Millenial Santri in Pesantren Santri, Leisure Time, and Activities in Cyberspace

Ahmad Lahmi

Doctoral Student of State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia and Lecturer in Muhammadiyah University of Padang West Sumatera

Abstract: *This study aims to discuss millennial santriin pesantren. The millennial santri is closely related to the millennial generation discourse discussed first by Strauss and Howe in their work entitled "Generation and Fourth Turning". They try to classify the generations based on the similarity of the birth span and the similarity of certain events. Millennial generation is those born between the 1980s and 2000s and have a very social behavior attached to the use of internet technology (digital natives) in everyday life. From the beginning, many have criticized this prediction because they only consider macro matters regardless of micro factors, so such discourse is not considered to be cross-socio-cultural but in contrast, through this study, the authors found the fact that micro factors do not preclude the prevailing of such predictions. It can be seen through the institutionalization of free time as the widespread access to cyberspace by santri in pesantren environment. In cyberspace, most santri connected through the use of social networking Facebook and Youtube. With these findings, it can be argued that santri are no longer the children of the pesantren tradition but at the same time have become representative of the modern tradition that developed outside the pesantren environment. In addition, at the same time, it also dismisses the notion that micro factors can preclude the prevailing of such predictions.*

Keywords: Millennial Santri, Leisure Time, Activities in Cyberspace.

1. Introduction

Santri is very familiar in the social landscape of Indonesian society as well as the world community. This is supported by the historical fact that santri have large shares in the process of Indonesian independence. As one of the important signs recorded in history is the release of the Resolution of Jihad of the santri on 22 October 1945 (Rifa'i, 2009: 201, Al-Mubarrak and Shobron, 2015: 142). In addition, the word santri increasingly popular in the world of scholarship along with the abundance of interest of foreign scholars and also local, doing scientific research on Islamic boarding school (pesantren) in Indonesia. Some scholars may be mentioned; Martin Van Bruinessen, Karel A. Stennbrink, Hiroko Horikoshi, T.W.G. Miller, Ronald Allan Lukens-Bull, Sidney Jones, Clifford Geertz, Manfred Ziemek, Todd Philip Elefson, Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Abdurrahman Mas'ud, Dawam Raharjo, Ahmad Baso, Sukamto etc. So the word santri is no stranger to the ears of the global community because santri is one of the five elements of the pesantren tradition (Dhofier, 1982: 88).

Students can be seen through two points of view, social and cultural. Socially, santri is identified as a society group that has a relatively strong religious spirit towards the application of Islamic doctrine in life. They emphasize the imperative of faith and belief in the absolute truth of religious doctrine that is believed and does not tolerate anything that is incompatible with it (Geertz 1973: 173-174; Mas'ud, 2007: 37-38). This social context, widely seen in Geertz's research divides Javanese Muslim society into three groups, santri, abangan, and priyayi (Geertz, 1973). While culturally, students are identified as a social group that has a distinctive culture in the pesantren environment. They seek to live Islam on the basis of an objective value system and law followed by observing the ritual implications of worship according to the constructed by kiai in pesantren (Ziemek, 1986: 35; Dhofier, 2011; Sukamto, 1999). The religious spirit of santri in social point of view is different from the santri of cultural context. In the social context, religious figures who become references can be more diverse according to the ideological affiliation of a group, such as Salafi-Wahabi, Jamaah Tabligh, Persis, Al-Irsyad, Perti, Nahdhatul Wathan, Muhammadiyah, Nahdhatul Ulama etc. The reference to the spirit and religious doctrine that they apply to a particular subject are different from one another. While in pesantren, kiai is the only reference figure recognized and followed by santri (Wahid, 1995: 40-46). Although they may differ socially and culturally, they are unified by the same ideological spirit, Islam. Because the connotation of the word santri itself actually means the existence of religious tendencies that have Islamic ideological roots in Indonesian society.

