

# PESANTREN'S RESISTANCE AGAINST CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION

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**Abstract:** This research attempts to explore the resistance of Pesantren against cultural globalization dominated by western society. By using the post-colonial approach, it is found that there is the process of re-reading the meaning of globalization and re-defining of 'self' as the subject of globalization. Pesantren introduced the concept of non material point of view namely *al-tarbiyah wa al-ta'lim* preserving the local tradition in facing the secular and materialistic values of the West. Interestingly, this concept has emerged as prominent alternative of Islamic position showing the adaptability of Islam toward the globalization. Based on this research, the author thus argues that the violence and mass movements have no longer been used by the pesantren as an indication of modernizing Islamic approach in the globalization era.

**Abstrak: Resistensi Pesantren terhadap Globalisasi Budaya.** Penelitian ini mencoba menggali resistensi pesantren terhadap globalisasi budaya yang didominasi oleh masyarakat Barat. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan pasca-kolonial, ditemukan bahwa ada proses membaca ulang makna globalisasi dan mendefinisikan ulang 'diri' sebagai subjek globalisasi. Pesantren memperkenalkan konsep cara pandang non material yaitu *al-tarbiyah wa al-ta'lim* yang melestarikan tradisi lokal dalam menghadapi nilai sekuler dan materialistik dari Barat. Menariknya, konsep ini telah muncul sebagai alternatif utama posisi Islam yang menunjukkan adaptasi Islam terhadap globalisasi. Berdasarkan penelitian ini, penulis berpendapat bahwa kekerasan dan gerakan massa sudah tidak lagi digunakan oleh pesantren sebagai indikasi terjadi modernisasi pendekatan Islam pada era globalisasi ini.

**Keywords:** globalization, pesantren, culture, postcolonial, materialistic

## Introduction

This study attempts to uncover the resistance of local community against globalization.<sup>1</sup> The local community referred in this study is “Global Tarbiyyatul Arifin” *Pesantren* at Malang Regency. Global *Pesantren* –as commonly known – is one of several local communities in Indonesia that resists globalization through a counter-discourse development. The main factor of the resistance is the emergence of cultural homogenization that is apt to the abolition of local culture practices through the domination of one party’s discourse against the other. The issues emerged when the referred single culture leads to a specific culture resulting from the imbalance stream of culture. Thus, rather than as a balanced process of cultural interaction, cultural globalization often emerges as Westernization, or commonly called Americanization.<sup>2</sup>

The phenomenon of cultural homogenization or Americanization is closely related to cultural imperialism that emerged in 1960s and was popular in 1970-1980s.<sup>3</sup> The term cultural imperialism is commonly associated with ‘Disneyfication’, ‘Coca-colonization’, and ‘Westoxification’, as a depiction of the cultural product spread<sup>4</sup> of United States in global ways. Therefore, Mackay defines cultural imperialism as: ‘Cultural goods flow to the rest of the world, inculcating US or Western values in those in recipient nations. This process prepares the ground for the import of other Western goods.’<sup>5</sup>

In accordance with the existence of multi-dimensional globalization process, there emerge responses from individuals, groups, organizations, or community to resist globalization. Nevertheless, due to multi-dimensional nature of globalization, the type and scale of resistance will also vary according to the dimension of the resisted globalization. The great resistances recorded in globalization study were “the Battle of Seattle”; the World Social Forum; farmers’

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<sup>1</sup>According to Jan Nederveen Pieterse, globalization is not a single meaning. It manifests itself in many forms: economy, international relation, sociology, and culture. This study focuses on the latter, which is cultural globalization that is closely related to the global scale of cultural standardization. Read Jan Nederveen Pieterse, “Globalization as Hybridization,” in Frank J. Lechner and John Boli, *The Globalization Reader* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publisher, 2000), p. 99-106.

<sup>2</sup>Cultural homogenization is one the main components of cultural imperialism– a thesis that believes cultural dissemination of United States or West globally. Read Hugh Mackay, “The Globalization of Culture?,” in David Held (ed.), *A Globalizing World? Culture, Economics, Politics* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 44-81. In the realm of law see generally, Mhd. Syahnan, *Modernization of Islamic Law of Contract: A Study of Abd al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri’s Masadir al-Haqq fi al-Fiqh al-Islami: Dirasah Muqaranah bi al-Fiqh al-Gharbi* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang & Diklat Departemen Agama RI, 2009).

<sup>3</sup>Read John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), and David Hesmondhalgh, *The Culture Industries* (London: Sage, 2002).

<sup>4</sup>Cultural product, translated from *cultural goods*, interpreted as ‘those consumer goods that convey ideas, symbols, and ways of life. They inform or entertain, contribute to build identity and influence cultural practices’. Patrick Hayden and Chamsy el-Ojeili, *Critical Theories of Globalization* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006) p. 135.

<sup>5</sup>Mackay, “The Globalization of Culture?,” p. 44-81.

internationalism movement and environmental movement; including religious fundamentalism movement, or other nationalistic-based movements.<sup>6</sup>

Studies of resistance possess a silver-lining, which is the target of resistance. The observed resistance in the study of globalization currently focuses on physical domination—either economic, human against nature, or cultural domination. This study is unique because Global Pesantren performs resistance against cultural globalization<sup>7</sup> in non-physical form, which is a discourse.<sup>8</sup> Global Pesantren perceives cultural globalization as a practice of Western discourse domination over non-Western discourse in global ways. However, just like Pesantren general characteristic which is adaptive to social change,<sup>9</sup> Global Pesantren does not entirely resist Western discourse. The resistance focuses on Western discourse domination as continuity of domination performed by colonial leaders.

For Global Pesantren, cultural globalization is a new form of colonialism (neocolonialism) that directly targets the thinking system of Indonesians. This subsequently authorizes colonialism despite the end of physical colonialism in *de jure* since 1948. To oppose such "mind colonialism", Global Pesantren developed the idea of "post-hegemony" to break open the "facts" which is currently taken for granted. Through the perspective of "post-hegemony", Global Pesantren perceives "facts" as "texts" inevitable from the influence of dominant parties.

"Beginning from the issues of Western dogma and belief – which according to Jean Jacques Derrida is trapped in logocentrism – dominantly hegemonized the conception of school-based academician and intellectual, the awareness that colored-skin nations belong

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<sup>6</sup>Ronaldo Munck, *Globalization and Contestation: the New Great Counter-Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>7</sup>According to Mackay cultural globalization is "a phenomenal growth in the global circulation—in terms of both distance and volume – of cultural goods." Unfortunately, the increase of cultural product circulation is asymmetric. Cultural product circulation of the West mostly circulates to developing countries. Thus, this process leads to a phenomenon so-called cultural imperialism. Mackay interprets cultural imperialism as "cultural goods flow to the rest of the world, inculcating US or Western values in those in recipient nations. This process prepares the ground for the import of other Western goods." It is called *cultural goods* because the goods are not only of meaningless stuff. John Tomlinson picked one of American TV show broadcasted in more than 90 countries in 1980's as the example of cultural imperialism. According to him, cultural imperialism is ideological property of texts in "Dallas" TV program. As a property with ideologic nature, "Dallas" series contains capitalism, materialism, and consumerism as the representation of American "high" culture. Mackay, "The Globalization of Culture?", p. 44-81, and Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture*.

<sup>8</sup>In perceiving cultural globalization, Global Pesantren is accordance with Barrett who defines it as "a legitimating cover or ideology, a set of ideas that distorts reality so as to serve particular interests". Schirato and Webb also propose similar definition: "a 'discursive regime, a kind of machine that eats up anyone and anything in its path". Read Michele Barrett, *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), and Tony Schirato and Jen Webb, *Understanding Globalization* (London: Sage, 2003).

