

## Ruqyah Jaranan And Its Resistance On The Dominant Culture

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### Abstract

This paper discusses how Ruqyah Jaranan, a cultural event in East Java, is constructed as a resistance to the existing culture. It was typical that resistance appears from the weak side to the strong side. This case shows a resistance culture that was born from the strong to the weak culture. It specifically talks about the way Ruqyah Jaranan emerged in Kedawung Jember as a way to change the nature of the good young generation in that village. This paper argues that this event is an attempt from a particular people in dealing with what so called as “good young generation”. But the value of the culture has negotiated with the way the society in that village articulated the nature of the good young generation. This event has implications to shape the religiosity and morality of the young generation as behavior in daily life.

**Keywords:** Good Young Generation, Islamic Conception, Resistance, Ruqyah Jaranan

### Abstract

Tulisan ini membahas tentang bagaimana Ruqyah Jaranan, sebuah peristiwa budaya di Jawa Timur, dikonstruksikan sebagai perlawanan terhadap budaya yang ada. Resistensi biasanya muncul dari sisi lemah ke sisi kuat. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa ada budaya perlawanan yang lahir dari budaya yang kuat ke budaya yang lemah. Tulisan ini secara khusus berbicara tentang bagaimana Ruqyah Jaranan muncul di Kedawung Jember sebagai upaya untuk mengubah sifat generasi muda yang baik di desa tersebut. Tulisan ini berpendapat bahwa acara ini merupakan upaya dari orang-orang tertentu dalam membangun apa yang disebut sebagai “generasi muda yang baik”. Namun nilai budaya tersebut telah bernegosiasi dengan cara masyarakat di desa itu mengartikulasikan sifat generasi muda yang baik. Praktik ini berimplikasi pada pembentukan religiusitas dan moralitas generasi muda sebagai perilaku dalam kehidupan sehari-hari.

**Kata Kunci:** Generasi Muda yang Baik, Konsep Islam, Perlawanan, Ruqyah Jaranan

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## INTRODUCTION

Ruqyah Jaranan is the new culture that has been perceived by some people in Kedawung Jember.<sup>1</sup> This culture was born in 2014. It is a resistance culture built by Saiful, the head of the practice. Saiful challenges the concept of a good young generation in its villages. Ruqyah Jaranan exists for the last three years to build a good young generation by Islamic conception. There are two groups of Jaranan in this area before Ruqyah Jaranan is constructed. According to Saiful, he got worried about the behavior of the young generation that he thought to be anarchists. To strengthen this idea, he has shown the performer who follows the existing Jaranan mostly the naughty people that does not have much attention from their parents. By giving Islamic form in Jaranan, he wants to change the nature of how the young generation behaves in his village. It seems his movement is guided by the way Islam ethics on the nature of the good young generation.

At first glance, this event was born as the result of how to create a good young generation.<sup>2</sup> This assumption, then, leads Saiful to think creatively about creating the religious event, shalawat, that would be followed by many people surrounding him. This event is negotiated with their way of knowing.<sup>3</sup> They use, for instance, the shalawat with a Javanese song and the performer would pray shalat on time. This idea appears as the result of his analysis that many people rarely come to do shalawat together in the mosque. In the next analysis, this event is the result of the paradox culture that eventually becomes merged. Ruqyah tends to kick out the spirit that enters the human body while Jaranan tends to invite the spirit into the human body. After some negotiation, I assume that this kind of tendency, then, is utilized by people for completing the event. Jaranan invites the spirit in the first event while in the end, Ruqyah is the way to kick out this spirit.

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Nikmal Anas Alhadi, "Ndadi Performance And Religious Practices: Examining Ruqyah Jaranan In Jember" (PhD Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Andry Ferdian, Rusman Rusman, and Asrori Asrori, "Philosophy, Education, and Values Religious in Culture Pegon Jaranan Dance," *Nazhruma: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 5, no. 2 (June 20, 2022): 852–63, <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v5i2.2064>.