The santri referred to in this study is the last mentioned, the cultural santri in the pesantren environment. Because in the long period of time students are the children of pesantren tradition developed by kiai in it, both in terms of religious views, modes of interaction kiai-santri, clothing symbols, enthusiastic Islamic learning activities and so forth. The power of the pesantren tradition to such santri patterns is supported by the system of cultural domination through the interaction mechanism of ethical-pedagogical kiai-santri framed by the meaning that the kiai as patron-religious in pesantren (Suparjo, 2013: 307; Wahid 1995: 42-46). And the pesantren culture system that tends to be closed or more precisely is more careful in accepting something new so that the intervention in the form of policies and norms and values from outside and foreign does not affect the life of santri in pesantren (Muthmainnah, 2007: 22-32). But over time, and in line with the expansion of information and communication technology such as internet into pesantren, santri is no longer fully child of pesantren tradition but also at the same time santri become representative of big tradition (modern) that developed outside pesantren. This modern tradition of context is closely related to the development and use of the internet by millennial generation including santri in the pesantren environment.

Millennial generation are those born in the early 1980s to 2000 years, as the end of millennial births with an average age of about 13-35 years (Howe and Strauss, 2000). Based on the grouping of experts, millennial generation is a generation group based on the similarity of span of birth and the similarity of historical events (Martin & Tulgan 2002; Howe and Strauss, 2000) which intersect closely with equipment containing elements of information technology. The equipment has become an integral part of their lives (Zuhal, 2000; Naisbitt, 2002). Marc Prensky (2001) calls them digital natives, describing a generation familiar with the digital environment or digital technology and the Internet. The generation of digital natives spends much of their time in and to use computers, video games, digital music players, video cameras, cell phones, and various other toys and equipment from the digital age. Computer games, e-mail, internet, cell phones, and instant messaging become an unattached part of their lives. In other words, the Internet is the main source to learn about what is happening in the world such as for fun, relaxation, to forget about problems, eliminate loneliness, to pass the time as a habit and do something with friends or family (Severin and Tankard, 2005).

From the description that the characteristics of the millennial generation are characterized by two things; first of those born in the 1980s, second, their lives are marked by the attachment to the medium of information technology in the form of the Internet in everyday life for various needs. Based on these two characteristics for the first point santri in the pesantren automatically fall into this category, but for the latter point more in-depth review is needed because the grouping process proposed by the experts above has actually received criticism from other experts because only consider macro matters regardless of micro factors such as the traditional system within a particular community, institution, and social institution such as a pesantren that has a unique tradition as well as a sophisticated cultural filter in filtering out the culture, so that prediction it is deemed not to be applied globally or across social and cultures. But taking into account the strengthening of internet recognition so that it can be called as an expansion that is facilitated by individual, institution,and state to the world of pesantren which continue in duration which has been long enough, the writer assumes that criticism to form of grouping millennial generation without considering things micro in the socio-cultural system of the world community is not entirely true. And this study is aimed at proving that assumption. In order to answer these assumptions, the structure of writing is composed into five parts consisting of a preliminary, a long road of internet expansion into the world of the pesantren world, the institutionalization of leisure time, santri, leisure time,and activity in cyberspace and the last is the conclusion.

2. The Long Road to Internet Expansion into Pesantren World

The Internet today is not a strange thing in human life. Developed in the United States around the 1960s for the needs of the world of the military, then developed into a communication network and public information. In Indonesia, the Internet was born in the New Order (Orde Baru), around the 1990s, dedicated to the development of the academic world at some of Indonesia's leading universities (Hill, 2003: 299). At the beginning of the internet presence in Indonesia, the internet is a luxury as well as foreign. Luxurious because not everyone has access to it. Alien because it has never existed before in the universe of Nusantara. Such anxiety becomes concrete when it comes to the world of Islamic boarding schools.

Internet was introduced to the world of pesantren massively since 2002 by Onno Widodo Purbo, a retired lecturer from Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). He was determined to introduce the internet to the world of pesantren by holding Indonesian religious leaders, including the kiai who became the top leaders in the pesantren. The main goal that encouraged him to introduce the internet to the world of pesantren is for pesantren to have a vast source of knowledge, so not only struggling with limited knowledge sources in pesantren for this. Because for him, Muslims should have broad access to information and knowledge. And the internet is able to provide the various needs that are required. Starting from the fact that pesantren have a strategic position in Indonesian public, as a place to study society that still exists and every year continue to increase the number of both institutionally and its students, very appropriate step to use the internet in pesantren so that public knowledge literacy can be improved evenly. One of the fruits of his introduction in introducing the internet to pesantren is the establishment of the Pesantren-Net program (Pesantren-Internet) (Lim, 2005: 76-78).