<sup>9</sup>Pesantren Global, similar with salaf pesantren of other Nahdlatul Ulama, still applies the principle of "*al-muhafadhatu alal qadimish shalih wal akhdzu bil jadidil aslah*" (preserving a good traditional values yang baik and taking a better new values).

to Indonesian emerges, that Europe's colonialism targets have not been wholly independent from Western colonialism phenomena."<sup>10</sup> Besides, the resistance might also be implemented through academic curriculum development which focuses not only on intelligence, but also spiritual quotient as the resistance against Western discourse domination with secular-materialistic characteristics. Islamic scholars receive not only empirical but also spiritual experience. Furthermore, the resistance is also performed by preserving cultural tradition that contradicts the secular-materialistic values.

This paper attempts to answer the following question: how does Global Pesantren contextualize its resistance toward the domination of Western discourse? By using concepts such as Cultural Resistance and Counter Discourse this study has a purpose to fill a theoretical gap about resistance that has been dominated by mass resistance. This study differs from those studies by using Postcolonial perspective that focuses on "daily resistance".

## Literature Review

In general, studies on resistance against globalization are classified based on the dimension, form, or resistance scale. Based on the dimension, the resistance is divided into three: economic-politics, culture,<sup>11</sup> and environment.<sup>12</sup> Other classification related to the types is divided into three: opened-confrontative (with or without coercion); constructive; and discursive.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, based on the scale, studies on resistance against globalization are divided into two: local and transnational.<sup>14</sup> From the classification, the resistance of Global Pesantren belongs to a local-scaled discursive cultural resistance.

A study on constructive cultural resistance was conducted by Joanna Swanger.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Agus Sunyoto, "Bebuka Post Hegemony", diakses melalui <http://www.pesantren-global.com/bebuka-post-hegemoni/>, dated on March 29 2016.

<sup>11</sup>As stated above, the dimension of resistance is in accordance with the dimension of globalization per se. This study focuses on cultural globalization related to imperialism and cultural homogenization. Thus, cultural resistance against globalization in this study is a resistance against imperialism and cultural homogenization.

<sup>12</sup>Pertaining to resistance with environment dimension, James H. Mittelman, "Globalization and Environmental Resistance Politics," in *Third World Quarterly*, 19: 5, 1998, p. 847-872.

<sup>13</sup>Resistance with open-confrontative nature is generally implemented in the form of revolution, protest, or boycott. Meanwhile, the one with discursive nature is more on the counter-argumentation to convince public over certain issues. On the other hand, constructive-resistance, which provides counter-discourse, also acts pro-actively by offering alternatives of the dominant discourse. Read Stellan Vinthagen, 'Understanding "Resistance": Exploring Definitions, Perspectives, Forms and Implications', Paper presented at Resistance Studies Network, Gothenburg University, 2007.

<sup>14</sup>Local and transnational classification is the conclusion of *literature review* conducted by researchers on resistance scale against globalization.

<sup>15</sup>Joanna Swanger, "Feminist Community Building in Ciudad Juárez: A Local Cultural Alternative to the Structural Violence of Globalization," in *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 153, Vol. 34 No. 2, Maret, 2007, h. 108-123.

Her article was related to Casa Amiga –a feminist organization in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. In the article, Joanna revealed that the form of resistance of Casa Amiga was the establishment of alternative discourse against globalization –which according to them had abolished humanity values and created alienation –by establishing a minor system which preserved local culture. Through the program of community building, Casa Amiga attempted to restore traditional values<sup>16</sup> threatened by globalization (Americanization).

Beyond the above classification, a study on cultural resistance had also been performed in the past. Nevertheless, the object of resistance was not cultural globalization in narrow sense applied in this study. Resistance as stated by Paul Stoller<sup>17</sup>, for instance, investigated the cultural resistance of Songhay people through art performance aiming at criticizing the identity of French colonialism in Nigeria. Another related study was conducted by Abdul Djamil.<sup>18</sup> In a book entitled “Perlawanan Kyai Desa”, Abdul Djamil studied the discursive cultural resistance performed by Ahmad Rifa’i, an Islamic preacher (*ulama*) from Batang in 19<sup>th</sup> century, against Dutch colonial government. Abdul Djamil concluded Ahmad Rifa’i’s resistance was a cultural movement in the form of traditional religion.

Meanwhile, a study on pesantren’s respond toward external forces had been conducted in many levels. However, the studies were only related to how pesantren perform the adaptation toward globalization, without particularly discussed the aspect of resistance. Syamsul Aripin, for instance, wrote an article entitled “Strategy of Islamic Education in Overcoming Globalization”<sup>19</sup> which discussed how pesantren should perform educational system reorganization by adapting current development. In the article, Syamsul elaborates the possible challenges of pesantren in overcoming globalization era and how pesantren should reconstruct its learning process based on the contemporary development. According to him, Islamic education needs to develop a system with global insight in order to produce more qualified graduates who are able to survive in global competition.

Similar conception was also written by Muhammad Jamaluddin, who explained how pesantren has transformed over time by adapting current development.<sup>20</sup> By reflecting on the history of the formation and development of pesantren, Jamaluddin explains pesantren’s adaptive ability since Dutch colonial era. Specifically, according to him, in overcoming current development, pesantren is divided into two: *salaf* and *khalaf*. *Salaf* Pesantren is a pesantren

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<sup>16</sup>Traditional values in this case is implemented through the practices of sharing, interrelationship, collective responsibility, and accountability.

<sup>17</sup>Paul Stoller, “Horrorific Comedy: Cultural Resistance and the Hauka Movement in Niger,” in *Ethos*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Summer), 1984, h. 165-188.

<sup>18</sup>Abdul Djamil, *Perlawanan Kiai Desa: Pemikiran dan Gerakan Islam KH. Ahmad Rifa’i Kalisalak* (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2001).

<sup>19</sup>Syamsul Aripin, “Strategi Pendidikan Islam dalam Upaya Menjawab Tantangan Globalisasi,” in *Tarbiya*, Vol. I, No. 2 Desember, 2014.

<sup>20</sup>Muhammad Jamaluddin, “Metamorfosis Pesantren di Era Globalisasi,” in *KARSA*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2012.

that still adopts conventional system and emphasizes on “yellow-book” teaching while *khalaf* pesantren is a modern pesantren that has cooperatively adapted the development of science and technology. Jamaluddin’s analysis is identical with Syamsul’s writing that provides normative conception on the ideal model of pesantren in globalization era.

A more descriptive and specific analysis was written by Syamsul Ma’arif et al., and Hindanah. Syamsul Arif et al., who conducted a study on the strategies of Tebu Ireng Pesantren in overcoming globalization Era,<sup>21</sup> They stated that Tebu Ireng Pesantren could be open to current development by maintaining conservative system from Hasyim Asy’ari. Furthermore, they stated that Tebu Ireng Pesantren could survive in the middle of modernity challenge without losing its own cultural roots, so, its existence could be accepted by community. The key of Tebu Ireng Pesantren’s success to adapt the current development, according to Syamsul et al., relies on the principles of inclusivity, respecting the difference, and solidarity of humanities.

Meanwhile, Hindanah conducted similar study in two pesantrens in Jember Regency, which are Darus Sholah Kaliwates and Al-Qodiri Parang Pondok Pesantren.<sup>22</sup> Besides explaining the challenges faced by pesantren in globalization era, Hindanah also elaborates how both pesantren perform several adaptations in order to survive in the global competition. One of the important factors according to Hindanah is the establishment of formal educational institution –in the level of Senior High School and higher education –in which the curriculum contains 70% general subjects, and 30% religion subject. However, both pesantren still preserve their conservative values as well as receiving other better new values.

