



## Ghuru Tolang: Shift in Patterns of Santri-Kiai Socio-Cultural Relations in the Life of the Madurese Millennial Society

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### Abstract

The goal of this study is to uncover the millennial generation's perception of *ghuru tolang* as well as the pattern of socio-cultural relations established by the Madurese millennial community. This research employs a qualitative-phenomenological approach, with data gathered through interviews, observation, and documentation. The information was analysed in three stages: reduction, display, and verification. According to the findings of this study, the figure and role of *ghuru tolang* are essentially the same in the eyes of the millennial generation, despite a slight shift. According to him, *ghuru tolang* is a religious educator and founder who must be respected and obeyed. *Ghuru tolang*, on the other hand, does not stand out from other teachers in their eyes. so there is no sacredness that must be overly addressed. Nevertheless, the millennial generation still positions *ghuru tolang* as a religious and social leader so that he is considered a cultural symbol that fully adheres to traditional religious values and has important meaning for the Madurese people. The social relations that are built between the *ghuru tolang* and the millennial generation are imbued with a strong spiritual aspect where there is a special relationship, namely a relationship that is imbued with the spirit of *Nasyr al 'ilmi*. The closeness of the relationship between the two is also based on a strong emotional closeness like the psychological relationship between parents and their children.

**Keywords:** *Ghuru tolang*, Millennials, Socio-Cultural Relations

### Abstrak

Seiring dengan perubahan sosial budaya yang ada, generasi milenial Madura memiliki persepsi tersendiri terhadap sosok *ghuru tolang* yang selama ini diposisikan sebagai sosok panutan yang memiliki peran yang sangat strategis dalam kehidupan masyarakat Madura. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengungkap persepsi generasi milenial terhadap *ghuru tolang* serta pola relasi sosial-budaya yang dibangun oleh komunitas milenial Madura. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif-fenomenologis, dengan data yang dikumpulkan melalui wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Informasi dianalisis dalam tiga tahap: reduksi, display, dan verifikasi. Berdasarkan temuan penelitian ini, sosok dan peran *ghuru tolang* pada dasarnya sama di mata generasi milenial, meskipun ada sedikit pergeseran. Menurutnya, *ghuru tolang* adalah seorang pendidik dan pendiri agama yang harus dihormati dan ditaati. *Ghuru tolang*, di sisi lain, tidak lebih menonjol dari guru-guru lain di mata mereka, sehingga tidak ada kesakralan yang harus disikapi secara berlebihan. Meskipun demikian, generasi milenial tetap memosisikan *ghuru tolang* sebagai pemimpin agama dan sosial sehingga ia dianggap sebagai simbol budaya yang berpegang teguh pada nilai-nilai agama tradisional dan memiliki arti penting bagi masyarakat Madura. Relasi sosial yang terbangun antara *ghuru tolang* dengan generasi milenial dijiwai oleh aspek spiritual yang kuat di mana terdapat hubungan khusus, yaitu hubungan yang intim seperti keluarga antara guru dan murid

**Kata Kunci:** *Ghuru tolang*, Hubungan Sosial Budaya, Generasi Milenial

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## Introduction

Madurese people carry the philosophy of life *Bhapa'Bhabu'*, *Ghuru*. *Ratho* refers to a hierarchical arrangement of respect for the Madurese people, beginning with biological parents (*bhepa'-bhabu'*), then the *kiai* or teacher (*ghuru*) as the second level, and the leader (*ratho*) as the final order (Hefni, 2013). These three elements are always the main consideration in making any decisions in the life of the Madurese people, for example in determining the choice of a life partner, the Madurese people will listen to recommendations from these three elements. The recommendations will be even more heeded if they come from *ghuru tolang* or *kiai* who teach the basics of religious knowledge and basic values of life (Bani Eka Dartiningsih, 2020). However, over time, people's perception of the sacredness of the *ghuru tolang* has begun to shift. Millennials, for example, rarely associate themselves with *ghuru tolang* and even ironically, cases of violence against teachers have been found by their millennials (Dyah Anggi Rahmawati, n.d.). In choosing a mate, for example, millennials tend to have their own choices, compared to asking for recommendations from parents or *kiai*, let alone those from the authorities. Hikmawati said that this phenomenon illustrated that the Madurese people were breaking away from the tradition of "*obedience*" which had actually become the basic character of society under the royal system of power (Hikmawati & Ariyani, 2021).