In addition to Onno Widodo Purbo, in the span of 2002, the name "Internet Sehat" is also not so strangeto the Indonesian public. The Internet Sehat is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) concerned about introducing the internet to the Indonesian public including to the world of Islamic boarding schools. They offer safe internet guidance programs for vulnerable groups to the effects of negative internet content such as children, schools, and Islamic boarding schools. The program is based on the slogan "do not be afraid of the internet". The presence of Internet Sehat NGOs according to the slogan that sounded, indicating the public psychology that has not been so friendly to accept the presence of the internet in Indonesia. There is such a minor view of the internet. Because it is undeniable that the internet in addition to having many benefits also contains a negative influence. Recognizing this psychological condition then Internet Sehat took the place by trying to "hold" an alternative site that consumers can choose when searching in cyberspace. It cannot be denied that in the early development of the internet in Indonesia, Internet Service Providers (ISPs) indirectly "force or precisely do not give a choice" about what they sell. ISPs only provide one type of Internet platform for anyone, so there is no difference between sites that can be accessed by children, adults, schools, and pesantren. Therefore, it becomes very solutive steps taken by Internet Sehat to public concerns about internet use one of them by creating alternative sites, so that the public vulnerable to the influence of negative Internet content can be spared. There are at least three objectives along with their efforts to bridge the public's concerns, first self-filtering for family and school levels; secondly, enhancement of local content that is positive, useful and interesting; and third, civil society empowerment on information technology and

communication (Donny B.U., "Sejarah Intenet Sehat di Indonesia, available onHTTP:// Internetsehat.id/literasi/, accessedon November, 30, 2017).

Since the introduction of internet introduction program to the pesantren world by individual and NGO, even since 2009, Government through Minister of Communication and Information (Menkominfo) in the office by Muhammad Nuh started vigorously in introducing internet to pesantren, one of the programs is to provide computer connected internet to pesantren. The process of internet expansion into pesantren has taken at least sixteen years to date, so the internet is really well known and accepted in pesantren, even that it is still segmented into three groups; pesantrens who use internet administration needs, pesantren who use internet administration needs and learning resources, and pesantren who do not use internet for any needs (Setiawan, 2011: 105-108). From the typology can be understood that the pesantren is not easy to accept something new. Because he has his own logic in relation to receiving something new - coming from outside the pesantren. In addition, though, pesantren represents a homogeneous framework of tradition and ideology, traditional Muslims (NU), as Hefner says, pesantren such as train gerbones, in which every pesantren has its own perspective in the face of every change in society. This is supported by the fact that the kiai's authority as the top leader in pesantren has a very wide authority over the institution he leads (Hefner 2000: 181).

With the autonomous authority of the kiai in every pesantren, it is possible for them to differ in the attitude of dealing with something new. Because it depends on the vision developed by the kiai, so it affects the growth of pesantren he leads. As Muthmainnah's research on "*Salafiyahand Reasons of Maintaining Educational System*" found that the reason for the salafiyah (traditional) pesantren not accepting change is to maintain its authenticity. Because salafiyah pesantren is a trademark of the real kiai (Muthmainnah, 2007: 23). Salafiyah pesantren is a reflection of the kiai, that is very closely in the collective memory of Indonesian society, the fame of a kiai is measured by the mastery and quality of the books taught in pesantren (Dofier, 2011: 22). Through it every pesantren by itself is distinguished from each other. By maintaining its original form the kiai do not lose the arena to continue building their charisma in the community. Although sometimes there is a weakness because at the time charismatic kiai died a salafiyah pesantren often dimmed (Madjid, 1997: 33). On the contrary, there is also a vision of the kiai more open to the change of society, thus taking something new but retaining the old. In terms of educational diversity, for example, they try to combine education developed by the government both in the form of madrassas and schools by still framing it with the original education system of pesantren such as still teaching the yellow book, the lifestyle of the communal students, traditional symbols in the form of wearing sarongs, clothes taqwa, headdress (kopiah), and so on. It is likely that the typology of this pesantren referred to by Jones in his study that pesantren adopted something new can be seen as a strategy to survive in the midst of a very vigorous educational modernization (Jones 1991: 19-41). There are even kiai who have missions outside of their traditionalist spirit. As revealed by Madjid there are at least four patterns of pesantren response when

