

THE PERCEPTION OF THE KIAI'S VIOLATION TOWARDS DIGITALIZATION OF ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to describe Kiai's perception of violating the digitalization of economic transactions, which is limited to four areas, m-banking, e-money, e-wallet, and financial technology. The research method used is qualitative using primary data sources from the field, where the research subjects are the offending Kiai who meet the criteria. Data was collected using interview and observation techniques. Data validity uses triangulation, member checking, and emic methods. After coding, the data was analyzed using domain and taxonomy analysis techniques. The results that can be presented are the Kiai violating perceptions of the digitization of economic transactions divided into two, namely first the violating Kiai who are exposed to stimulus and direct experience of digitizing economic transactions at high intensity; and secondly, the Kiai violates with a low level of exposure and direct experience. Kiai violates the first category perceiving the digitization of economic transactions in the aspects of function and shariah compliance, in which the digitization of economic transactions is perceived as a transaction medium that is easy, practical, safe, efficient, comfortable, supports activities, and does not conflict with sharia aspects. The Kiai violating the second category perceives the digitalization of economic transactions as merely a non-cash financial transaction. This research is expected to complement the theory of perception formation by adding a confirmation stage in the perception formation process. In addition, research also limits the applicability of the theory of agents of social change, meaning that kiai can act as agents of social change if they can adapt to the dynamics of civilization.

Keywords: Kiai Langgar, Perception, Digitalization of Economic Transactions

INTRODUCTION

"Cultural Brokers" embedded by Geertz (1981) and "Agents of Social Change" addressed by Horikoshi (1987) to religious leaders imply that kiai, ajengan, lebai and the like are groups of people at relatively high social strata. Through these two characters, kiai are expected to be marketer for new ideas and programs in social engineering to bring about positive societal changes.

One of the dynamics of changes that have occurred in society along with the 4.0 Industrial Revolution is economic digitalization. To further accelerate economic development, the Indonesian government launched the National Non-Cash Movement (GNNT) on 14 August 2014 through Bank Indonesia's policy to create a cashless society for better financial inclusion. The emergence of digital banking, e-wallets, e-money,

financial technology (fintech) and the like is a manifestation of the digitization of economic and financial transactions. Socialization and education on the use of non-cash applications for the user community, can be carried out by kiai, including the langgar kiai, and play their role as agents of social change in the digital economy sector.

However, some research shows that there is resistance or at least a negative view of some religious leaders toward digitalization of the economy. As research conducted by Fitriyani (2021) states that some scholars in Banjarmasin still leave some notes for shariah compliance of e-wallet transactions as part of the digitalization of the economy. Likewise, the resistance that arises from some kiai in Madura towards non-cash payments as part of the digitalization of the economy as the results of Hastriana's study (2017). Even though in general the majority of studies state that the digitization of economic and financial transactions does not conflict with shariah compliance and is actually relevant to maqashid sharia (Zulkefli et al., 2019; Muamar et al., 2020; Wulandari, 2019; Fauzi, 2020; Aziz, 2019). In fact, the DSN-MUI has issued two fatwas related to the digital economy, namely electronic money and financing using information technology.

Ideally, the langgar kiai have a moral obligation to participate in inviting and preaching the digital economy to the public. Social change for the better through the digital economy is certainly one of the tasks of the violating kiai in their capacity as agents of social change and cultural brokers. However, the Industrial Revolution 4.0, which is also called the disruption era, shows signs that authority, charisma, the function of the opinion leader and the social function of the kiai in society are also "disturbed." The domestication of the kiai's function which only becomes in the private sphere of religion as a result of the use of technology, is presented in several studies conducted by Turmudi (2004), Susanto (2007), Sugiana, et. al. (2020) and Izzah (2011).