The millennial generation was born in 1980-2000. Their characteristic is to want to achieve their desires quickly, easily and completely renewable (Shofiyah, 2019). This generation is no longer concerned with process. There is no respect for tradition anymore. Very competitive mindset, full of competition and individualism (Shofiyah, 2019). Parents as the holder of the highest hierarchy in respect of the Madurese people are actually seen as something that hinders progress. Here it is found that there is a break in the traditions of the Madurese people from the previous generation with this millennial generation.

The study of the *santri-kyai* relationship in Madurese society has so far been divided into two social clusters: in the first, the traditional generation sees themselves as inextricably linked to the role of *ghuru tolang* (Hannan & Abdillah, 2019). Meanwhile, the second cluster is made up of millennials who "ignore" the role of *ghuru tolang* in their lives (Hannan & Abdillah, 2019). This cluster difference is basically a logical consequence of the influence of

the cultural environment which is always experiencing dynamics of change (Suhaeni, n.d.). Hannan said that the upper middle class society has almost the same perception as millennials. The existence of *ghuru tolang* is seen as a romanticism of the past. In contrast to the lower class society who continue to position *ghuru tolang* as an integral part of their lives. This research will examine the extent to which millennial society shifts as heirs to Madurese local wisdom in perceiving the existence of *ghuru tolang* as religious, social and cultural figures in their lives (Hannan & Abdillah, 2019).

The *ghuru tolang* conception is an interesting topic to study. This is supported by the declining interest of the Madurese millennial generation in their involvement with religious institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, religious rituals, and symbols of religious sacredness such as sarongs, skullcaps and the refined Madurese language. The failure to transform these traditional noble values contributed to differences in perceptions in the two social classes.

This research was conducted using a qualitative-phenomenological method so that data was obtained from interviews, observation, and documentation analysis. Data were analyzed through 3 (three) stages, namely reduction, display, and verification. Sources of data were obtained from several sources, namely *ghuru tolang*, millennials who are spread across the stretch of the island of Madura. Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan dan Sumenep.

## **Method**

This research was conducted using a qualitative-phenomenological method so that data was obtained from interviews, observation, and documentation analysis. Data were analyzed through 3 (three) stages, namely reduction, display, and verification. Sources of data were obtained from several sources, namely *ghuru tolang*, millennials who are spread across the stretch of the island of Madura. This research was conducted using a qualitative-phenomenological method, with data obtained through interviews, observations, and document analysis.

Data was analyzed through three stages: reduction, display, and verification. Data sources were obtained from several sources, involving: religious figures (*ghuru tolang*; santri and general public from 4 districts in Madura. Similarly, representation from the northern region of Madura represented by migrant communities, and communities in the southern part of Madura as a representation of industrial communities. Each element of informants is

represented by 2 to 3 people randomly. For example, they are: Syarif Hidayatullah (1987) Dusun Baih Desa Olor Kec. Banyuates Kab. Sampang; Ach Zaini Bahar, a resident of Toron Samalem Blumbungan Larangan Pamekasan; Siti Maisaroh (born in Sumenep on November 4, 2000), a resident of Karduluk, Kec. Pragaan Sumenep; Ali Murtadho (25 years old), a resident of Tramok, Kokop, Bangkalan.

## Result and Discussion

### The Conception of *Ghuru tolang* of the Madurese Millennial Society Perspective

Culturally, the Madurese people are an ethnic group that upholds religious values (Hasan, 2021). This culture has been passed down for a long time by their ancestors so that the culture is very strongly instilled. One of the cultures that is still strong in the Madurese tradition is respect for the figure of a teacher. For them, the teacher is not just a teaching figure, but a figure of morality and exemplary whose every word and behavior becomes a role model (Nawiyanto, 2011). This certainly shows that the obedience of the Madurese people to the figure of a teacher is an important aspect and even becomes a symbol of obedience to their religion. For example a teacher become figure and reference for their behavior.

*Ghuru tolang* definitively refers to two Madurese terms, namely *ghuru* which means teacher, and *tolang* which means bone (Nawiyanto, 2011). The meaning of the term *tolang*/bone which is based on the word teacher for Madurese people has a strong meaning orientation, that a teacher has a strategic role in strengthening the values of religious teachings as the function of bones is to support the strength of all human limbs (*Interview*, n.d.). This is of course the core values of the function of a teacher (Syamsul Hadi Thubany, 2022), especially the Quran/*tolang* teacher for the religious Madurese community.

