018. On site monitoring, until the middle of Ramadan, two books were finished. Gus Mus was seen sitting on a foam chair facing the West in a sitting on the floor manner and in front of him there was a table on which there were books presented such as *al-munqidz min ad-dhalal* by Imam Ghazali. In addition, there is also a microphone to clarify and expand the sound range. In the hall of *Pondok Pesantren Raudlatut Thalibin*, Letch, Rembang, the activity was held, there was a tripod on which a camcorder was placed and shone at Gus Mus. Meanwhile, to add information to the results of the camera spotlight, additional spotlights were installed on the two pillars of the hall. The camera is used for live streaming on Youtube when the activity takes place.

Gus Mus's online *Ngaji Pasanan* schedule starts after Fajr prayer at 06.00 with the *burdah* book. Then after the Dhuhr prayer he recited *al-munqidz min ad-dhalal*. It was continued again at 4.00 pm until 5.00 pm with the book *al-arba'in an-nawawiyyah*. As the end of online *Ngaji Pasanan*, Gus Mus reads the book of *bidayatul hidayah* every day from the end of the Terawih prayer until 10.00 pm.

Pada lokasi yang berbeda, tepatnya di pesantren At-Tsaqafah, Ciganjur Jakarta Selatan, K.H. Said Aqil Siradj terlihat membacakan kitab *tafsir yasin* saat Ramadhan 2017-2018. Pertimbangan pemilihan kitab ini tutur beliau setelah melalui berbagai pertimbangan. Pengajian Pasanan online oleh Ketua Umum PBNU ini dilangsungkan setelah shalat Subuh. Selain santri pondok pesantren yang diasuhya, masyarakat pun juga hadir dalam pengajian itu. Sementara peserta online yang menyaksikan dan menyimak mencapai ribuan jumlahnya. Kegiatan ini dikemas dalam "Ngaji Pasanan". Tayangan ngaji pasanan online ini dihadirkan sebagai respon terhadap permintaan masyarakat yang tidak bisa hadir ke pesantren.

In a different location, precisely at Pesantren At-Tsaqafah, Ciganjur, South Jakarta, K.H. Said Aqil Siradj is seen reading *Tafsir Yasin* during

Ramadan 2017-2018. He said the consideration of choosing this book after going through various considerations. The online *Ngaji Pasanan* by the Chairperson of the PBNU takes place after the Fajr prayer. In addition to the boarding school students, he cares for, the surrounding community was also present at the activity. Meanwhile, online participants who watched and listened to the thousands in number. This online *Ngaji Pasanan* was presented in response to the requests of the public who cannot attend *Ngaji Pasanan* at the *pesantren*:

“This year’s Ngaji Pasanan, we would like to broadcast it live on Facebook, Teras Kiai Said, so that it can be enjoyed all over the world. Initially this activity was for students and the community around the pesantren. Teras Kiai Said can also be followed at this time and it is extraordinary that Muslims around the world are following.”³

The number of books studied is in line with the many messages of truth and virtue conveyed by these traditional scholars. Gus Mus, for example, on the 15th of the month of Ramadan, while reading the book *al-munqidz min ad-dhalal* by Imam Ghazali, I observed it online and was present at the location, he was seen telling of Imam Ghazali’s struggle in reaching the highest level of his spirituality. In essence, Sufi science is to purify oneself from despicable morals and ugly traits. So that it comes to emptying oneself from other than Allah and decorating it with dhikr to Allah. Gus Mus emphasized that there is no happiness in the hereafter without piety and holding back lust. The climax is breaking the heart in worldly matters. Come to an unshakable belief about Allah, the prophethood and the last days.

Besides, on the same day, but at a different hour and with a different book, namely *bidayah al-hidayah*, Gus Mus said that to respond to religious conditions in this digital era, sane people should no longer be silent. The phrase “*just as sane as ever*” should be changed to “*just as sane as if you have to talk*.” That was Gus Mus’s advice to his offline and online *Ngaji Pasanan*’s participants. Because hate speech and hoaxes can only be countered with such a cultural approach. Next, Gus Mus described the hypocritical nature of the friend. The hypocrisy nature of a friend is described by when the friend’s presence is in trouble, he will be happy, when his friend is happy, he will be in trouble. Such a character is not the character of a good friend. Furthermore, Gus Mus said that there are three types of people; people who do not know us (*majhul*), people who are our friends (*sadiq*), and people who know us (*ma’arif*). The

third type of person (*al-ma'arif*) is a group of people who must be watched carefully. Meanwhile, the second group (*sadiq*) is the one who will accept our existence. The first kind (*majhul*) will not provide any support to our existence. The verbal indicates a friend, but it is not. The following is an excerpt from the material description conveyed by Gus Mus:

“Ojo kok pengen difollow wong pirang-pirang, nek iso disitiki wae! jika kamu dicoba dengan kenalan yang demikian, maka jangan sampean anggep enteng atau nyepelekake. Kenapa? Karena kamu gak tau barangkali aja dia lebih bagus dari kamu. Sebaliknya jangan memandangnya dengan mata pengormatan karena melihat dunyanya karena dunia itu kecil di pandangan Allah. Jangan sampai mengorbankan agamamu untuk mendapatkan sesuatu duniawi dari ahli dunia. Dibully mbarke wae, capek ngetutke wong-wong nguniku. Nek ono kenalanmu kok ngelem kue, muji kue, kue ojo tuenang-tenang sueneng ngono namun jika kamu teliti tidak akan ada apa-apanya. Jangan heran kalau ia mengolok-olok (ma'arif) jika tidak di depanmu, dan jangan marah dengan orang itu. Karena kamu sendiri juga bisa seperti itu, bahkan tidak kenalanmu saja tapi juga kenalan, kerabat dan gurumu juga kamu rasani, juga orang tuamu. Maka dari itu putuslah thoma' siro dari ma'arif, ma'unah-nya ma'arif. Karena orang yang thoma' akhirnya kecewa. Al-munafiq yathlubul 'uyub, wal mukmin yathlubul ma'adzir, wa qul la'allahu qasshoro li udhrin. Orang pekok adalah orang yang senenge ngelem-ngelem awake dewe (hamqa). Faqih ulama' tenan, mutafaqqiha (mutafaqqihiyatuz zamn) seolah-olah kyai. Cirinya suka khilaf dan mencari bedanya orang terus suka bantah-bantahan (jidal). Loh ilmumu kalah toh sama aku, terus dikeplok karo kelompok. Nguniku sek digoleki opo. Kalau faqih itu cari persesuainya yang dicari, yang cocok.”⁴

Based on the above quotation, Gus Mus thematically describes the hypocrisy in friendship, the ethics of building social relationships in the digital space, and the friendship ethics in Imam Ghazali's view. Broadly speaking, Gus Mus's presentation contains social media ethics.

Meanwhile, K.H. Said Agil Siradj explained and contextualized the contents of the information in the Yasin Tafsir written by Sheikh Hamami Zadah regarding the bad character who likes to provoke in the figure of Abu Jahl. In Kiai Said's presentation, Abu Jahl is considered to have provoked and moved young people to rush to kill the Prophet Muhammad when he was about

⁴ Transcription of Gus Mus's explanation of certain parts of *bidayah al-hidayah* in Javanese language, which took place on the 15th of Ramadan, 2018, in Letch Rembang.

to migrate to Medina, but failed because Ali replaced the Prophet in his bed. Embedding the laqab of Abu Jahl and the passage of the verse وجعلنا من بين أيديهم سدا ومن خلفهم سدا فأغشينهم فهم لا يبصرون with the background of the Abu Jahl incident. The provocative character of Abu Jahl is considered because they have a bad reputation in the eyes of Allah until they are immortalized in that verse.

Thus, in general, the message that Kiai Said wants to convey is that anyone who behaves like Abu Jahl, that is, likes to spread hatred and likes to provoke, will have the same fate as Abu Jahl, which is hated by Allah and rewarded with unconscious ignorance. In addition to a message not to like to provoke on social media, Kiai Said also emphasized that anyone should not hate infidels except because of their bad character. Therefore, inviting goodness (da'wah) must be done gently, not forcefully, especially with violence, because guidance comes from God. All these explanations were put by Kiai Said in the context of the phenomenon of rampant provocation on social media and how peace building should be carried out on social media.

E. CONCLUSION

The presence of digital information technology has been used by traditional Ulama' to carry out *Ngaji Pasanan* tradition, thus giving birth to a new phenomenon known as "*Ngaji Pasanan Online*". K.H. Mustofa Bisri (Gus Mus) and K.H. Said Aqil Siradj (Kiai Said) are the two traditional Ulama' who appear to be the earliest seen in this digital phenomenon, among other traditional Ulama'. There are several services that facilitate the formation of online *Ngaji Pasanan* tradition, both in the form of applications such as Nu-tizen or social media that have live streaming services, such as Youtube, Facebook and Instagram. In *Ngaji Pasanan Online*, the two traditional Ulama' did not only convey the material in *Kitab Kuning* (traditional Islamic book), but also contextualize the contents into the actual issues in the digital world. In addition, their presence in the digital space (digital engagement) during the ongoing *Ngaji Pasanan Online* period also shows their involvement in offline discourses that have moved to the virtual space. In this context, I found three main discourses, namely practical political discourse, nationalities political discourse, and religious moderation discourse. Therefore, it can be concluded that the relationship between the material in *Ngaji Pasanan Online* and the online discourse that accompanies these activities and the actual discourse that