<sup>3</sup> Farhan Farhan, "Amar Munkar Nahi Ma'ruf: Studi Lirik Lagu Dangdut Koplo Jaran Goyang Dan Parodinya," *Al-I'lam: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam* 3, no. 1 (2019): 15–28.

In showing this phenomenon, some scholars would see it as one of the following terms, acculturation, syncretic, conversion, and resistance. Koentjaraningrat<sup>4</sup> would see this phenomenon as acculturation because he defines acculturation as a social process that arises when a group of people with a foreign culture in such a way that the elements of foreign culture are gradually accepted and processed into the culture itself without causing the loss of cultural personality itself. It is understandable because Ruqyah Jaranan still keeps the value of the previous culture. At the same time, Charles Steward<sup>5</sup> would see this phenomenon as syncretism, as his definition state "the combination of elements from two or more different religious traditions within a specified frame".

This event can be called a form of conversion if regard to the definition offered by Heirich<sup>6</sup>, Richardson<sup>7</sup>, and Rita S. Kipp<sup>8</sup>. Heirich defines conversion as "the process of changing a sense of root reality" or "a conscious shift in one's sense of grounding" while Kipp proposes "Theories of conversion have often stressed either psychological or sociological factors, but viewing conversion as the public declaration of a new identity and incorporating the element of time afford a way to synthesize these approaches". In other hands, Richardson offers a new way for understanding the meaning of conversion. He states that "In the old paradigm, conversion is generally viewed in passivist and deterministic terms, whereas in the new paradigm, conversion is generally explained from the standpoint of active agency (i.e., self-directed behavior), personal choice, meaning, and negotiation."

In other places, Lisa Droogendyk and Stephen C. Wright<sup>9</sup> would see Ruqyah Jaranan as a form of resistance. He defines resistance as the following:

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<sup>4</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*. (Jakarta: Djembatan. 1990:91)

<sup>5</sup> Charles Steward, "C. Syncretism and its synonyms: Reflections on the cultural mixture", *Diacritics*, Volume 29 Nomor 3, (1999): 40-62.

<sup>6</sup> Max Heirich, "M. Change of heart: A test of some widely held theories about religious conversion", *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 83 No 3, (1977): 653-680

<sup>7</sup> James T Richardson, "The active vs. passive convert: Paradigm conflict in conversion/recruitment research", *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, (1985) 163-179.

<sup>8</sup> Rita Kipp, "S. Conversion by affiliation: the history of the Karo Batak Protestant Church", *American Ethnologist*, Volume 22 No 4, (1995):878

<sup>9</sup> Lisa Droogendyk and Stephen C. Wright, "S. C. A social psychological examination of the empowering role of language in Indigenous resistance", *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, Volume 20 No 3, (2017): 308

“a form of collective action which occurs when individuals take action on behalf of their ingroup to improve conditions for the entire group... in which disadvantaged group members directly challenge their subordinated position within the social system.”

The term resistance itself is showing by scholars that the resistance is the local culture that was common by weak culture to the new culture. David Samiyono<sup>10</sup> has shown how the people in Bali create a resistance movement for restricting the tourist by questioning its effect to keep Bali's culture. The scope of this study is after the bombing of Bali and appearing awareness among local people in Bali about their region and culture. This paper shows the change that happens to *ajeg Bali*. He argues that *Ajeg Bali* has transformed to be cultural sentiment and become the only doctrine that should be followed while this culture just belongs to the local culture and not belong to the people outside Bali.

Ma'arif<sup>11</sup> tends to state that the term resistance is related to the role of the Indigenous movement. This role uses to respond to world religion and modernity. To strengthen this idea, Ma'arif has cited many scholars that show this resistance. They are Anna Sing (1993), Keane (1996, 2007), Hummel and Telaumbanua (2007), George (1996), and Steedly (1993). According to Ma'arif, these scholars have shown the way local culture responds to the world religion that arrives at their place. In contrast, this phenomenon, *Ruqyah Jaranan*, will give others an understanding on a way the resistance that comes from the dominant culture, Islam, to the local culture.