The behavior of Kiai Langgar always tries to adjust to Islamic teachings, where confirmation of the halalness of products is a reflection of religious teachings in every behavior. Choosing an Islamic bank is a spirit of kiai's partiality against the sharia system, Iqbal (2023)

Kiai langgar who live in the corners of civilization will only become relics of the past which are limited to repeating old mantras; or are they able to bring religion as a dynamic force in their community. If the violating kiai are unable to keep up with the dynamics of economic digitalization that are in direct contact with society, then instead of being cultural brokers or agents of social change, the violating kiai may actually become a group that is resistant to the dynamics of human civilization.

Pekalongan City and Batang Regency as rows of "santri cities", kiai langgar as religious leaders in these two areas still play a central role in society. Various socio-religious activities still place the langgar kiai as a figure who is in the upper strata of the social pyramid of the Batang community (Ma'shum, 2016). Departing from this, it

becomes very urgent to conduct a study of how the potential of the kiai violates them to participate in carrying out social engineering in the sector of digitizing economic and financial transactions.

Referring to the background of the problems that have been described, this paper attempts to describe the perceptions of the kiai violating the digitalization of economic and financial transactions. The digitalization of economic and financial transactions referred to in this study is limited to four sectors: digital banking, e-wallets, e-money, financial technology. To provide a clear scope of discussion in this paper, there are several research limitations. First, geographically, this research takes the setting in Pekalongan and Batang as one of the regional representations that still places religious leaders or kiai at a relatively higher social stratum. Second, the kiai langgar referred to in this study are religious leaders who consistently lead various types of religious activities in the musholla/langgar in their respective areas.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is field research because the primary data will be obtained directly from sources in the field who meet certain criteria. While the method used is qualitative because this research is designed to understand a reality and the meaning (meaning) behind that reality. In addition, the data obtained is not in the form of numbers or something that is converted into numbers (quantification), so that the more appropriate method used is the qualitative method. The approach that will be used is phenomenology. The use of phenomenology not only because it refers to a non-positivistic (non-sensuous) paradigm, it is also intended to obtain actual new categories, theories and concepts in economics.

This research took place in Pekalongan City and Batang Regency. The choice of this location was based on the consideration that Pekalongan City and Batang Regency are part of the culture of the santri community in the northern region of Java, which still places the kiai as a relatively high social group. These two regions also represent rural and urban areas so they have a relatively heterogeneous culture. The subjects of this study were the langgar kiai in the Batang and Pekalongan areas, Central Java with the criteria (1) Continuously leading religious activities in the langgar; (2) Having certain authority and charisma in society; (3) Become a reference in the field of religion in society; and (4) the kiai langgar which is used as a data source also considers heterogeneity in terms of rural and urban areas. From these predetermined criteria, after the research was completed, 8 (eight) resource persons were obtained.

Research data were collected through two techniques, namely interviews and observation. Research uses two types of validity, namely internal and external validity. Internal validity is carried out through method triangulation, source triangulation, member checking and emic. Triangulation of the method was carried out by juxtaposing

data from observations of activities and socio-religious activities of the kiai langgar with data from interviews. Meanwhile, source triangulation was carried out by elaborating and comparing answers between one resource person and another. Member checking to minimize the researcher's "interference" in the originality of the data, which is done by reconfirming the answers from the informants. External validity/extrapolation is carried out with a transferability pattern, namely comparing the results of the researcher's findings with the results of other previous studies, where the applicability is idiographic, tentative, and bound according to a certain time and context.

This qualitative research is included in the descriptive-verification analysis category. After the data is collected, the researcher first conducts an epoche and eiditich vision (Creswell, 2014). Epoche uses two methods, namely the method of historical bracketing and eiditic reduction. Through the first method, researchers "get rid" in advance of various types of economic theory that were previously considered established. Meanwhile, through the method of eiditic reduction, the researcher identified the essence of various information obtained by the violating kiai.

The analysis technique used in this research is domain analysis. Through this technique the researcher determines the included terms, covering terms and semantic relations. Technically, the data will be processed through three stages, namely reduction, display and conclusion drawing.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Process of Forming Kiai's Perception of Violating the Digitization of Economic Transactions. Perception is formed after going through several stages, namely receiving stimulus, selecting information, organizing information, confirming information and finally forming a perception.