Meanwhile, a study conducted by Ronald A. Lukens-Bull comprises a more accurate analysis.<sup>23</sup> Conducting a study on al-Hikam Pesantren in Malang, Lukens-Bull found that pesantren possesses an ability to adapt with the current development. Specifically, Lukens-Bull concludes that Al-Hikam Pesantren, in responding the changing era, imagines modernity before re-discovering modernity as well as putting the tradition side by side.

Lukens-Bull’s study has a similarity with this study. There are only two basic difference: 1) Lukens-Bull does not consider the respond of al-Hikam Pesantren specifically as a resistance against “foreign influence”; 2) Imagination development of al-Hikam Pesantren toward modernity is based on traditional values applied by Pesantren, not based on the dismantling of power relation in a discourse. In other words, this study is different from the study of Lukens-Bull.

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<sup>21</sup>Syamsul Ma’arif, *et al.* “Inklusivitas Pesantren Tebuireng: Menatap Globalisasi dengan Wajah Tradisionalisme,” in *Jurnal Pembangunan Pendidikan: Fondasi dan Aplikasi*, Volume 3, No 1, June, 2015, h. 81-94.

<sup>22</sup>Hindanah, “Respons Pondok Pesantren Perkotaan terhadap Globalisasi di Kabupaten Jember,” in *Edu-Islamica*, Volume 6, No. 01 March, 2014.

<sup>23</sup>Ronald A. Lukens-Bull. “Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Islamic Education in Indonesia,” in *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 3 September, 2001. p. 350-372.

This study prevents any possibilities for resistance studies against globalization to circulate, which most of them focus only on material form. Besides, the studies on resistance against globalization frequently only capture the “major” resistance involving mass movement, political protest, and/or violence. On the other hand, based on the context of pesantren response against globalization, this study also completes previous studies which only focus on pesantren's adaptation to globalization. In the previous studies, Pesantren “was read” as “an object” that needs to adapt the values to modern Western in order to survive in the future.

### ***Cultural Resistance***

Studies on resistance have been widely conducted. This must be beneficial for the conclusion drawing of the meaning of resistance. Yet, the concept of resistance was often misconcepted. Resistance is often associated with anti-social behavior, destruction, emotional attitude with violence. Even, according to Stellan Vinthagen, resistance is often connoted as other similar concepts that is actually different, such as protest or revolution.<sup>24</sup>

Resistance does not always involve mass movement or violent acts. Resistance can also exist in the form of non-physical and non-material entity – through words or other symbolic ways. The resistance scale is also varied, either in individual or collective way, also in wide or local scale. The target of resistance is not single per se: from individual to group, organization, institution, or even in abstract form, which is social structure.<sup>25</sup>

According to Vinthagen, resistance always pertains to power – in association with denial, opposing, or power eradication –in an oppositional sense of relationship. This is due to the nature of power that will always naturally create sub-ordination or hierarchy. Thus, according to Vinthagen, resistance is 1) an act done by someone subordinate, that (2) in response to the power, do (3) challenge power, and (4) contain at least a possibility, that power gets undermined by the act.<sup>26</sup>

A more detail definition is proposed by Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner. According to Hollander and Einwohner, resistance can be classified based on its core element and other variant dimensions.<sup>27</sup> Based on its core elements, resistance needs to possess action and opposition elements. In relation with action element of a resistance, Hollander and Einwohner stated that resistance is not a quality of an actor or a state of being, but involves some active behavior, whether verbal, cognitive, or physical. Thus, resistance might have a broader sense in protest or mass movement, which in certain point relies on the actors and their movements, yet it has enough active behavior, either in verbal, cognitive, or physical

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<sup>24</sup>Vinthagen, “Understanding “Resistance”.

<sup>25</sup>Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner, “Conceptualizing Resistance,” in *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 19, No. 4 December, 2004. p. 533-554.

<sup>26</sup>Stellan Vinthagen, “Understanding “Resistance”, 2007.

<sup>27</sup>Hollander and Einwohner, “Conceptualizing Resistance,” p. 533-554.

form. Meanwhile, the other core elements—opposition—always related to an act of “questioning” or “resisting” against dominant authority or structure.

On the other hand, there are any other dimension variants comprising admittance and intention. Admittance dimension turns out to be discussion among resistance expert. Early resistance experts, who focus on large-scale protest movement for which the member overtly confront the target of resistance, could easily classify such acts as a resistance due to its form as a resistance. But, what if the resistance is performed by parties with no authorities, or access to it, or even risks one’s life if the resistance is performed overtly? Therefore, Hollander and Einwohner quote James Scott’s terminology, which states that inferior group’s resistance as everyday resistance. According to Scott, inferior groups do not possess resources or opportunities to overtly oppose the dominant power. Such acts were called everyday resistance due to the common issue in everyday’s life. Scott added that everyday resistance would not emerge as headlines. The drawn conclusion of Hollander and Einwohner regarding the admittance dimension in resistance is that recognition depends on part of resisters’ goals. Some resistance is intended to be recognized while other resistance is purposefully concealed or obfuscated.

Meanwhile, another dimension of resistance is intention. According to Hollander and Einwohner, an individual’s or group’s act can be considered as a resistance if it is intended, even if the outcome of the resistance is insignificant. Quoting Scott’s opinion, intention is a better resistance indicator than outcome because an act of resistance does not always get the expected effect. Based on the elements and dimensions, Hollander and Einwohner classify resistance as listed in the table below.

Tabel 1:  
Types of Resistance

	Is act intended as resistance by actor?	Is act recognized as resistance by	
		target?	observer?
Overt resistance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Covert resistance	Yes	No	Yes
Unwitting resistance	No	Yes	Yes
Target-defined resistance	No	Yes	No
Externally-defined resistance	No	No	Yes
Missed resistance	Yes	Yes	No
Attempted resistance	Yes	No	No
Not resistance	No	No	No

Source: Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner (2004)

Power, in the context of this study, is globalization embodied in the phenomenon of Western discourse domination (Westernization/Americanization). Roger Bastide defines cultural globalization as an endeavor not to let the vital values inherited from...ancestors



perish, but to reestablish them through symbolic or military means.”<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, according to Stephen Duncombe, cultural globalization is “the practice of using meanings and symbols, that is, culture, to contest and combat a dominant power, often constructing a different vision of the world in the process.”<sup>29</sup> From these two definitions, there are two main symbols, namely symbol and power. Thus, the concept of cultural resistance accurately describes the resistance carried out by “Global Tarbiyyatul Arifin” Pesantren against globalization.

### ***Counter-Discourse***

Despite the clear explanation on cultural globalization, the fundamental problem on “how the cultural globalization is created” still becomes a mystery. This sub-chapter attempts to answer such a question by proposing the concept of counter-discourse. Counter-discourse as a medium of resistance is closely related to Postcolonial studies. The term counter-discourse was first proposed by Richard Terdiman to explain the periphery groups’ resistance against dominant (imperial-colonial) discourse.<sup>30</sup>

In more detail, Shehla Burney states, counter-discourse is a form of resistance to reject the colonialism’s canonical discourse through creativity, words, and actions. Further he says:

A counter-discourse is a re-inscription, rewriting and re-presenting in order to reclaim, reaffirm, and retrieve subject peoples’ ownership of their own lives, which had been appropriated by the colonizers; it is a discourse that goes against the grain to challenge assumptions of imperial power. A counter-discourse tries to generate new narratives, new paradigms of em- powerment and resistance for the oppressed, colonized, and subjectified peoples and nations.<sup>31</sup>

An important point of counter-discourse is the writing back strategy of self-history

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<sup>28</sup>Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978).

<sup>29</sup>Stephen Duncombe, “Cultural Resistance,” in George Ritzer (ed.), *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2007).