This paper shows how the agency and particular people in society create a discourse in negotiating what the so-called "good young generation" is. Then, it would show how this particular culture is articulated by society rather than give it a term that I realize would eventually create simple complexity in society. In filling the gap, it will show the articulation of practitioners on how a particular culture is constructed as resistance to the older culture. Moreover, this paper represents the way society contested their idea relating to how to create a good young generation and then become a rule that should be followed.

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<sup>10</sup> David Samiyono, "Resistensi Agama dan Budaya Masyarakat" *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, Volume 21 No 2, (2013):251-270

<sup>11</sup> Samsul Ma'arif, "Dimensions of Religious Practice The Ammatoans of Sulawesi, Indonesia" *A Dissertation*, Arizona State University. (2012).

For the sake of that, this paper would employ Stuart Hall's theory on articulation. Stuart Hall<sup>12</sup> defines articulation as “both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects.” Furthermore, Hall adds that it is “The form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage that is not necessarily determined, absolute, and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances can a connection be forged or made.”

Articulation theory necessitates dialectical and dynamic effort. It is related to the process of becoming that tends to say hybridity in culture. Clifford<sup>13</sup>, for example, argues that there has been a dialectical “invention of tradition” process in the history of the diaspora in every post-independent culture. He also argues that social transformation is always related to Irwan Abdullah's opinion “kontruksi and reproduksi kebudayaan”<sup>14</sup>. In line with him, Tan<sup>15</sup> proposes the theory of objectification as a way of becoming while Stewart<sup>16</sup> offers the theory of hybridization. Ma'arif<sup>17</sup> also shows how Ammatoa's people make a dialectical to the Islamic culture and their adat. This theory has shown that we can capture the dynamic of the intersection between two cultures.

## METHODS

This paper is qualitative research. The research approach used is a qualitative approach.<sup>18</sup> Qualitative research can be interpreted as research that produces

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<sup>12</sup> Lawrence Grossberg, “On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall.” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10. (1986):53

<sup>13</sup> Clifford Geertz, “*The religion of Java*”, University of Chicago Press, (1976)

<sup>14</sup> Irwan Abdullah, “*Konstruksi dan reproduksi kebudayaan*”, Pustaka Pelajar, (2006), 476.

<sup>15</sup> Chang-Kwo Tan, “K. Syncretic Objects”, *Journal of Material Culture*, Volume 7 No 2, (2002): 167–187 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183502007002638>

<sup>16</sup> Charles Stewart, “C. Syncretism and its synonyms: Reflections on the cultural mixture”, *Diacritics*, Volume 29 No 3, (1999): 40-62

<sup>17</sup> Samsul Ma'arif, “Dimensions of Religious Practice The Ammatoans of Sulawesi, Indonesia” *A Dissertation*, Arizona State University. (2012)

<sup>18</sup> Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, Nancy L. Leech, and Kathleen MT Collins, “Qualitative Analysis Techniques for the Review of the Literature.” *Qualitative Report* 17 (2012): 56.

descriptive data regarding spoken words, writing, and observable behavior of the people studied.<sup>19</sup> In another sense, qualitative research is a research procedure that produces data in the form of speech or writing and behavior observed by the subjects themselves.<sup>20</sup> The type approach is a case study as a method, it aims to explore the articulation of Ruqyah Jaranan by practitioners about their ways of performing and preserving Ruqyah Jaranan in Kedawung Jember. It aims to examine the form of their struggle and understand its practice. Some interviews with key actors as well as a society were done to investigate how they gave meanings and articulated Ruqyah Jaranan. In qualitative research, the research instrument is the researcher himself. The research instrument is not external or objective, but internal or subjective, namely the researcher himself without using questionnaire tests or experiments.<sup>21</sup> The presence of researchers at the research location.