Acceptance of Stimulus

At this stage, almost all data sources have received stimulus or information related to digital/electronic transactions. Receiving this stimulus is in the form of exposure from various media advertisements, as well as direct experience that they get when carrying out digital transactions, even though the intensity of receiving information varies. In fact, several sources stated that their direct experience with electronic transactions had been going on for several years. More or less the same thing was also stated by other sources (KL-HH) who have been using mobile-banking applications as a form of electronic transactions since more than 4 years. However, there are also some violating kiai who do not know and do not have direct experience with digital economic and financial transactions, as stated by KL-MM.

From the answers of the informants, it can be stated that some of the langgar kiai are dynamic individuals, namely those who are able to adapt to the dynamics of a

continuously developing civilization. Even though their skills in using various devices are not as good as those who are called the millennial generation, generation Z and or the like, their ability to use various digital and electronic transaction media indicates that they are a group of people who keep pace with the times.

Receiving information and direct experience that has been felt by the clerics of this violation is an important capital in forming a positive perception of various types of digital transactions in the economic and financial fields. With a sufficient number of stimuli and information, and reinforced with direct experience (direct experiment) that has been going on for a long time with high intensity, it is a very important raw material in the formation of perceptions that are closer to reality. However, there are still some other kiai who do not seem to follow developments in economic and financial transactions in society. Some of them don't use these things so they are not really interested if there is information or stimulus related to digital economic and financial transactions.

Selection of Information

Each individual will select any information or stimulus he receives, whether he realizes it or not, based on his needs. If he does not need something that is contained in a stimulus, then the charge in the stimulus or information will not be processed further. Only those related to his needs will later be included in his "memory box". The clerics who have a need for digital transactions stated that they were very interested if there was new information related to digital transactions. Sources who are interested if there is information or stimulus related to digital transactions will also use digital transactions if there is a need for some economic transactions. The existence of this preference seems to have an impact that then they have the intention and attention to information related to digital transactions.

However, it is different from the kiai who have no need and have never been in contact with digital transactions, so they are not interested in any stimulus or information related to digital transactions. This stimulus did not enter their memory and "did not pass the selection" because some of these violating kiai did not require digital economic and financial transactions.

Thus the informants—both those who have and those who do not have an interest in information about digital transactions—have carried out perceptual defense or also selective retention, namely when the informant filters and does not store stimuli that are of low priority or are not important to them. This is done to make selection efficiency in the midst of many stimuli that continue to flood memory. After performing perceptual defense, the stimulus received by the informant is then further selected so that it enters the selective attention stage. At this stage the informant's attention and sensitivity will depend on his involvement with the stimulus, his needs and his motivation.

Organization of Information

After selecting the various stimuli it receives, the consumer will then organize these stimuli. Only selected stimuli will be processed in such a way by consumers. The stages of organizing information are like organizing and constructing puzzle pieces into a certain meaningful object. This means that one's perception of something cannot be separated from the process of structuring various types of "spare-parts" obtained from the previous stage, namely receiving the stimulus/information and selecting the stimulus.

Kyai langgar who have enough stimulus and continue at the selection stage, seem able to organize such a stimulus to then be constructed and organized into an understanding of digital transactions. This can be seen from the statements of the violated kiai who are able to identify the background and the core/figure. The violating kiai's statement states that digital transactions that are synonymous with efficiency, convenience, comfort and support for daily and business activities are the core of digital transactions that are able to be identified by the violating kiai.

There are several keywords that can be collected from the statements of informants related to the process of organizing information related to digital transactions, including, efficient, easy, comfortable, safe, supporting work and activities, fast, practical and simple. Some of the keywords above seem to indicate that some kyai lalang are able to organize the various information and/or stimuli they receive into a concept that abstracts digital economic transactions. The informants' abstractions about digital economic transactions also seem to indicate that they are able to understand the core based on contrast and context factors. The contrast factor is when the informant is able to identify differences between cash and non-cash transactions that are carried out digitally. In fact, these differences are expressed through several sentences that show the contrast between the two types of transactions. This is also reinforced by their high preference for digital economic transactions.