In Madurese life, *ghuru tolang/ngaji* has a dual role, not only as an educator, but also as a political, social, cultural and especially religious "*director*". Its crucial role can be a milestone in the sustainability and orientation of Madurese life (Hikmawati & Ariyani, 2021). He is in an elite social position in the stratification of society so that he becomes a symbol of power which certainly has a very strong influence on social construction, because of that he is greatly admired and respected by the Madurese (Romadhon, 2020).

The charisma of *ghuru tolang* and the strong influence it has on the social construction of the Madurese community certainly experience dynamics as the existing socio-culture develops (Andriani, 2020). For some Madurese, including melineals, *ghuru*

*tolang*/teacher of the *Qoran/kiyai* is defined as an educator and the founder of religious knowledge who must be respected and obeyed. However, for them, *ghuru tolang* does not have any special differences from other teachers, so there is no sacredness that must be overly addressed (*Interview*, n.d.). They think that the presence of *ghuru tolang* is indeed very important in the effort to transform religious knowledge, but at a certain level, obedience by ignoring rationality is something that cannot be done (*Interview*, n.d.).

The Madurese millennial perception of the figure of *ghuru tolang* so far has remained the same even though there has been a slight shift. McQuail stated that there are many factors that cause paradigm shifts and perceptions in society, such as the result of new knowledge and patterns of life, economics, politics, and communication patterns that are intertwined in social order (McQuail, 2013). From this description, it can be seen that the shift in perceptions that exist in Madurese millennials is caused by many factors which are often also suspected by external factors, namely socio-cultural changes and developments that occur.

From the description above, it can be explained that in the perspective of the Madurese millennial community, the concept of *ghuru tolang* is still recognized and respected, but there are several different views regarding the implementation of this tradition in today's modern environment (*Interview*, n.d.). Some millennials see that aspects such as technology and formal education are sufficient to meet children's educational needs, while others still maintain traditional values and consider the importance of the role of *ghuru tolang* in shaping character and instilling the values of Madurese society (*Interview*, n.d.).

Beside that, millennial people also think that *ghuru tolang* is a symbol of culture and tradition that must be maintained and preserved (Djakfar & Permatasari, 2020). Many young generations of Madurese consider it important to learn and understand the values contained in the concept as part of their cultural and historical heritage. However, the understanding of *ghuru tolang* can also vary between individuals, depending on their background and views. This has relevance to what Dietze explained that an individual's perspective and social background can affect the perception and perspective of an individual (Dietze & Knowles, 2021).

The *ghuru tolang* conception is basically the Madurese people's understanding of a teacher who has special competence and charisma in leading religious rituals (*Interview*, n.d.). In the perspective of the Madurese millennial community, this view may change with the times and changes in social values as also explained by Tokarski & Zarotis (Zarotis &

Tokarski, 2020). However, the figure of *ghuru tolang* is still respected and considered a symbol of the greatness and continuity of their religious tradition. In this perspective, *ghuru tolang* is often seen as a cultural symbol that holds traditional values and has an important meaning for the Madurese people (*Interview*, n.d.). However, for some other millennials, this conception may be considered less relevant to the lifestyle and demands of today's times (*Interview*, n.d.). Therefore, there are those who maintain this tradition as a form of respect for ancestral culture, while others may consider it outdated and irrelevant to continue.

### **The Description of the Santri-Kiai Relations of *Ghuru tolang* in the Life of the Madurese Millennial Society Conception**

In a sociological view, the Madurese are a society that highly respects the traditions of courtesy and manners, or in Madurese terms it is called *andhep asor* (Sopyan & Nidzami, 2018). This term is actually one of the important points in *baburughan becce'* (*good manners*) in Madurese society which has been passed down from generation to generation (Sopyan & Nidzami, 2018). This social condition at least gives a strong illustration that the social relations of the Madurese people are intertwined based on well-established social values, so that it is reflected in their philosophy of life, namely the *dhibi* tradition which illustrates the existence of a family symbol that is bound in the same entity.