dealing with change, one of them pesantren who are not confident with what they have, thus assume the identity of Islamic boarding schools need not be maintained and must take fully what comes from outside the pesantren (Madjid, 1997 : 104-105).

If historically, the different attitudes that the kiai show in facing social change or in accepting something new, rooted in a political stance that in Bourdieu (1977) has either historically or psychologically implanted or become the controller of the kiai's actions, that all something that comes from the outside is considered "*kafir*" (infidel). As Suminto says:

That the consciousness of the colonizing power is a "pagan power" that embraces religion and nation deeply embedded in the minds of the santri. The pesantren as the reproductive arena of the santri at that time took the anti-colonial attitude of the Dutch. The manifestation of their antipathy attitude is shown by the rejection of the salary money given by the Dutch because it is considered as illicit money. Pants and ties were considered haram because they are considered as a symbol of Dutch identity. The attitude of the confrontation of the santri was also seen from the location of the Javanese pesantren at that time, which was generally located not in the city or in the village but in the periphery or even beyond the two (Suminto, 1985: 50-51).

This attitude is called Azra emerged as a form of silent opposition as soon as their armed resistance was crushed by the Dutch (Azra, 2012: 143-149). That is, pesantren serve as a fortress of Muslims built on a narrative that emphasizes the importance of the demarcation of both the physical and non-physical between Islam and the open world dominated by pagan forces that colonize not only the archipelago but colonize all the social and cultural life of the archipelago. All symbols associated with the smallest invaders are forbidden to be used in the pesantren environment and affirmed that the symbol is forbidden through the fatwa of the kiai. And it can be clearly seen in the above quotation. But over time, after the independence period the attitude has begun to melt. This is as indicated by the pesantren who are willing to adopt a classical education-based education model developed by the Government, although the school model is actually a government acquisition of schools abandoned by colonialists. At the time of the invaders, the classical schools were identical as opposed to pesantren. There is a great ambition from the occupation to degrade the religious life of Indonesian Islamic society through the weakening of pesantren by presenting more prestige choices to the schools they founded, unfortunately, the colonial efforts failed (Suminto 1985: 44-49).

As well as differences in pesantren attitudes accepting on the classical school-based model above, in the context of the internet, pesantren also does not differ greatly. As revealed earlier, that there are pesantren who remain closed to the presence of internet in boarding schools, some are receiving within certain limits. This is very contradictory with the attitude of pesantren that tend to be more open to the internet, whereas as a fellow technology such as television is not commonly intended for pesantren as a means of entertainment to the santri. For the reason that the content

presented cannot be controlled by the manager and is seen as having a negative effect on the morality of the santri. However, through a variety of considerations, the adoption of the internet in pesantren, of course, after going through a long road to have its own logic so as to encourage the variation of open attitude in every pesantren. Even in the author's research, there are pesantren that not only use the internet for administration and academic support but also opened as a santri entertainment needs in filling in leisure time in pesantren environment. Through this space then encourages the opening of an opportunity for the birth of millennialsantri in the pesantren. Because by giving widespread internet access to santri in pesantren environment means placing students in their position as millennial generation actually follow social landscape of millennial generation outside pesantren very attached to the internet for various purposes including in filling the leisure time.