## RESULTS

### The Practice of Ruqyah Jaranan

This stage will explore three things related to Ruqyah Jaranan. The three things are manifested in three questions.<sup>22</sup> The first is how Ruqyah Jaranan was born. The second is when Ruqyah Jaranan is done. The last one is what the practice of Ruqyah Jaranan is. To these three questions hopefully will present one of the realities of Ruqyah Jaranan in the field, Kedawung Jember. Relating to the first question, Ruqyah Jaranan is the result of human creation that affects people in the way they act and interact with others. The idea is how to create a social movement by doing something together with the aim of piety. It applies in human daily life with particular norms and values.<sup>23</sup>

This event is one of Saiful's ways to gather people in doing shalawat together. At that time, he told that shalawat if done in the mosque is boring. Many people would not come and attend this event. To solve this thing, Saiful, with aim of building piety

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<sup>19</sup> Michael Huberman and Matthew B. Miles, *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion* (sage, 2002).

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad Rijal Fadli, "Memahami Desain Metode Penelitian Kualitatif," *Humanika, Kajian Ilmiah Mata Kuliah Umum* 21, no. 1 (2021): 33–54.

<sup>21</sup> Emy Susanti Hendrarso, "Penelitian Kualitatif: Sebuah Pengantar" Dalam Bagong Suyanto Dan Sutinah (Eds.) *Metode Penelitian Sosial: Berbagai Alternatif Pendekatan* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia, 2013).

<sup>22</sup> Muhammad Nikmal Anas Alhadi, "Ndadi Performance And Religious Practices: Examining Ruqyah Jaranan In Jember" (PhD Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2019).

<sup>23</sup> Alhadi.

among people in his village, thinks twice getting the idea that people would enjoy doing shalawat. At that time, Jaranan is a famous event that many people in his village liked it. In seeing this chance he got the bright idea to combine Shalawat with Jaranan so people would freely attend shalawat and recite it together every week. Ruqyah Jaranan is the practice that is being used by people in Kedawung Jember to express the way they do shalawat. The fact is that there are other groups Jaranan in Kedawung, but this group according to the head of Ruqyah Jaranan activity, Saiful, is full of anarchists and eventually would create a bad generation in the future. In resistance to this phenomenon, Saiful initiates to make other culture that creates a good future generation under Islamic conception. Like other Jaranan in Kedawung, this practice is not quite different in performance. The dance trance as a criterion for this event is still kept. The thing that makes it different is shalawat which follow as a song while other used to use Javanese song like Sinden. But, sometimes the song in this event uses the shalawat.<sup>24</sup>

There are two reasons why shalawat is used as a song in this event. According to Saiful, the use of shalawat means that this event aims as a medium for *yi'ar*. The second reason is relating to the ancestor's desire for the song. Saiful states that Eyang Kumiri, is the ancestor, like shalawat rather than Sinden or Gending, a Javanese song. Sometimes, the ancestors propose the song from Banyuwangi. It depends on the ancestors who arrived at the event. If the ancestor is still young, they like to propose the Banyuwangi's song. While if they are an adult or older people, the ancestor likes to propose shalawat.

Saiful, the head of this event, said that he has been doing this with his group, Silat Cimande and at the same time *Ad da'watul Khairat* group, for four years. This event is performed every week. The way this event performs is based on the regular social gathering, *arisan*. The host is based as a member of *Ad da'watul Khairat*. This event is held every week except there are things that prevent it such as the host having a family that passed away. He invited his group (silat cimande also in the same time the

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<sup>24</sup> Alhadi.

followers of *Ad-da'watul kbairot*) to make this event together. The effect is quite interesting that people come in there freely although this event is done in the middle night, exactly from 22.00 to 24.00, which relates to the second question.

As the last question, it would explore what the Ruqyah Jaranan looks like. This event is started by showing the flowers along the rice made by Saiful as the main handler, *Pawang*. It follows by some *Pawang*s that whipped the surrounding event to invite the ancestors. In this regard, it started by reciting *basmalah* and listing the ritual offerings such as rice, and coconut. In the next ritual, a *Pawang* will do a *tawassul*. The *tawassul* contains many people such as Prophet Muhammad, Adam and Hawa, the ten Angel in Islamic teachings, *Khulafaur Rasyidin*, *Dulur Papat Limo Pancer* (a belief that in the human's born, there are two evils in the left and two angles in the right while people as a center), all the teachers, father and mother, Eyang Kumiri, brother Saketi, Eyang Yellow Scarf, grandmother Singobarong, and Grandparents Saptobalo. This kind of *tawassul* is talked about with the striking of Gamelan.