occurs in the offline space affects each other (reciprocally). Meanwhile, if you look at the context of the presence of traditional Ulama' in the digital space, it seems that they were more motivated by the urge to mainstream moderate religious discourse from within the Islamic treasures (*kitab kuning*) and the nationalities discourse in the digital space, rather than driven by their affirmation to the use of digital technology to carry on the academic tradition of Islamic boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*) in Ramadan, namely *Ngaji Pasanan*.

REFERENCES

- Addeo, F., Delli Paoli, A., Esposito, M., & Ylenia Bolcato, M. (2019). Doing Social Research on Online Communities: The Benefits of Netnography. *ATHENS JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.30958/ajss.7-1-1>
- Adji, W. S., Bashith, A., Nasith, A., & Amin, S. (2019). IDENTIFICATION OF SOCIAL SYMPTOMS USING THE DRONE EMPRIT ACADEMIC AS A SUPPORT FOR STATISTICAL LITERACY. *Abjadia*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.18860/abj.v4i2.8412>
- Agussani, A. (2020). Islamic Radical Polemics and Terrorism in Indonesia From The Perspective of Islamic Figures and Literature. *IJEMS: Indonesian Journal of Education and Mathematical Science*, 1(2). <https://doi.org/10.30596/ijems.v1i2.4584>
- Alinea.id. (2018). *Prabowo Subianto segera jadi warga NU*. <https://www.alinea.id/politik/prabowo-subianto-segera-jadi-warga-nu-b1U4d9dlx>
- Arianto, B. (2020). Pemanfaatan Aplikasi Drone Emprit Academic dalam Menganalisis Opini Publik di Media Sosial. *Journal of Social Politics and Governance (JSPG)*, 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.24076/jspg.2020v2i2.415>
- Arifin, S. (2020a). DINAMIKA NGAJI ONLINE RAMADHAN DI MASA PAGEBLUK COVID-19 PADA KOMUNITAS PESANTREN. *Jurnal Kependudukan Indonesia*. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jki.v0i0.538>
- Arifin, S. (2020b). Dinamika Perubahan Relasi Kiai Santri Pada 'Ngaji Online' di Masa Pagebluk COVID-19. *Jurnal Kependudukan Indonesia*, 1.

- Atran, S. (2005). The Emir/ : An Interview with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, Alleged Leader of the Southeast Asian Jemaah Islamiyah Organization. *James-town Foundation, Spotlight on Terrorism, Vol. 3*(9).
- BRAJKOVIE, E. (2011). Netnography: doing ethnographic research online by Kozinets, Robert V. *Social Anthropology, 19*(1). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8676.2010.00142_11.x
- Burhani, A. N. (2017). Geertz's trichotomy of Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi controversy and continuity. *Journal of Indonesian Islam, 11*(2). <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2017.11.2.329-350>
- Bush, R., & Fealy, G. (2014). The political decline of traditional Ulama in Indonesia: The state, Umma and Nahdlatul Ulama. *Asian Journal of Social Science, 42*(5). <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685314-04205004>
- Centre, I., Violence, P., & Trends, C. T. (2018). The Terrorist Threat in Indonesia From Jemaah Islamiyah to "Islamic State." *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses, 10*(6).
- Fahmi, I. (2017). *Drone Emprit: Konsep dan Teknologi*. IT Camp on Big Data and Data Mining, Jakarta.
- Fahmi, I. (2018). *Drone Emprit (Astramaya)*. PT. Media Kernels Indonesia.
- Fatchan, A., Amirudin, A., & Soekamto, H. (2015). Education model "bandongan" for farmers society of agricultural skills training in the background of sosioculture "pesantren" in East Java. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 6*(5). <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n5p515>
- Geertz, C. (1981). *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa, terj. oleh Aswab Mahasin*. Pustaka Jaya.
- Hefner, R. W. (2010). Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia * Edited by GREG FEALY and SALLY WHITE. *Journal of Islamic Studies, 21*(3). <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etq058>
- Hidayah Sita. (2012). Antropologi Digital Dan Hiperteks: Sebuah Pembahasan Awal. *Ranah, 11*(1).
- Horikoshi, H. (1987). *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial*. LP3ES.
- Junaedi, M., Fachrurozi, A., Kusumayudha, M. R., & Gata, W. (2020). Analysis of the classification of terrorist attacks in Indonesia. *JOURNAL*