3. Institutionalization of Leisure Time in Pesantren

Although some pesantren regularly conduct raids on electronic goods santri in the form of a mobile phone as done by Ashidiqiyah Pesantren Jakarta. Restrictions on internet access are only for administrative and academic interest as in Assalam Pesantren Surakarta and other pesantren who have similar policies. The Pesantren Al-Hikmah 2 Benda, Sirompog, Banyumas, Central Java, has a more "brave" policy by providing widespread internet access to santri, not only for learning needs or seeking tasks to support their academic needs but also for a leisure time. Most pesantren are very worried about bringing santris to the internet in the pesantren environment, although currently the content presented by the internet is relatively safer after a lot of censorship of the "negative" content by the government, because it is considered able to grab the study time santrieveryday or can make they do not focus on learning according to the spirit of pesantren tradition. In addition, such concerns can also be interpreted as a biased image of moral panic that is haunting the public because it is not fully prepared for the presence of new information and communications technology that increasingly mushroomed its use. And pesantren as a moral institution became a kind of alternative pedestal that is expected to be able to treat these concerns. But beyond that expectation, Pesantren Al Hikmah 2 Benda actually follows the current era which is being held and assumes that the need of internet is part of global necessity, so it has a different view from pesantren mentioned above, which they do not provide an opportunity for santri using the internet in the pesantren to fill the leisure time.

The opportunity to access the internet widely in Pesantren Al-Hikmah 2 Benda is marked by the availability of Internet Cafe and Computer Laboratories connected to the internet. Both facilities are freely enjoyed by all students, male santri and femalesantrialmost every day. In order for all santris to get the same opportunity, then the time is scheduled in such a way by the manager of Internet Cafe so that santris can surf in cyberspace. Every day provided time for male santristarting from 08.00 until 12.00 p.m. and for female santri from 14.00 until at 16.00 p.m. Every day the schedule is to be switched, sometimes the male santri's schedule is

spent during the day, hose one day fill the schedule normally used by female santri, vice versa male santri who can schedule the afternoon fill the time usually reserved for female santri. For female santri given special time from 08.00 s / d 16.00 p.m. on Friday without sharing time with male santri. The activity of surfing in cyberspace with the current schedule is a shrinking from the previous longer schedule to the evening but due to frequent clashes with the activities of the pesantren at night, then the duration of time cyberspace is limited as the above description. In addition to surfing activities inpesantren's Internet Cafe, santris can also fill their spare time in the laboratory computer pesantren available in sufficient quantities. In the laboratory computer, santris are also scheduled in such a way and supervised directly by supervisory teachers who are assigned every day. The activity here is similar to that of anIslamic boarding school, they can use it to fill their spare time. In order to reach the queue of santris who want to surf usually managers give a time limit of one hour to half an hour every day. The length or the short duration allocated to the santri depends on the number of queues. The more the queue of santris, the maximum time is only half an hour, otherwise when the queue a little, then the maximum time is given for one hour.

The leisure time is a new social space that is present in the traditional space of pesantren, initially not created intentionally but over time the new social space is unexpectedly institutionalized through the timing of surfing santri in line with the increasing number of santri who use the internet which is not only for the academic needs such as looking for schoolwork and so on but also become a means to entertain oneself, cure saturation, and cure the longing for families far away in the hometown. Filling in leisure time by surfing in cyberspace according to a survey conducted by the Mach Arthur Foundation, is actually very positive for the development of adolescents. The survey was conducted for three years involving about 800 teenagers and parents in America was aimed to determine the improvement of adolescent ability. Although the use of technology is not for education but can also get a positive impact. This means breaking the common assumption (parent) that states playing the internet is wasting time alone (Wahana, 2015: 15). Through this survey, indirectly, according to the author's opinion, the institutionalization of leisure time with surfing activities in cyberspace by the santri in the pesantren environment actually got a solid footing academically.

4. Santri, Leisure Time, and Activities in Cyberspace

Actually, leisure time is a natural necessity of every individual, but in the modern era enjoying leisure time is synonymous with certain social class activities. In Egypt in the 2000s, leisure activity was in keeping with the bourgeois social practices identical to dresses, beach covers,and summer villas. The bourgeois social presence is one of the central issues in the conservative culture of conservative Egypt, and its presence cannot be separated from the role played by new media such as magazines and newspapers circulating in the country (Amrbrust 2003: 102-128). And now enjoy the leisure time also grows in the world of Islamic boarding schools but not constructed by new media but through institutionalization unexpectedly along with the

widespread access of santri to the internet. Internet as one of the new media here only as a symbol of a millennial generation of social markers are very attached to the internet that exists in the pesantren environment.