The relationship between a *ghuru tolang* and a Madurese is not only interpreted as the relationship between students and educators. For them, this relationship is imbued with a strong aspect of spirituality where there is a special relationship, namely a relationship that is imbued with the spirit of *nasyrul ilmi* which they will both carry out for the mission of Islamic da'wah (*Interview*, n.d.). From this, it seems clear that the relationship between *ghuru tolang* and the Madurese people is based on love for religion and science, because according to them the essence of seeking knowledge is to get closer to the *Khaliq* (*Interview*, n.d.). From this description it seems clear that the relationship that exists between *ghuru tolang* and the Madurese community is a relationship imbued with strong spiritual aspects that are oriented towards the values and teachings of Islam.

The aspect of religiosity which is very strong in the relationship that exists between *ghuru tolang* and the Madurese people is actually inseparable from the religious personality of the Madurese (Amrullah, 2015). Because when viewed from the context of religiosity, religion for the Madurese has a very high position and is non-negotiable (*Interview*, n.d.). For them, religion is a manifestation of the harmonization of two aspects, namely *hablun*

*minallah wa hablun minannas* (Nasrullah, 2019). This can be realized when a relationship with God and with others has been established, this relationship is strengthened by their philosophy of life, namely the *abantal shahada asapo' faith* (bearing shahada, covered with faith), an expression that implies the importance of religion as a foundation in life.

Meanwhile, Madurese have a measure of good behavior in social interactions, namely *andhap asor* (humble), which implies the importance of polite, polite, respectful attitudes and personalities towards others so that these noble values must be passed on to the next generation (Syamsul Hadi Thubany, 2022). This means that apart from a high religious appreciation, the Madurese also have strong noble values that must be upheld in inter-community life.

In Madurese belief, *ghuru tolang* is a highly respected figure. Its existence in the context of social life opens a new paradigm that teachers and students have closeness and a strong emotional connection. Therefore, the relationship between the two for Madurese is likened to the psychological relationship between parents and children (Andriani, 2020). This relationship implies the existence of a strong physical relationship that is always upheld and passed on to the next generation.

On the other hand, the Madurese belief in the importance of respecting a teacher is actually inseparable from the basic character that is inherent in them (*Interview*, n.d.). The culture of *bhapa' bhabu'*, *ghuru ratho* is always reflected in everyday life. This shows that the social relations of Madurese community entities are very well established, not only with a teacher, but with people who have the same stratification. This relationship is shown by the existence of strong social relations, therefore there is a term that is familiar in the context of their lives, namely the term *taretan dhibbi'* (Bawono, 2016).

The santri-kiai relationship in the *ghuru tolang* conception is a close relationship between santri (students) and kiai (teachers) in Madurese millennial society (*Interview*, n.d.). In this conception, kiai are considered as spiritual and intellectual leaders for their students. Santri are expected to obey the teachings and advice of the kiai, and carry out traditions and culture that have been passed on from generation to generation (*Interview*, n.d.). In the life of the Madurese millennial community, the santri-kyai relationship is still maintained and respected, even though there have been some changes in the form and method of implementation.

Apart from being a spiritual leader, the relationship between the two is also a spiritual mentor (Romadhon, 2020). In this context, the kiai is considered a spiritual leader and guide

for the santri, the consequence is that the santri will have high respect and obedience to the kiai (Nasrullah, 2019). This relationship is very important in shaping the personality and spirituality of the students, and plays an important role in shaping the culture and traditions of the Madurese Millennial community.