<sup>30</sup>Bill Ashcroft, *et al. Post-colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 50. Colonialism and imperialism are implemented not only in physical coercion, but also in way of thinking (episteme) of non-Western nations. Western’s way of thinking that is rational, objective, and universal is always perceived higher than the non-West that is irrational, subjective, and particular. This is what’s called by Gayatri Spivak as “epistemic violence”. According to Spivak, epistemic violence is caused by the dependence on Western’s intellectual and way of thinking, so, subaltern group speaks more representing Western interest than their party per se. In other words, non-Western nations would never be able to tell history in their version and interest without applying Western’s way of thinking. Read Gayatri Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (ed.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 271-313.

<sup>31</sup>Shehla Burney, “Resistance and Counter-Discourse: Writing Back to the Empire,” in Edward Said (ed.), *Postcolonial Theory and Strategies for Critique* (2012), p. 105-116.

based on self-thinking and version of reasoning.<sup>32</sup> According to Gayatri Spivak, the writing back strategy can be done by “deferring approval” through critical reading and intertextual text, so that the reader can avoid epistemic colonization.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, according to Stephen May, it is necessary to deconstruct the colonial dominant discourse, especially regarding the view of neutrality which is regarded as the values and practices of universal/neutral culture.<sup>34</sup>

In the view of postcolonialist, adopting the postmodernic view, truth is gained through discourse which ultimately generates a dominant or hegemonic view, as well as represents a social reality. Therefore, Postcolonial studies aim to answer how a certain discourse becomes dominant/hegemonic, and demystify and politicize the “truth”. Counter-discourse is a way to dismantle dominant discourses, which so far have represented the colonized or “periphery” groups not through their own views.<sup>35</sup>

Counter-discourse is the most fundamental form of resistance in postcolonial studies. For Postcolonial researchers, resistance in the form of everyday’s life is considered more important than “major” resistance such as revolution, armed battle, or large-scale political opposition. It is based on the belief that economic and political structure will not occur without any epistemological changes.<sup>36</sup>

## Methodology

This study applied qualitative method. According to Anslem L. Strauss and Juliet Corbin, quantitative method may refer to studies on one’s life, stories, behaviors, and also organizational functions, social movements, or interactional relationships.<sup>37</sup> Further, according to them, qualitative method is used to disclose and understand what is hidden behind a certain phenomenon that is still very little known.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, according to Bruce L. Berg, qualitative method refers to the meaning, concept, definition, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of a thing.<sup>39</sup>

In addition, the qualitative side of this study applied postcolonial framework, in which the boundaries between the researcher and subject were blurred. In Postcolonial studies,

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<sup>32</sup>Bill Ashcroft, *et al.*, *The Empire Writes Back*.

<sup>33</sup>“Can the Subaltern Speak?”

<sup>34</sup>Akhyar Yusuf Lubis, *Dekonstruksi Epistemologi Modern: Dari Posmodernisme, Teori Kritis, Poskolonialisme Hingga Cultural Studies* (Jakarta: Pustaka Indonesia Satu, 2006), p. 236.

<sup>35</sup>Rita Abrahamsen, “Postcolonialism,” dalam Martin Griffiths (ed). *International Relations Theory for the Twenty First Century* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p. 115-117.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>37</sup>L. Strauss dan Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research* (London: Sage Publication, 1990), p. 17-19.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>Bruce L. Berg, *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (Boston: Pearson Education, 2004), p. 3.

“objective” research is also a form of “mind colonization” against the colonized nation. Linda Smith reveals that mind colonization is carried out by means of “gathering the people of colonized nation, classifying, and representing all manners of Western ways, then by means of Western viewpoint, it was returned to the colonized nation.”<sup>40</sup> Thus, every Postcolonial study is a study of “Self” as a subject of its own perspective, not of colonial perspective. Therefore, the researcher’s position in this study is not only as an objective observer, but also as a subject telling about his own “Self”.

This study is the researcher’s outcome as well as the part of Global Pesantren. In addition to basing studies on empirical experiences during the study at Global Pesantren (since 2013), this study is also reinforced by an interview. The interview was conducted to the founder as well as the caretaker of Global Pesantren, K.Ng. Agus Sunyoto. Besides the caretaker, he is also the chairman of the Central Board of Art and Culture Institute of Muslim Indonesia (PP Lesbumi) of Nahdlatul Ulama Board (PBNU). In addition, interview will also involve other elements of boarding school such as teacher and student (*santri*).

### ***Post-Hegemony as Criticism to Globalization***

In Postcolonial studies, counter-discourse is one of the main concepts often used to describe the resistance of subaltern or subordinate groups against dominant discourses. Counter discourse is a means of Global Pesantren contextualizing its resistance towards the domination of Western discourse. Global Pesantren creates a counter-discourse through an idea called post-hegemony. Through post-hegemony, Global Pesantren borrows the logic of post-structuralists and post-modernists who think that there is no objective knowledge. Knowledge is inseparable from power because it is a manifestation of power *per se*. Such a view is proposed by Michel Foucault who does not separate knowledge and power. He called it systems of power relations or power/knowledge relations. The power/knowledge relations then create a ‘truth regime’, a power relation system that determines the use of mechanism in a certain era to determine something as a ‘truth’.<sup>41</sup>

### ***Globalization: A Rereading***

In understanding globalization, Global Pesantren perceives knowledge of globalization as an unobjective and unnatural entity. Knowledge of globalization is often seen as a form of domination of a certain party’s power against the other. For instance, Agus Sunyoto perceives the book of “The Clash of Civilization” by Samuel Huntington as a part of Western power/knowledge to justify the phenomenon of “civilization clash”. So, instead of being

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<sup>40</sup>Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Dekolonisasi Metodologi*, terj. Faiz Ahsoul (Yogyakarta: InsistPress, 2005), h. xvi.

<sup>41</sup>Jenny Edkins, “Poststructuralism,” in Martin Griffiths (ed.), *International Relations Theory for The Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p. 88-98.

value-free knowledge, “The Clash of Civilization” is considered a global scenario to dominate certain parties, especially the Islamic world.

Globalization, according to Agus Sunyoto, is different from the general meaning. Globalization is a part of the old scenario initiated by Illuminati and Freemason. Further he argues, the great discourse in international politics ranging from the Cold War, liberal-democratic victory, the clash of civilization, to the idea of a “global open society” constituting a unity of the two groups’ global scenario.

The clash of civilization, for instance, is a response to the victory of liberal-democracy that is dependent on “the others”. Within the postcolonial framework, the claim or thesis of a liberal-democratic victory as “the end of history” cannot be maintained if it is dependent on “the others”. Thus, the discourse was issued to bring up “the others”, or in Huntington’s “the Rest” is in the form of “the clash of civilization”. Specifically, Huntington wrote:

The West is now at an extraordinary peak of power in relation to other civilizations. Its superpower opponent has disappeared from the map. Military conflict among Western states is unthinkable, and Western military power is unrivaled... The central axis of world politics in the future is likely to be... the conflict between “the West and the Rest” and the responses of non-Western civilizations to Western power and values.<sup>42</sup>

Huntington believes the global political center in the future is a conflict between the West and “The Others”. Thus, viewed from the Postcolonial perspective, it is a part of binary opposition strategy that prioritizes one party’s above the others. This could be inferred from the essay: “Western civilization is both Western and modern... Non-Western civilizations will continue to attempt to acquire the wealth, technology, skills, machines and weapons that are part of being modern. They will also attempt to reconcile this modernity with their traditional culture and values.”

From the quote, Huntington implies there is only one path to a prosperous and developed civilization, which is to be as modern as the West. The rest will continue to follow the West by attempting to “reconcile” their traditional culture and values with modernity.

In more detail, Huntington sees three scenarios of how non-Western civilization responds to the West. The first scenario, self-isolation of the West and out of the global community is dominated by the West. Second, performing “bandwagoning” by attempting to join and accept Western values. Third, by performing “balancing” by improving economic and military capability and cooperate with non-Western civilization to oppose the West. In other words, it is about being modern without having to be the West.