In the activity of "world" virtual, social networking such as Facebook became the most widely used media. Its simple work and sophisticated features bring the santri into a vast world across the demarcation of the pesantren's physical space. In that world, students can meet old friends who have long not even met even acquire new friends. They come from different regions across geographical and cultural boundaries. The opportunity for Facebook means a new way for santri to build a new social relationship that is much more widespread and at the same time strengthen the social relationships that have been built in the cultural world. With the chat feature available they not only see and read the posts that *"bersileweran"*(back and forth) on the wall their Facebook, but they can send messages and reply to incoming messages (in the book). The advantages of the Facebook network that provides the opportunity to communicate two-way into a medium that is very popular and widely used by santris at Islamic boarding schools. In the visit of the author to Pesantren Al-Hikmah 2 Benda, very clearly visible when the santris fill the spare time at the Internet Cafe, most of them are opening a social network Facebook. In addition, Youtube social media are also widely accessed by the santri, among them containing religious lectures from famous ustadz such as Abdul Shomad, Kiai Said Aqil Siraj and so forth. In addition to containing religious lectures, there are also nasheed songs, both in local ball sports as well as international ball sport, basketball, badminton and so forth. And also tout the serial movies Naruto, Dragon ball, and play games.

Based on the content being accessed, the santri do not restrict themselves to just certain things but different interests and tastes ranging from socializing on Facebook social network enjoying treats of religious, nasheed, sports, and film talks. This shows that the activity of santris in Islamic boarding schools is not different from the activities of students or youth outside pesantren age group as a millennial generation that is identical to information and communication technology in life.The activity of santri in filling leisure time by surfing in cyberspace is a new social nuance in pesantren environment where it has direct root to the modern tradition which is now developing outside pesantren. Presumably, surfing activity in the virtual world becomes a new form of social life santri who coincide with the spirit of the modern world and the spirit of the traditional pesantren world. Because, since the end of the Dutch colonial period, actually the desire to be modern has begun to strengthen in the life of Indonesian society (Nordholt, 2011: 438). But that desire, still limited to middle-class societies exposed by the new media that developed at the time, while communities with limited exchange areas such as pesantren, the desire did not arise because the access of santri to the emerging new media was minimal.

Being modern means confirming the social boundaries of one person or one group with another - considered traditional (Heryanto, 2015: 28). The modern framework in the earliest perspective of Indonesia is identical with the use of colonial symbols such as government systems, school models, currencies, clothing, ties, and so forth. While the traditional framework is attached to the loyalty of a particular community to its own social-cultural symbols. And pesantren belongs to the traditional world with a modest spirit of life with its own social-cultural system as well as a form of opposition to the (modern) stance of the colonist. So life in a sterile pesantren environment with something that is considered to be associated with modern.

In line with the change of time, slowly some pesantren have started to be more accommodative with what connotes with modernity such as adaption classical schooling system of public schooling and madrassa, the forms of clothing other than *sarungan*(sarong) not difficult to find such as trousers, the use of Latin letters (Indonesian), whiteboard, and so on. However, the nuances of the social life of santri in the pesantren environment remain based on traditional ethos such as communal life (the santri together in a dormitory), the spirit of religiosity and time discipline, so there is no time other than for the interest of learning and digging knowledge. This can be seen in the day-to-day santri activity setting scheme starting to fall asleep at four-thirty until sleeping back at ten o'clock in the evening is very crowded with activities in science and few rest times are sometimes used for sports, the road to market and so on. Not only the twenty-four hour time is set, weekly activities are also arranged in such a way. So that the life of santri in pesantren really embodies the traditional spirit that is rooted in the spirit of Islam, which encourages all elements of Islamic boarding school to use the best time possible for useful things. Based on the traditional ethos as well, new media (television), smartphones, etc. are not allowed and provided at the pesantren. Because it can erode time in vain without meaning (redundant).