The mention of Eyang Kumiri means that he is the king of *kbodam* (a helper of people that is kept by some unique people while commonly a form of Jin) that trance the performer. Eyang Kumiri is the ancestors that makes communication with *Pawang*. They believe that he is one of the disciples of Sunan Kalijaga. He is the media for inviting the *kbodam* to enter the human body and then become what so-called "trance". These people signify the way they keep their communication with their ancestors.<sup>25</sup>

To enter the *kbodam*, the original spirit of the performer (it should note that most performer is young people) is first removed and then *kbodam* can enter their body. When the performer is unconscious because his spirit is removed, he would dance following the rhythm of the song and music that is accompanied by a set of Gamelan while the accompaniment song is *shalawat*, at the sense *shalawat* with Javanese mode. On the other hand, when he got trance, the performer does not feel anything except dreaming. The content of dreams depends on which *kbodam* enters his body. If the *kbodam* comes from the forest then the performer would feel as if they are dreaming in the middle of the forest. It is the same if the dream is the condition of the sea.

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<sup>25</sup> Alhadi.



In addition to dancing, the performer also used to peel the coconut husk by using the mouth, they do not eat shards or live chickens as done by the performer of Pennaan Genting, the name of the existing Jaranan in that village. This kind of ritual is thrown away as this is an anarchist ritual and tends to hurt a body while this was in contrast with the teaching of Islam that does not hurt your body. Sometimes in the middle of performs, if the host has a problem with the things called "*dbalim*" or a kind of magic sent by people who have a bad goal for that family, the performer would feel the energy of that bad things. The performer would inform this kind of findings to Saiful because the performer just can find it. Saiful is the only person that can take it. It requires a special ability that only Saiful can do it well.

Regarding this condition, once has a story that Saiful does not attend the event and the performer finds a *dbolim* stuff. The performer is screaming for the other performers and the audience recites *Ya Siin* (one of the surat in the Quran) together. It aims to keep this thing safe and not run away. It was done until finally, Saiful came to take the item. It is a kind of communication with their ancestors experienced it.<sup>26</sup>

When the game is felt enough, then Pak Saiful will throw the flowers back like a man who was a "*nyawer*" (a kind of ritual that throwing away the flowers around the place), then read "assalaamualikum poro ghoib, wes cukup, tak iringi gending alon alon mulio mulio" (assalamualaikum the invisible people, it is enough, I will accompany it by gending slowly then you can come back to your place). After this, the performer immediately asked to open the head binder. It is followed by asking to take away a *khodam* that enters their body. The *khodam* will go away after reading *Kalam Suryani* which sounds "*diyyain diyyain abyain abyain jallasin jallasin*". In a game, according to Saiful, the *Pawang* is fully responsible for whatever happens in the middle of the game, one of which must master the *Ilmu Aji Rasa* (the term for the superpower condition) that is taught by Prabu Tamtama.

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<sup>26</sup> Clara van Groenendael, *Jaranan: The Horse Dance and Trance in East Java* (Brill, 2012).