Such scenarios implicitly put the West as the subject and the non-West as the object—where the existence of an object is always dependent on the subject. Thus, there are two

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<sup>42</sup>Sammuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations,” in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, 1993, No. 3.

scenario-readings offered by Huntington: to follow or to resist the subject. Definitely, those who follow the subject through bandwagoning strategy will not find several problems due to the unity with the subject. So, all of their thoughts and behaviors will be represented by the West. Meanwhile, a resistance against the subject is definitely considered as a resistance against the "truth" because a subject is the only party able to produce "truth". In the context of "The Clash of Civilization" thesis, the clash here is not objective –in the sense of "equal" clash of civilization –but rather as the clash between the evil and the good. The evil is represented by "The Others" while the good is represented by "The West".

Huntington's thesis, according to Agus Sunyoto, began to be felt in Indonesia since 1996 with the emergence of religious conflict in Situbondo,<sup>43</sup> Tasikmalaya, Lampung, Banjarmasin, Kupang, and several other cities. According to Agus Sunyoto, horizontal conflict occurred in Indonesia during the last days of Soeharto era was the manifestation of "the Clash of Civilization" thesis, especially between Muslims and Christians.<sup>44</sup>

In the midst of social chaos, there are other scenarios carried out by liberal-capitalist groups implementing George Soros' idea of a "global open society". According to him, such a community is no longer divided into bourgeois and proletarian classes, but individuals. In an open community, individuals do not need to be citizens of a certain country because they live in global era. In other words, national identity will be lost to be replaced by a global identity.

Soros' scenario was implemented in the form of financial crisis happening in Indonesia during 1997-1998. Such a financial crisis, that initially hit Thailand in 1997 due to massive withdrawal of foreign capital, started to spread to other Asian countries. This also happened in Indonesia. As foreign debt matures, the US dollar inventory in Indonesia became extremely rare as there was a massive withdrawal of foreign capital. Consequently, rupiah's value fell, from Rp 2,500 per US dollar to Rp 15,000 per US dollar. Inflation increased from 6.5% in 1996 to 65% in 1998.<sup>45</sup>

In November 1997, in the midst of volatile economic condition, Indonesian government liquidated 17 banks in accordance with the advice of IMF. This inevitably tore down public confidence in national banks, triggering chaos in ten major banks including BCA and Danamon. This surely tore down public confidence in national banks, triggering chaos in ten major banks including BCA and Danamon. The policy also triggered a massive capital withdrawal amounted to 5 billion US dollars. The Indonesian government's policy to float the exchange rates of rupiah somehow created a chain effect that leads to the fall of rupiah exchange rate from Rp 2,500 per US dollar to Rp 15,000 per US dollar. All such careless policies were

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<sup>43</sup>Amat Sholeh, "Kerusuhan 10 Oktober 1996 di Kabupaten Situbondo: Suatu Kajian Historis" (Skripsi, Universitas Negeri Jember, 2013).

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>See <http://www.indonesia-investments.com/id/budaya/ekonomi/krisis-keuangan-asia/item246>

aggravated by an “ordered” policy from the IMF to take over private sector debt. Before the 1997 crisis occurred, Indonesian debt was 136 billion US dollars, comprising 54 billion US dollars of government debt and 82 billion dollars of private debt. After the crisis, precisely in 2001, Indonesian government’s foreign debt increased by 74 billion US dollars while the private sector debt decreased by 67 billion US dollars.<sup>46</sup>

The financial crisis led to the privatization of state-owned assets to foreign parties, ranging from the oil and gas sector, mining, strategic industries, to telecommunications. According to Agus Sunyoto, such a phenomenon is a form of neo-imperialism or new kind of colonialism, for which resistance must be performed in all aspects. Resistance is a must to prevent Indonesians’ mind hegemony toward the thinking that justifies and supports globalization. Such an awareness that globalization is a new form of colonialism leads Global Pesantren to Post-hegemony idea:

Starting from the discussions on studies investigating the validity of Western thinking, insight, idea, concept, and doctrinaire ideas that hegemonizes youth’s mind and soul, there emerges ideas, thoughts, concepts, independent-paradigmatic values that challenge Western hegemony.<sup>47</sup>

### ***Against Western Discourse Hegemony***

Global Pesantren generates post-hegemony idea as a re-reading of globalization through a writing. In Global Pesantren’s website, Agus Sunyoto writes several post-hegemony criticisms of daily phenomena which he thinks are impacted by the hegemony of Western thought. The published writings are not in the form of scientific papers, but in the form of imaginative dialogs between characters representing certain symbols. This, according to Agus Sunyoto, is carried out to simplify the relatively complicated subjects for the laymen to understand. In addition, in the studies of resistance, the use of symbol is one of the implementation of cultural resistance against dominant power.

In the article entitled “Menggugat Mitos Bangsa Bodoh Ciptaan Kolonialisme Barat”,<sup>48</sup> Agus Sunyoto attempts to reveal the myths of Western superiority in technology. In the article, it was told there was a heated debate between a social-history professor and Sufi Sudrun regarding the Western superiority in technology. It begins with a general view on Western ethnocentrism:

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<sup>46</sup>Hendri Saparini. “Policy Response to Overcome Crisis: A Lesson from Indonesian Case”, accessed from [http://www.networkideas.org/ideasact/feb09/Beijing\\_Conference\\_09/Hendri\\_Saparini.pdf](http://www.networkideas.org/ideasact/feb09/Beijing_Conference_09/Hendri_Saparini.pdf), 2009.

<sup>47</sup>Agus Sunyoto, “Bebuka Post Hegemony”, accessed from <http://www.pesantrenglobal.com/bebuka-post-hegemoni/>, dated on March 29, 2016.

<sup>48</sup>Agus Sunyoto. 2013. “Menggugat Bangsa Bodoh Ciptaan Kolonialisme Barat”, accessed from <http://www.pesantrenglobal.com/post-hegemoni-vi/>, dated on March 26, 2016.

As any other foreign graduates, Prof. Nafaq al-Bahluli has a stigmatic view of Indonesians known as lazy, low-performing, feeling oriented, showing-off, superstitious, daydreamer, uncompetitive, and uneducated individuals. That is why according to Prof. Nafaq al-Bahluli, Indonesian people in global era are just consumers due to their incapability to produce, let alone to distribute, their national commodity... 'If just making footwear so-called *klompen* we imitate the Dutch, what could this nation make?' said Prof. Nafaq al-Bahluli with a mocking tone, and then, 'How could we be as developed as US, Japan, China, Germany, France, England, and even Thailand and Vietnam if just a pin imports from China'.

The debate begins with Sufi Sudrun's question on cannon technology: who developed it for the first time? Such a question is answered confidently by the professor: "...cannon making technology was developed by Europeans in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, Indonesians always lose the fight against the fight because they have no cannons. How can cannons and guns be defeated against spears, *keris*, sword, arrows, and glades." Through the professor's remarks, Agus Sunyoto tries to reveal the Western discourse hegemony against the non-West. Through the statement, it can be illustrated that the West has far more advanced knowledge than non-Western nations.

After "showing" the hierarchy in historical discourses, Agus Sunyoto subsequently reveals the myths of Western superiority by exposing the history of cannon technology development. Through Sufi Sudrun, Agus Sunyoto reminds the professor about the arrival of Vasco da Gama in Kalikut in 1498. At that time, the arrival of Vasco da Gama and his entourage was welcomed with a gunfire salvo into the air by the Kalikut king, Samutiru. Sufi Sudrun then continues the colonial discourse revealing by describing the history of cannon technology development in the country as follows:

"In 1510, 12 years after the arrival of Vasco da Gama, d'Albuquerque came with several ships to attack Malacca because the Sultan of Malacca had captured his men led by Diego de Coelho. Through a courier, Diego de Coelho sent a letter to d'Albuquerque, warning him not to hastily attack Malacca.