However, pesantren has seen a long way to go and even now it has been segmented to new pesantren models that carry modern labels, the spirit developed in it still takes aspiration to its traditional spirit. In other words, before the Internet really expanded widely, which was finally recognized and accepted variable in the world of pesantren, the relative santri's life showed a constant social nuance within the framework of his traditionalism. But along with the presence and widespread use of the internet in the pesantren environment, a new social nuance of santri is being formed today. It is characterized by the widespread access of santri to information and communication technology, internet. As it is known that the internet is one of the symbols of modernity related to the millennial social world in the framework of modern life practices that gained momentum through the institutionalization of leisure time for santri who had not previously existed in the history of pesantren. Santri get a special time which every day they can fill that time to surf in cyberspace. The social practice of this new santri unexpectedly constructs a new social nuance that "marries" traditional spirit and spirit of modern life through the institutionalization of leisure time filled by the students by surfing in cyberspace both in Facebook social networking and Youtube in pesantren environment. Thus, nowadays santri is no longer entirely as a child of pesantren tradition but also become representative of the modern world that developed outside world pesantren. It is characterized by the

life of millennial generation has been implicated beyond the social-cultural demarcation of pesantren.

5. Conclusion

The millennial generation discourse was first discussed by Strauss and Howe (2000) in their book "Generation and Fourth Turning". They are both prominent US historical researchers. In their work, it can be seen that millennial construction is built based on a macro view without regard to micro factors such as families, institutions, and certain social institutions. So that little criticism addressed to them. However, the millennial generation discus remains echoed, let alone the prediction of the behavior of the millennial generation they offer is largely proven. This can be seen in the fact that the millennium generation is predicted to be very attached to the technology in their daily lives. Even Prensky calls as digital natives who spend a lot of time in cyberspace with a variety of sophisticated features. Although the discourse of previous millennial without regard to the consideration of micro factors such as the unique cultural system within the pesantren environment in Indonesia, it is believed that such a prediction would not be applicable, but it turns out that through this study the discourse not only applies in open social space but has also been implicated to in the pesantren environment.

Started by a spirit that is grown by the most prominent internet advocates in Indonesia such as Onno Widodo Purbo, Internet Sehat, and Government through Menkominfo targeting the world of pesantren so as to encourage the growth of awareness of some kiai to adopt the internet for various purposes ranging from as support administrative system, academic, and even for the need to fill the institutionalized leisure time as the widespread use of the internet by students in the pesantren environment. They take advantage of the Internet in various features that are sophisticated and diverse such as Facebook and Youtube. So the social form of santri as part of millennium generation which full of activity in cyberspace is not completely obstructed by micro facto that exist in pesantren environment. With this fact, then santri in the digital age can be said is no longer entirely as the child of pesantren tradition but also at the same time has become representative of a modern tradition that is developing outside pesantren.

References

[1] Armbrust, Walter, "Bourgeos Leisure and Egyptian Media Fantasies"In*New Media In The Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, (Ed), Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, First Edition, USA: Indiana University Press, 2003: 102-128.

[2] Azra, Azyumardi, *Pendidikan Islam; Tradisi dan Modernisasi di Tengah Tantangan Milenium III,* Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Group, 2012.

[3] Al Mubarok, Muh Shofi dan Sudarno Shobron, *"Dakwah dan Jihad dalam Islam: Studi atas Pemikiran K.H. M. Hasyim Asy'ari", InJurnal Profetika, Studi Islam*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Desember 2015: 136-143.

[4] Bruinessen, Martin Van, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat; Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, Three Edition, Jakarta: Mizan, 1999.

[5] Bourdieu, Pierre, The *Logic of Practice*, Translated by Richard Nice, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990.

[6] B.U., Donny, "Sejarah Intenet Sehat di Indonesia, Available on http:// Internetsehat.id/literasi/, Accessed 30 November 2017.