OF INFORMATICS AND TELECOMMUNICATION ENGINEERING, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.31289/jite.v4i1.3788>

- Kamal, F. (2020). MODEL PEMBELAJARAN SOROGAN DAN BANDONGAN. *PARAMUROBI: JURNAL PENDIDIKAN AGAMA ISLAM*, 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.32699/paramurobi.v3i2.1572>
- Lee, R. (2010). Book Review: Robert V. Kozinets Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online London: SAGE, 2010. 221 pp. \$44.95 (pbk). ISBN: 978-1-84860-645-6. *Field Methods*, 22(4). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X10370922>
- Media Indonesia. (2018). *Said Aqil: Tidak Usah Didorong, Apalagi Dibayar, Warga NU Otomatis Menangkan Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin*. <https://m.mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/177653/said-aqil-tidak-usah-didorong-apalagi-dibayar-warga-nu-otomatis-menangkan-jokowi-maruf-amin>
- Miftahuddin, L. H. (2018). Ulama dan Media Sosial: Analisis Pesan Dakwah KH Mustofa Bisri di Twitter. *MUHARRIK: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial*, 1(02).
- Muttaqin, Z. (2020). *The Ngaji Online: Transforming Islamic Learning for Moslem Communities in the Digital Age*. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291734>
- News, T. (2018). *Prabowo Subianto Minta Maaf ke PBNU: Saya Akan Panggil Fadli Zon, Jangan Ketus Kepada Kiyai NU*. <https://wartakota.tribunnews.com/2018/07/17/prabowo-subianto-minta-maaf-ke-pbnu-saya-akan-panggil-fadli-zon-jangan-ketus-kepada-kiyai-nu?page=all>
- Okezone News. (2018). *Kagetnya Gus Mus ketika Jokowi Pilih Ma'ruf Amin sebagai Cawapres*. <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/08/09/605/1934398/kagetnya-gus-mus-ketika-jokowi-pilih-ma-ruf-amin-sebagai-cawapres>
- Pettit, R. (2010). Digital Anthropology: How Ethnography Can Improve Online Research. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 50(3). <https://doi.org/10.2501/S0021849910091403>

- Pribadi, Y. (2014). Religious networks in Madura pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama and Kiai as the core of santri culture. *Al-Jami'ah*, 51(1). <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32>
- Rahmanto, D. N., Meliala, A. E., & Andi Lolo, F. (2020). Foreign Terrorist Fighters Indonesia: Belief in A Just World and Terrorism. *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, 9. <https://doi.org/10.47577/tssj.v9i1.986>
- Republika. (2018). *Said Aqil: Nasionalis dan Ulama Harus Bersatu demi NKRI*. <https://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/pamknj409/said-aqil-nasionalis-dan-ulama-harus-bersatu-demi-nkri>
- Ricci, R. (2020). Reading between the Lines A World of Interlinear Translation. In *Journal of World Literature* (Vol. 1, Issue 1). <https://doi.org/10.1163/24056480-00101008>
- Robert V. Kozinets, N. (2009). *Doing Ethnographic Research Online*. Sage.
- SALIM, I. (2012). Tradisi Penulisan Hasyiyah di Dunia Islam. *ALQALAM*, 29(2). <https://doi.org/10.32678/alqalam.v29i2.870>
- Sauri, S., Rahmat, A. S., Nursyamsiah, N., & Nursaidah, L. L. (2016). Explaining the values embedded in the teaching of Arabic using sorongan and bandongan methods in Indonesian Traditional Muslim Boarding Schools-Pesantren. *Man in India*, 96(8).
- Sobirin, M., Muhammad, H., & Zuhri, M. (2020). *Peace Building Activism of Millennial Santri Communities through Social Media: A Nethnography Study*. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291669>
- Steketee, M., Miyaoka, A., & Spiegelman, M. (2015). Social Network Analysis. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences: Second Edition*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.10563-X>
- Suharso, P. (2019). Pemanfaatan Drone Emprit dalam Melihat Trend Perkembangan Bacaan Digital melalui Akun Twitter. *Anuva*, 3(4).
- Thoriqussu'ud, M. (2012). Model-Model Pengembangan Kajian Kitab Kuning Di Pondok Pesantren. *At-Tajdid/ : Jurnal Ilmu Tarbiyah*, 1(2), 225–239. <http://ejournal.stitmuh-pacitan.ac.id/index.php/attajdid/article/view/13>
- Triantoro, D. A. (2020). Ustaz Youtube: Ustaz Abdul Somad And The Dynamics of Changing Religious Authorities. *Penamas*, 33(2). <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v33i2.405>