### **The Way Society Articulated Ruqyah Jaranan**

In this stage, I will explore the way society sees Ruqyah Jaranan and its impact. Regarding the response from society, I argue that this event is well accepted by most of society while few of them give negative responses. Some may argue that this event is a way to deconstruct the culture of Jaranan itself by adding Islamic norms. But here I argue that this is their way to preserve culture based on their articulation and negotiation with other teachings.<sup>27</sup>

In this condition, I believe that culture is not passive but dynamic. It depends on the actors who play a role in interpreting the existing culture. Saiful interprets the way to preserve the Jaranan culture by his understanding of Islamic values on the morality of the performer. He believes that the performer of the existing Jaranan does not pay attention to morality and tends to be anarchist. The term anarchist here is understood as a condition where the performers do not have attention to the worship of Islam and its value on morality such as how to behave with the parents.<sup>28</sup>

This kind of idea is strengthened by the statement from Saiful regarding his other reason for creating his movement. There are two reasons I note. The first is the way to preserve cultural heritage from predecessors. But their way to do it is different from other existing Jaranan in that village. This way accommodated the teaching of Islam with the face of what they, the group of Saiful, understand, particularly the ethical ways. It manifested into the rule that should be followed by the performers.

The second way is relating to the media of preaching that according to Saiful, imitated the way Sunan Kalijaga has done it. If I follow the terms from Geertz<sup>29</sup> on the three forms of people in Java (abangan, santri, priyayi) it fits the abangan criteria that emphasized the local culture as a way to spread the preaching of Islam to avoid the conflict while at the time goes on the teaching of Islam is added. It strengthens by the way they communicate with their ancestors, Eyang Kumiri. In the previous discussion, I discussed Eyang Kumiri who they believe is one of the disciples of Sunan Kalijaga. Furthermore, Saiful always tries to keep his communication with Eyang Kumiri that in my opinion, this communication is one of the ways Saiful creates principles of this

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<sup>27</sup> Alhadi, "NDADI PERFORMANCE AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES."

<sup>28</sup> Alhadi.

<sup>29</sup> Clifford Geertz, "*The religion of Java*", University of Chicago Press. (1976)

event. In this condition, the young generation is driven to become in a positive way that relates to the principle in his group, *Ad-da'watul Khairat*.

Borrowing the term from Bourdieu<sup>30</sup> about habitus, this event is an attempt to create a habitus for the young generation to behave in more positive ways. It can be seen from the rule created by Saiful for the performer. The performer should have a habit of praying the five *shalat* on time. If they do not do it, it will imply to their performance.<sup>31</sup> There is a story from the performer that is full of tattoos, just called it Nasrun, edited name. In every attempt for entering the *kbodam* into his body, the *kbodam* always rejected to enter their body. Saiful thinks the reason is related to the performer that rarely does *shalat*. After the performer is taught about *shalat* and does it routinely, the *kbodam* eventually want to enter that body. By seeing this result, Nasrun does some thanksgiving (in modern terms) to celebrate this change.

Regarding Ruqyah Jaranan, it implies the way society responds to this event. Most of the societies that I met and do interview well accepted this event. There are three reasons I note. The first is related to this event. Society thinks that this event is one of the attempts to preserve their art and cultural heritage. Furthermore, this event has a goal to make preaching and as a media for preaching. The second way is related to the nature of the young generation's behavior. It relates to the implication of this event on the behavior of the young generation. Two points relate to it according to society. The first is related to religiosity and the second one is related to morals.

The religiosity of the young generation can be seen from the hidden rule that should be followed by the performers and forced on them. The first example appears in the story of the tattoo people. There is another story from the Tok, the true name. He is famous for the people who rarely do *shalat* even going to the mosque.<sup>32</sup> After becoming one of the performers of this event, society, particularly his neighborhood,

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<sup>30</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "The genesis of the concepts of habitus and field", *Sociocriticism*, 2(2), (1985): 11-24

<sup>31</sup> Mukhlas Alkaf, "Spiritualitas Mistis Di Balik Ekspresi Kesenian Rakyat Jaranan," *Acintya* 1, no. 1 (2009), <https://doi.org/10.33153/acy.v1i1.35>.