[7] Dhofier, Zamakhsyari, *Tradisi Pesantren; Studi Pandangan Hidup Kiai,* Jakarta: LP3S, 1982.

[8] Geertz, Clliford, Abangan, *Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa,* Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1973.

[9] Heryanto, Ariel, *Identitas dan Kenikmatan: Politik Budaya layar Indonesia*, Translated by Eric Sasono, Jakarta: Gramedia, 2015.

[10] Hefner, Robert W., "Pluralisme di Indonesia dan Masalahnya" InAhmad Suaedy (Ed), *Pergulatan Pesantren dan Demokrasi,* Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000: 165-185.

[11] Hill, David T., "Plotting Public Participation on Indonesia's Internet", In *JournalSouth East Asia Research,* Vol.11, No.3, November, (2003): 297-325.

[12] Howe, N., & Strauss, W., *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation*. New York: Vintage, 2000.

[13] Jones, Sidney, "Javanese Pesantren: Between Elite and Peasantry", In Charles F. Keyes(Ed), *Reshaping Local World, Formal Education and Cultural Change in Rural Southeast Asia,* New Heaven, Connecticut: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1991:19-41.

[14] Lim, Merlyna, Archipelago Online; The Internet and Political Activism in Indonesia, *DissertationPh.D.*, Tween University, Enschede, Netherland: 2005.

[15] Muthmainah, Inna, "Pondok Salafiyah and Reason of Maintaining Educational System", In*International Journal of Pesantren Studies*, Vol.1, No. 1, (2007): 11-35.

[16] Madjid, Nurcholish,*Bilik-Bilik Pesantren,* Jakarta, Paramadina, 1997.

[17] Martin, C. A.,and Tulgan, B., *Managing the Generational Mix*. Amherst, MA: HRD Press, 2000.

[18] Mas'ud, Abdurrahman, *Intelektula Pesantren; Perhelatan Agama dan Tradisi*, Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004.

[19] Nordholt, Henk S., "Modernity and Cultural Citizenship in the Netherlands Indies: An Illustrated Hypothesis" In*Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 42 (3) (2011): 435-457.

[20] Naisbitt, John. Et. All., *High Tech High Touch*. Jakarta: Pustaka Mizan, 2002.

[21] Zuhal. *Visi Iptek Memasuki Milenium III*. Jakarta: Published by Indonesia University Press (UI-Press), 2000.

[22] Prensky, M., Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants. *On the Horizon*. Vol. 9, No. 5, October 2001. MCB University Press. Accessedonhttp://www.marcprensky.com.Agustus, 30, 2016.

[23] Rifa'i, Muhammad, *K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari; Biografi Singkat 1871-1947*, Two Edition, Jogyakarta: Penerbit Garansi, 2009.

[24] Steenbrink, Karel A., *Pesantren, Madrasah danSekolah,* Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986.

[25] Suparjo, Kumunikasi Interpersonal Kiyai-Santri: Studi tentang Keberlangsungan Tradisi Pesantren di Era Modern, *Dissertation Ph.D.,*Post-Graduatedof State

Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 2013.

[26] Sukamto, *Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Pesantren*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990.

[27] Severin, W. J and Tankard, J.W., *Communication Theories, methods & Uses in The Massa,* 2005.

[28] Setiawan, Ahmad Budi, "Penanggulangan Dampak Negatif Akses Internet di Pondok Pesantren Melalui Program Internet Sehat", In *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi*, Vol. 4, No. 2, November, (2011): 105-108.

[29] Suminto, Aqib, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda*, Jakarta: LP3S, 1985.

[30] Wahid, Abdurrahman, "Pesantren Sebagai Subkutur", InDawam Raharjo (Ed), *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan,* Five Edition, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1995.

[31] Wahana, Heru Dwi, "Pengaruh Nilai-Nilai Budaya Generasi Millennial dan Budaya Sekolah terhadap Ketahanan Individu (Studi di SMA Negeri 39, Cijantung, Jakarta)" In *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional,* XXI (1), April 2015*:*14-22.

[32] Ziemek, Manfred, *Pesantren dalam Perubahan Sosial,* Jakarta: P3M, 1986.