"Why Diego de Coelho warned his leader not to be rash?" Sufi Sudrun asked.

"If I'm not mistaken Diego de Coelho warned d'Albuquerque about the large-sized cannons that protect the city of Malacca," Prof. Nafaq al-Bahluli said.

"According to Diego de Coelho, where were the cannons brought in?"

"From Java."

"It means from Demak, isn't it?" Asked Sufi Sudrun

"I think so sir."

"In the late literature of Majapahit titled *Kidung Panji Wijayakrama*, it is mentioned that the existence of a tool called *bedhil* and *bedhil besar* and the term *juru mudi ning bedhil besar*. What is the meaning of those instruments of war?" said Sufi Sudrun in a repressed voice.

“Eee if I’m not mistaken *bedhil* is a rifle and *bedhil besar* is a cannon, while *juru mudi ning bedhil besar* is a cannon operator,” said Prof. Nafaq al-Bahluli.

“So, far before Portuguese came to India in 1498, the late Majapahit people and Demak had produced *bedhil* and *bedhil besar* traded to Malacca. Isn’t that the conclusion, prof?” Sufi Sudrun said.

Prof. Nafaq al-Bahluli remains silent.

“How do you and the school-educated historians establish the false fact that the rifles and cannons were introduced by the Europeans? Doesn’t that deny that the gunpowder inventor is the Chinese? The cannon was first used by Jenghis Khan in the mid of 13<sup>th</sup> century, isn’t it? Isn’t that Majapahit that is closer to China could transfer technology more rapidly than Europe that is so far away from China?” asked Sufi Sudrun.

Prof. Nafaq al-Bahluli seems confused.

“If at the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century Majapahit and Demak people were able to produce guns and cannons, said Sufi Sudrun in a high tone, “From what aspect do you conclude Indonesians are moron, lazy, emotional, unable to produce any work but to become consumers of Western products? Isn’t that more appropriately addressed to school-educated Indonesians nowadays?”

Attempts to dismantle dominant discourses are also seen from the other writings. In a paper entitled “Menggugat Konsep HAM Ciptaan Barat”, Agus Sunyoto presents two main characters: a doctor and a *sufi*. A doctor symbolizes a Western-educated academician while *sufi* represents an educated local community. This paper begins with the statement of Doctor Ashobia W. Armstrong in a discussion forum of human rights. It was narrated that the doctor explained that Indonesia is still not consistent in upholding human rights. By using the film “The Act of Killing” –a documentary on mass murder of partisans and sympathizers of the Communist Party of Indonesia in Medan –doctor Ashobia issued several criticisms to the Indonesian government. The author will attach a quote from Agus Sunyoto’s writings below.

“I politely ask you Doctor to explain to us, what is meant by human and what is meant by right! Sufi Sudrun said seriously.

Dr. Ashobia W. Armstrong laughed while shaking his head. After a moment, he explained the meaning of human to Sufi Sudrun as a teacher explains an easy answer to his stupid pupil, “Please sir, you open up your English dictionary. Then search for the word human. You will find the answer completely. That’s really a piece of cake,” said Dr. Ashobia W. Armstrong in a mocking tone.

“If it is from dictionary, an elementary student knows it Doctor,” said Sufi Sudrun, lowering the voice, “I mean, how is the terminology and epistemology of human? Why do in the concept of human right Western people use the word human rather than homo or homme or hombre?”

“Well if that’s the case, just ask the Western why they use the term human and not homo or homme or hombre,” said Dr. Ashobia W. Armstrong while laughing.

“As a doctor, you should understand what you explain from the basic vocabulary to its development as a concept. If you don’t know the basic assumption, paradigm, dogmas,



and doctrines of a concept, it shows you as an academician with cargo cult mentality. Just like a cargo ship, your head only contains everything without any kinds of critical ability. You are clearly not a scientist who has an independent discourse because your mind and soul are crowded by dogmas, doctrines, concepts, thoughts, ideas, and views produced by the West.”

Offended by Sufi Sudrun's criticism, Dr. Ashobia W Armstrong with heavy breath and shiny eyes barked, “You yourself know why the West uses the term human in the concept of human right? Please explain to us who are not as good as you are in your knowledge. Please explain! Please! “

As a Pesantren man who used to differ in opinion in *bahts al-masa'il* Sufi Sudrun just laughed. Then with a smile on his face he explained that According to George Ritzer in Sociological Theory (1996) quoting Pierre Bourdieu's view on mental and knowledge structure. Smiling, he then explained that according to George Ritzer in Sociological Theory (1996) quoting Pierre Bourdieu's view on mental and knowledge structure called habitus, the concept of Human Right disseminated by Western countries is closely related to “structure internalization product” of Europe's social values in perceiving, understanding, appreciating, and evaluating their social values, which in psycho-analytic theory by Carl Gustaf Jung, *habitus* influences human's attitude and behavior as *archetype*. Europe's archetype was formed of legends, myths, and Aryan mythology which claims that their race –a tall race, white skin, blue eyes, sharp nose, blond hair –is a descendant of a man named manush Tuisto as written by H.R.E. Davidson in Gods and Myths of Northern Europe (1982)

“I mean, in the *archetype* of Asian-Europe's race, a subconscious assumption that explains the human existence as a species of Manush figure, in which it is reflected from Aryan-European vocabularies that refers pronoun as a person or human always associated with Manush, their ancestors: man, human, mensch, mann, manusa,” Sufi Sudrun explained. After a moment, he continued, “Thus, in the subconscious mind of Aryan-European race, the belief that human race is not human species concealed. Only a race that has a physical typology like Manush –tall, white skin, blond hair, blue eyes, sharp nose –so-called *man, mensch, human, manusa* is a human or person.”

“How do you assume that human's vocabularies are from Asia-Europe?” said Dr. Ashobia W Armstrong in dismay.

“Isn't that manusa's vocabulary from Sanskrit which is Indo-Aryan's language?” said Sufi Sudrun in a questioned tone, “manusa is from *manu* and *sa*, in which the first creature considered by the Aryan-Caucasian immigrants to India is a manu figure. So, the word manusa means SA (child) of manu.”

Dr. Ashobia W. Armstrong was silent but breathing heavily. Then, in a high voice he asked, “So what is the correlation of the words human, manush, manush in the concept of human right in your opinion? Can you explain the influence of the term human and the implementation of human right?”

“Even with the use of human's vocabularies, Aryan-European people have committed any violations of the right of non-Manush race people. The people of Aryan-European are always trapped into a double standard in interpreting Human Right. The historical

facts record when and how Aryan-European races do ethnic cleansing in several countries in Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and even in Europe against non-Manush's descendants," said Sufi Sudrun.

"That's a serious accusation," said Dr. Ashobia W. Armstrong unhappily, "Can you prove what you accuse?"

"Do you know that in 1492 Columbus and the entourage seeked India and stray into Bahama Islands? Then Columbus met the natives they thought were Indians?"

"Yeah everybody knows that."

"Had Columbus asked the natives about who they are?" said Sufi Sudrun.

"Had Columbus asked them whether they are Indians? Of course no. Historically, Columbus arbitrarily called them Indian as if they are Indian inhabitants. That's why White people called the inhabitants as Indian without giving any chance for Navajo, Apache, Commanche, Sioux, Mohican in the country to state their identity. Even the name Indian is drawn further south to refer to Inca, Aztec, Maya people for. Even due to the misconception that they are not Manush descendants, which means not human, history records how ethnic cleansing takes place over the nations without the slightest guilt of the Manush descendants."