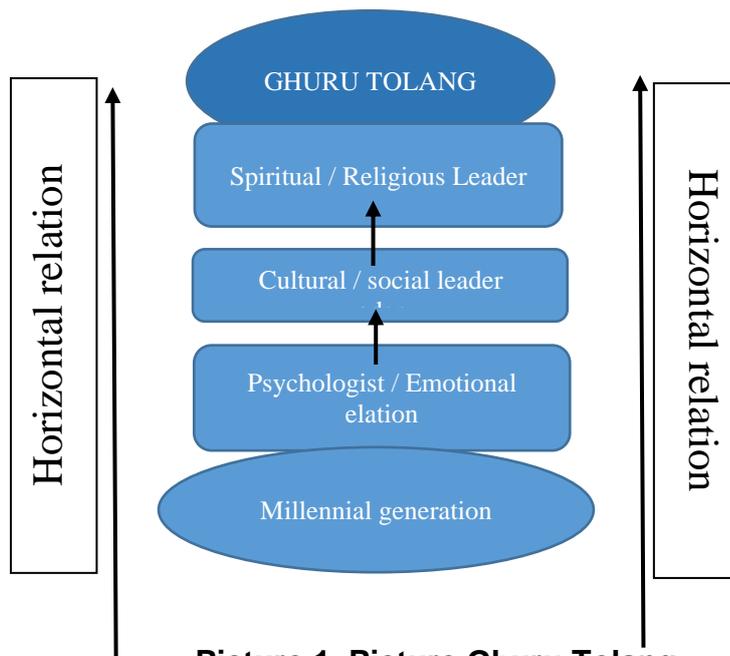
Besides that, the santri-kiai relationship in the *ghuru tolang* conception is also a relationship that needs and influences each other. In Madurese society, this relationship is an integral part of people's lives and plays an important role in the formation of character and culture (Andriani, 2020). The kiai is responsible for providing religious and scientific teachings to the santri, while the santri need guidance and direction from the kiai to deepen their knowledge and become better individuals (*Interview*, n.d.). In Madurese Millennial society, the santri-kiai relationship is still maintained and respected, even though with the influence of technology and globalization, the ways of communication and interaction between kiai and santri may change.

In the *ghuru tolang* conception, between the santri and the kiai, there is a close and respectful relationship between the santri and the kiai. The Santri recognize the kiai as their spiritual leader and guide, while the kiai view the santri as students and students who must be guided and educated (*Interview*, n.d.). In the Madurese Millennial community, this relationship is still maintained and is part of the local culture and traditions. Therefore, in the *ghuru tolang* conception, the relationship between santri and kiai is a relationship of cooperation and mutual assistance to gain knowledge and achieve progress in life, reciprocal relations in the context of social relations such as those that exist between millennial society and *ghuru tolang* are basically something As explained by *Kavanagh* (Kavanagh et al., 2021), the kiai has a role as spiritual guide and mentor for the santri, while the santri has the responsibility to carry out the teachings and advice from the kiai (*Interview*, n.d.). In the life of the Madurese Millennial community, this relationship is still maintained and respected, even though there have been changes that have occurred along with the times.

The relationship between santri and kiai in the *ghuru tolang* conception of millennial Madurese society is based on the relationship between teachers and students who respect and trust each other (*Interview*, n.d.). Santri believe in the kiai as their spiritual and moral teacher, while the kiai believe in the santri as candidates for the next generation of knowledge and religious traditions (*Interview*, n.d.). In this context, the kiai plays the role of leader and the santri act as followers in understanding and applying religious teachings.

Thus, in the *ghuru tolang* conception there is a relationship of trust and dependence, where the santri (students) view the kiai (teacher) as a figure who is wise and has knowledge about religious teachings and life. This conception plays an important role in the life of the Madurese Millennial community because it is the basis for them to find identity and provide direction in life. This relationship is also a means to help students understand religious teachings and form good behavior in everyday life.

The pattern of the relationship between *ghuru tolang* and the Madurese Millennial Community can be described as follows.



**Picture 1. Picture Ghuru Tolang**

### **Social Implications of Millennial Generation Relations with *Ghuru tolang* in the Life of Madurese People.**

The perspective of the Madurese millennial generation towards the figure of *ghuru tolang* has not seen a significant shift. Changes in their views are relatively only on how to position themselves as students who always consider rationality in choosing and doing something (*Interview*, n.d.). In many ways, they still uphold the values of respect and obedience so that the role of *ghuru tolang* in social structure and stratification will still remain strong.

As a consequence of this shift is the emergence of a culture of criticism and modernism in the life of the Madurese millennial generation. Jack explained that people who

are critical of the social environment tend to be more sensitive and care more about environmental issues and take real action to improve them (Cudworth, 2003). If this happens, of course it will have a positive impact on Madurese change as long as this shift in paradigm does not lead to polarization and conflict in Madurese society.