<sup>32</sup> Dick van der Meij, "Jaranan; The Horse Dance and Trance in East Java" (JSTOR, 2009).

become surprised that he suddenly changes his behavior to be more active in doing *shalat*. The *Pawang* also has hidden rules that should be followed, such as fasting.<sup>33</sup>

Morality is the other impact that happens following this event. It is related to the way the performer behaves in everyday life. They, as if, have a rule for their behavior in everyday life. They should live with good behavior if they want *kbodam* enter to their body. One of the moralities appears in the story from Khoirul, true name. He is famous with young people for his naughty even can be called the naughtiest young person in his village. In one of his dream, he meets his mother and she suggests him follow Ruqyah Jaranan. I assume this is related to the morality offered by this event. We can see from the impact after Khoirul follow this event that he changed his behavior to become a good young person who routinely worshiped and likes to do *i'tikaf* in the mosque

The third way is grounding *shalawat*. They argue that our prophet keeps the *shalawat*, we have to do the same ways for doing this. For legitimating this reason, they take ayat Al-Ahzab 56. Interestingly, they have negotiated the form of shalawat with their local teaching or their way of knowing and understanding. They bring up the traditional cultural logic into a new context. They bring shalawat with their understanding, shalawat with the Javanese song. When asked about this event with the question is it Islamic culture or cultural practice, they would answer that it is the cultural practice but there is the value of Islam. *Shalawat* is a symbolic meaning that is cumulative memory for that society. But this memory is negotiated with the articulation of their culture. They use shalawat but the way they do this shalawat is based on the Javanese song.

My point here is that the way society articulated this event is mostly positive. They think that this event has provided more Islamic to Jaranan. They also see this event as a way to preserve their cultural heritage and their communication with their ancestors. Furthermore, some of them think that this event has changed the way their children behave in everyday life. It should note that their measure of the good young generation is based on Islamic teaching. The young generation is called good if they do the obligation from Islamic teachings such as *shalat*, fasting, and morality.

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<sup>33</sup> van Groenendael, *Jaranan*.

Few people who see Ruqyah Jaranan as a negative performance argue that the performance has any relation with spirit or demon. The relation happened when the performer shows a trance. For this group, having relation with a spirit or ancestor will always connote having a relationship with a demon. Based on this argument, they propose banning the performance for being against Islamic teachings. If the performance still exists, it might give a bad impact on the young generation. It means that the leader of performance might lead the young generation in the wrong way regarding Islamic doctrine.

In response, Saiful said that such relationships could not be generalized and that every spirit which is invited would always be a demon. Islam itself has introduced the doctrine that every Muslim should believe in a supernatural thing. This is in line with the Quran surat Albaqarah verse 3. In terms of practice, Islam also promoted the importance of ancestors in the life of a Muslim. It could be seen from the practice of *ziarah kubur* or grave pilgrimage and *wali songo* pilgrimage. Through this practice, the ancestors take crucial roles for people who want to make a relationship with them. Having fair appraisal, relating with ancestors in the pilgrimage should be relating with the demon on one hand even though the Muslim itself believes that the ancestors are not a demon. Nevertheless, the belief of ancestors who are invited to the performance that is not a demon becomes the main point that Saiful wants to show. However, the stigma of demons is coming from one view which does not respect others. It might be a never-ending conflict between Muslim and local practices if one another does not want to give respect to the existing ancestors who are invited to the practice of *Ruqyah Jaranan*.

## Conclusion

Society sees this event mostly in positive aspects. They think that this event has many advantages. This event is a medium for them to, borrowing Tadjoeeddin's<sup>34</sup> term, civic engagement under collective memory, *shalawat*. This event implies the way

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<sup>34</sup> Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeedin, "Civil Society Engagement and Communal Violence: Reflection on Various Hypotheses in the Context of Indonesia," Administration and Change, No. 42, July-December, (2004): 1-18

the young generation behave in their daily life. They think that a good young generation is related to two things. The first is morality and the second one is worship. Morality is relating to everyday life behavior within society while worship is relating to their way to follow the Islamic teaching on worship that in this sense relates to the NU way of Islam. Ruqyah Jaranan is the media for creating the habitus for young people and the media for preserving their cultural heritage. Ruqyah Jaranan is the media for doing shalawat together while the form of shalawat is a Javanese song. It is a medium to make a communication with their ancestors, particularly Eyang Kumiri.

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