Dr. Ashobia W. Armstrong closed his mouth tightly and his teeth chattered.

"When the West went to Australia, they found Papuan race as inhabitants," Sufi Sudrun explained, "Then they arbitrarily called them aborigin, a very derogatory name, which is: Aborigin, half human, half creature identified with abnormal. That is why, in 1899 there was once a law that allowed Aborigin hunting."

Dr. Ashobia W. Armstrong wiped the sweat from his forehead. He held his breath.

"The same thing occurred to Germans of Manush's descendant who annihilated Jewish during the Nazi ruled, where millions of Jewish with brown skin, curly hair, black eyes from Arabian Peninsula were annihilated. Then the Dutch slaughtered people of my country without any guilt or at least the awareness of human right," said Sufi Sudrun.

"So, what's the conclusion of this discussion?" Dr. Ashobia W. Armstrong replied.

"If what is meant by human right is the right for manush's descendants, we definitely disapprove it because we are not Manush's descendants. We don't want to be recognized as hobbit, orcent, onodrim, troll, dwarf, who aren't considered human because we are not Manush's descendants. We also disapprove Darwin's theory in the context of human knowledge because we know, such a theory is used by Aryan-European to justify that races out of manush is the descendants of pithecanthropus erectus– Walking-upright Ape Human. Otherwise, Aryan-European is the descendants of Cro-magnon," said Sufi Sudrun.

"Does it have anything to do with the cases of human rights violation?"

"Of course, it does," Sufi Sudrun replied, "If they refer to human right, then torturing, committing violence or even murdering human of manush's descendants are considered human right violation. Meanwhile, if manush's descendants murder non-MANUSH

descendants, which are colored-skin nations, that is not considered Human Right violation, Sufi Sudrun explained, "that's the fact doctor."<sup>49</sup>

Using the Postcolonial framework, there are two sides of the dialog, which are the West > < the East, civilized > < uncivilized. By using the medium of writing, Agus Sunyoto would like to reveal the discourse domination of one party against the other. During this time, the West always occupies higher position and gains universal truth whereas the East is always associated as a primitive nation full of myth and superstition. Therefore, the West gave the East "a concern" in order to make them a more civilized nation equivalent to the "human" of West.

The revealing of Agus Sunyoto on Human Right concept, which is deep into the historical root, is a form of counter-discourse against dominant discourse. This leads to the opening of the elements of "power" in Human Right discourse initiated by the West. Subsequently, it is clear that the concept of Human Right is very ethnocentric – a concept created based on a single point of view. Therefore, the concept of Human Right is somehow not objective. It can be inferred from the text above pertaining to West colonialism and massacre toward non-Western nations, which during this time has never been considered from the perspective of Human Right violation.

The revealing of Agus Sunyoto is similar to the writings of Peter Hulme. In his book entitled "Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797",<sup>50</sup> Hulme traces back the term "cannibal". According to Hulme, the term cannibal is derived from the travel of Christopher Columbus as he approached "Bohio" island in 1492. For Hulme, Columbus' record is not objective because it was not a record based on direct observation of "Bohio" island inhabitants. The record made by Columbus was actually obtained from the stories of travel guide of the Indians "Arawaks". Further, the story of "cannibal" was delivered in "Arawaks" traditional language, in which Columbus himself lacked of understanding of the language, except a six-week-practice during his stay in "Bohio". According to Columbus, Arawak people said that in Bohio island, there was a human-eater tribe called "cannibal". From that moment on, apparently, the term "cannibal" refers to human-eater tribes. The use of term based on such a careless "observation" was then approved generally by people all over the world. According to Agus Sunyoto, this is a form of West's "arbitrariness" against non-Western nations.

The resistance strategy of Global Pesantren will be reviewed after the discussion on "re-reading" of cultural globalization perceived as Western discourse domination. Generally, Global Pesantren's resistance is performed through independent "re-writing" that is practically

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<sup>49</sup>Agus Sunyoto. 2013. "Menggugat Konsep HAM Ciptaan Barat", accessed from <http://www.pesantrenglobal.com/post-hegemoni-v/>, dated on March 26, 2016.

<sup>50</sup>Peter Hulme, "Columbus and the Cannibals," in Bill Ashcroft, *et al.* (ed.). *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1995) p. 365-370.

implemented in the establishment of educational curriculum and local tradition preservation. Those two are the implementation of resistance against Western discourse domination, particularly materialism, secularism, and individualism.

### ***The Strategy of Global Pesantren's Resistance***

Westernization/Americanization hegemonized the wide community as the information technology developed. In the midst of the stream, community's perception is changed as if they have to justify Western's superiority and Local's inferiority. This somehow led to a massive change in both cultural and anthropological aspects. Agus Sunyoto pointed, since 2010 urban young mothers no longer want to be called "emak", "mbok", or "biyung", but rather to be called "mama" or "mami". Such a preference is not neutral but hierarchical: the latter is high than the former. It also occurs in the preference of shopping and food types. People feel more respectable when shopping in supermarkets than in traditional markets, and eating fast-food than the traditional one.

Borrowing Immanuel Wallerstein's thought, Agus Sunyoto argues that anything done by American-centric network is to lead third-world nations to the periphery. As a matter of fact, the target of American-centric network through globalization is the forming of global community without identity, except a single community as consumers. One affected aspect of the global scenario, according to Agus Sunyoto, is education, in which he said current education system, besides being economical, also educates the learner to become consumers.

Based on the fact, Global Pesantren contextualizes resistance against globalization in its very simplest form based on two basic aspects: Independent thinking and identity preserving. Independent thinking is performed by balancing spiritual and intellectual quotient. This is the difference between education system in Global Pesantren and modern school. According to Agus Sunyoto, since the first establishment, school has no religious basis due to the existence of positivism philosophy of secular-materialistic. Further, he added, the background of school establishment in Indonesia was based on the Ethical Policy of Dutch colonial government in 1901 which aimed to prevent Indonesian children to go to Pesantren –religion-based educational institution. As history records, several indigeneous resistance against Dutch colonialism was always initiated by teachers and *ulama'* of Pesantren.<sup>51</sup>

Initially, Agus Sunyoto wanted Global Pesantren's education system to wholly separate from modern school system. However, it is such an impossible thing because people are still trapped in "superstition" pertaining to school. Agus adds the "re-reading" of school cannot employ factual reading that seems value-free. School, borrowing Michael Foucault, is one of the institutions to produce and implement the power, which is impossible to be value-

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<sup>51</sup>Agus Sunyoto, "Sekolah Sebagai Usaha Sekularisasi Sistematis", accessed from <http://www.pesantren-global.com/sekolah-sebagai-usaha-sekularisasi-sistematis/>, dated on March 26, 2016.

free. Similarly, Agus Sunyoto argues, there is no such thing as fact, but doctrines and dogmas. For example, the view of school obligation. A non-school-educated child will be stupid, illiterate, and miserable. According to Agus Sunyoto, it is not factual, but doctrinal and dogmatic view.

Agus pulled back to prove his point. For him, school's identical view with the progress of civilization and progeny cannot be maintained anymore. The school, as mentioned above, was introduced in 1901. Agus questions whether before 1901 Indonesians were uncivilized, ignorant, and primitive. In fact, according to Agus, Indonesia had built a great civilization in Southeast Asia through the kingdom of Sriwijaya and Majapahit. This nation has also produced literature, law, dating system, and even applied technology. According to Agus, borrowing Spivak's "delay" method, before approving a "fact", people need to clarify the objectiveness. Agus said that most of the discourse developed or influenced by colonialism is a form of hegemony. This is what leads to post-hegemony idea.