The polarisation in question involves two (two) distinct generations: the millennial generation and the traditional/old-fashioned generation, which is still firmly entrenched in old values and paradigms. Cevik stated that the millennial generation is more open to all changes, especially with regard to global, political and economic issues so that it becomes a world view and influences their perspective on the socio-cultural environment (Çevik, 2022). Meanwhile, the traditional generation is more exclusive in responding to social changes that occur, so they are sometimes reluctant to accept other cultures and consider them something that is not good (Akujobi, C.T and Jack, 2017). In this context, it is important to reconcile these two views by conducting open and effective communication, understanding and respecting the views of others (Bucăța & Rizescu, 2017). This can be done through ongoing dialogue and discussion and taking into account the principles of justice and sustainability (Bucăța & Rizescu, 2017).

The millennial generation and the traditional Madurese generation have differences in terms of views and perspectives on life, which affect the social relations between the two groups in Madurese society (Çevik, 2022). This can lead to conflict and disagreement, but it can also lead to innovation and better understanding between generations. It is possible that the millennial generation will bring new thoughts and perspectives to Madurese society, while the traditional generation can provide understanding and established noble values to the younger generation. In this case, cooperation between the two generations is very important to maintain harmony and advance Madurese society.

The social implications of the relationship between the millennial generation and the traditional generation in Madura can also be seen from the differences in views and ways of thinking between the two generations. The millennial generation has a more open and innovative perspective, while the traditional generation may adhere to existing traditions and norms (Çevik, 2022). Even though this can lead to conflict, however, if the two generations can work together and understand each other, this can produce better solutions and prosper the Madurese community as a whole.

So far, the polarization that has occurred in millennial and traditional Madurese society in response to differences in understanding of *ghuru tolang* is still at the level of only

minor aspects. In a broad perspective, there are no fundamental differences regarding how to respond and behave well towards *ghuru tolang* (Interview, n.d.). This means that the millennial generation still places *ghuru tolang* as a figure who must be looked after, respected, and obeyed by his words and orders. From this description it seems clear that the millennial and traditional generations still have the same perspective even though there are certain differences in views about *ghuru tolang*.

If examined in the perspective of socio-cultural science, the differences in perceptions, ways of thinking and views that occur between the two generations of Madurese are a natural thing. The existence of different paradigms and ways of thinking has logical implications because it allows for the creation of diversity of views and solutions to problems (Chia, 2013). With so many alternative views and solutions, healthy competition and comparison will be created, so that the best solution can be chosen (Chia, 2013). It also helps to prevent boredom and stagnation in thinking, and encourages development and better social change.

Abidin Dagh explained that different views in society can sometimes produce several positive benefits, including (Dağlı, 2017); a) Creativity: Different views can trigger discussion and exchange of new ideas, which will lead to creative solutions and ideas; b) Progress: Different views can motivate people to think critically and question existing norms, which can lead to progress (Ashraf et al., 2020); c) Tolerance and understanding: Discussing with people with different views can help to understand the views and beliefs of others, which can lead to tolerance and understanding (Ashraf et al., 2020); d) Learning: Listening to the views of others and discussing with them can help us broaden our horizons and learn new things; e) Democracy: Diversity of views is the essence of democracy, as it allows people to speak up and express their views without fear of discrimination (Dağlı, 2017).

From the description above, it seems clear that there has indeed been a slight shift in the millennial generation's digma towards *ghuru tolang*, thereby affecting the relationships that are built. Nevertheless, in a broad perspective, there is no significant change in how to behave and behave towards *ghuru tolang*. This means that the millennial generation still positions *ghuru tolang* as an exemplary figure so that respect for and obedience to him becomes something that is "*obligatory*" as is the tradition and culture that has existed so far in the context of the social life of the Madurese people.

## Conclusion

In the eyes of millennial society, *ghuru tolang* is no different from other teachers, so there is no sacredness that needs to be addressed. They believe that the presence of *ghuru tolang* is very important in the effort to transform religious knowledge, but at some point, obedience by ignoring rationality is impossible. This perception has remained consistent thus far, despite a slight shift. They also believe that *ghuru tolang* is a cultural and traditional symbol that must be maintained and preserved.

Regarding the pattern of social relations that are built between the *ghuru tolang* and the millennial generation, basically this relationship is imbued with a strong spiritual aspect where there is a special relationship, namely a relationship that is imbued with the spirit of nasyrul ilmi. The closeness of the relationship between the two is also based on a strong emotional closeness like the psychological relationship between parents and their children. So far, this relationship is still firmly embedded in the Madurese community and has been passed down from generation to generation.

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