In order to oppose the attempts of Western hegemony through the secularization of education, Global Pesantren applies educational method that not only focuses on intellectual, but also spiritual intelligence. This method is called *al-tarbiyah wa al-ta'lim*.<sup>52</sup> According to Khoirul Anam, a Global Pesantren's teacher, *al-tarbiyah* emphasized intuitive education (*al-qalb*) relating to spiritual sensitivity to the existence of God. Meanwhile, *al-ta'lim* is more to teaching focusing on intellectual quotient. Further, according to Anam, *al-tarbiyah wa al-ta'lim* method aims to introduce the learners to the life balance, either in the world and hereafter.

The method is based on the concept of Islamic knowledge divided into two: *qalb* (heart) and *aql* (mind). In the educational concept of Global Pesantren, *qalb* is described as follows:

...the science based on the supernatural intuition of various Transcendent Reality relating to human. This science is generally a knowledge that has the ability to capture and give meaning to normative and immaterial objects. This is obtained from 'direct experience' related to hidden sense (*zauq*) as infinite potential of human spirituality. Such knowledge is explored, referred to, built, and developed upon the tradition spiritualist (*sufi*) in achieving *al-ʿAlim*.<sup>53</sup>

In order to obtain *qalb* knowledge, *al-tarbiyah* method is applied. The implementation of *al-tarbiyah* in Global Pesantren is manifested in the form of intuitive activities, either inside or outside the classroom. Intuitive learning activities inside the classroom is done by freeing all students from reasoning activities for 45 minutes –from 7 to 7.45. Within 45 minutes,

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<sup>52</sup>*Al-tarbiyah* has three meanings in Arabic: *rabba-yarbu* which means increase, grow, and develop; *rabiya-yarba* means large, and; *rabba-yarubbu* means to repair, control, guide, and preserve. But philosophically, the word *al-tarbiyah* comes from the word *Rabb* that refers to God. Thus, *al-tarbiyah* is interpreted as the knowledge from and into God. Meanwhile, *al-ta'lim* means knowledge teaching without any limitation and requirement.

<sup>53</sup>Global Pesantren's document.

the students perform intuitive learning activities by memorizing Al-Quran, reciting shalawat, dzikir, and praying Dhuha together. Meanwhile, outside-classroom activities include “inner energy” gymnastics and the application of religious teachings such as distributing zakat to the pious around Pesantren.

The latter, besides relating to *al-qalb*, could also develop social intelligence. The students of Global Pesantren, since Study Group (KB), Kindergarten (TK), and Elementary School (MI), is accustomed to care about their environment, such as sharing alms to the widow, orphan and the pious living around Global Pesantren. In addition, Global Pesantren also trains students to care about their peers. Such a concern is realized, for instance, by visiting friends when sick. The purpose these activities is the realization of social sensitivity of the students. On the other hand, the activity is also designed to prevent the student from the individualistic behavior influenced by globalization.

Besides *al-tarbiyah wa al-ta'lim* method, Global Pesantren also applies cultural strategy to resist globalization. Such a cultural resistance is a practice of counter-discourse against Western discourses domination. The most prominent cultural resistance of Global Pesantren is the remembrance of national and religious holidays. For instance, during Kartini Day, Global Pesantren conducts a competition to make clothes from used materials, such as newspaper and milk box. The commemoration of Kartini Day aims to preserve national identity from the globalization stream, as well as to stimulate students' creativity.

In addition to that, in commemorating the religious holidays, Global Pesantren also organizes cultural activities as a symbol of resistance, especially against materialism. The two cultural activities are fire football and torch war. In Indonesia, the match of fire football and torch war is a tradition in traditional Pesantren. The tradition of football fire and torch war is also preserved by Global Pesantren as one of the efforts to maintain local culture, as well as a tool of resistance against materialism.

Fire football and torch war are perceived as a medium of resistance against the hegemony of Western Discourse, especially materialism, due to non-material elements implied in these activities. If viewed from a materialist point of view, the tradition could cause damage to the players due to the use of fire. However, from pesantren point of view, the law of physics that the nature of fire is hot and burning is perceived as inabsolute reality. In the perspective of traditional pesantren, the nature of fire is not always hot and burning, because fire is also regarded as a God's creature whose existence is determined by the supernatural forces. Global Pesantren, as well as other traditional Pesantrens in Indonesia, believes that by reciting certain verses in the Qur'an and combined with shalawat and traditional herbs, the fire would not be hot.

Using postcolonial framework, it is clear how Global Pesantren's resistance is contextualized. Global Pesantren awarely chooses to resist Western discourse domination because, as the critical thinkers believe, theory and practice are interplaying one another. Therefore, the main objective of Global Pesantren's resistance is not the physical form of

domination, but it goes deeper into the system of thought. This is in accordance with the resistances in Postcolonial studies that focus on thought domination, or in Spivak language is called epistemic violence. Independence in thinking is believed to determine freedom in several other aspects of life.

## Conclusion

This study discusses Global Pesantren's resistance against cultural globalization perceived as Western discourse domination. The argument in this study is that in performing resistance against Western discourse domination, Global Pesantren perform re-reading and re-writing of "Self" from the perspective of Pesantren as a subject, not an object. Global Pesantren applies Postcolonial perspective to re-read cultural globalization –which is as a form of power/knowledge that is not value-free and constitutive.

As Postcolonial thinkers perceive knowledge and power as inseparable aspects, Global Pesantren perceived globalization inseparable from knowledge that shapes it. Globalization is perceived not only as a form of political-economic domination, but further as Western discourse hegemony against non-Western discourses, in its various form of cultural practice. The resistance is performed by producing post-hegemony ideas to escape from Western discourse hegemony.

Global Pesantren, through its various forms of resistance, attempts to escape from Western discourse domination through "Self" writing independently, and not from other nations' perspective. In understanding globalization, for instance, Global Pesantren perceives knowledge of globalization as unobjective and unnatural thing. Knowledge on globalization is frequently perceived as a form of particular party's domination against the other. For example, Agus Sunyoto recognizes the book "The Clash of Civilization" by Samuel Huntington as a part of Western power/knowledge to justify the existence of "Civilizations Clash". Thus, "The Clash of Civilization" is perceived as a global scenario to dominate certain parties, particularly Islamic world.

In contextualizing resistance against Western discourse domination through secularization of education, Global Pesantren applies an educational method that focuses not only on intellectual quotient, but also spiritual so-called *al-tarbiyah wa al-ta'lim*. Through this method, Global Pesantren attempts to balance intellectual quotient that focuses on logics, and spiritual quotient that focuses on heart purity. In addition to that, Global Pesantren also preserves local traditions such as fire football and torch war, as one of the symbol of resistance against Western discourse, especially materialism.

This study emphasizes previous studies on resistance through Postcolonial framework focusing on resistance against Western discourse and contextualizing it into daily behavior. This study completes the literature of resistance against globalization that has been dominated by resistance studies in the form of mass movement, political movement, and resistance through the use of terror and violence. The resistance through counter-discourse is considered

more effective because it directly aims for the heart of colonialism/domination –which is the mind.

This study completes the studies of resistance against globalization that mainly focuses on material aspects. Beside, the studies of resistance against globalization mostly capture only “major” resistance involving mass movement, political protest, and/or violence. The resistance performed by Global Pesantren, although not involving the aspects above, is still classified as a resistance, and in particular point is considered “more dangerous” for the dominant power due to its close association with individual’s way of thinking.

On the other hand, based on the context of Pesantren’s respond toward globalization, this study also completes previous studies that only focus on Pesantren’s adaptation to globalization. In the previous studies above, Pesantren is considered as “the agent” that has no power against global “structure”. In the previous studies, Pesantren is “read” as “the object” that needs to adjust to Western modern values in order to survive in the future. Even, Lukens-Bull arbitrarily perceives that Pesantren can only “imagine” the modernism, as if Pesantren cannot think and give several epistemic critics on the modernism per se.

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