While the context factor is when the informant is able to capture content in the midst of a complex context. The context in question is the consequences arising from digital transactions. For the use of e-money, for example, the context is that consumers must have e-money cards, top-up cards, and so on. The context for e-wallet is application download, e-wallet content top-up and so on. While the context of mobile banking is application download, internet network connection and so on. These various types of contexts do not seem to interfere with the content of digital transactions, namely security, convenience, comfort and so on, as mentioned by the informants above.

However, the langgar kiai, whose exposure is still limited to a series of stimuli related to economic digitalization, have not been able to organize because they do not

have much information. Moreover, they also don't have much direct experience related to economic digitalization.

Confirm

Confirmation of information is a stage in which the kiai break confirms a series of information that has been arranged in such a way with the religious dimension. In this case, the kiai violated the law to find a basis for digital economic and financial transactions, the information and or stimulus of which they had received. Based on the statement of the kiai violating, the confirmation stage becomes a necessity in the process of forming their perceptions of digital and electronic economic and financial transactions. This confirmation is an effort to find out how the law of the transaction is from the point of view of their religion or belief. Especially for the langgar kiai who are religious leaders who are seen as relatively more obedient to religious teachings, ensuring the conformity of their transactions with religious values is an unavoidable necessity.

However, the confirmation stage carried out by the breaking kiai appeared to be in a light "dose". This means that the confirmation did not reach a very detailed and comprehensive stage. The kiai violate it only at the stage of being aware of the shariah compliance side of the digital transactions they are doing. Thus it can be stated that the kiai violates when organizing a stimulus that has been received, it will first go through the confirmation stage in terms of its sharia compliance aspect. Moreover, their selective attention is also more focused on aspects of shariah compliance.

The results of this confirmation, along with other variables, also shape the perception that will be developed later. In the discipline of ushul fiqh, this stage of confirmation can be categorized as an effort of *istinbāṭi ijtihad*, although on a very small scale. The *ijtihad* that is carried out is to seek the law of a case from authoritative arguments, because there is still a legal vacuum, or also because the law of a case is still classified as *ẓanni* so it needs to be further clarified. This condition will continue to occur at any time, because economic issues (including digital transactions) are *furū'iyah* issues that will always develop dynamically, and of course require legal certainty to ensure shariah compliance aspects.

The existence of this confirmation stage strengthens the findings of previous research (Ma'shum, 2017) which states that in the process of forming perceptions there is one stage called the confirmation stage. This stage is generally carried out by Muslim individuals who are aware of the sharia aspects of a matter, including the digitization of economic transactions. What's more, the informants in this study were the offending kiai who in certain areas became references and references for the community, especially those concerning religious aspects.

Kiai's Perception of Violating the Digitalization of Economic Transactions

Interpretation is the final phase in the process of forming perceptions. Individual perception of an object is unique so that it will differ from one individual to another, including the interpretation of the clerics who violate the digitalization of economic transactions. Interpretation is the final stage in the process of forming perceptions, because it is at this stage that all the "resources" owned by the langgar kiai will be translated and interpreted so as to form a perception. Referring to the data obtained from the field, there are at least two categories of violations.

a. Kiai violated the first category

The first category is those who have received information or stimulus about digital economic and financial transactions. In fact, the majority who fall into this category already have direct experience using digital transactions. Kiai violating the first category are generally able to identify several digital transaction media such as e-money, e-wallet, financial technology and m-banking. Even though their definition and or understanding of digital transactions is expressed in different sentences, the clerics who fall into this category are able to explain the uses of each of these transaction media.

Providing interpretation or interpretation of a series of stimuli that have been received by violating kiai, their perceptions of the digitalization of economic transactions are as follows:

- 1) RU informants perceive that digital transactions are a method of payment or transactions that are safe, make payments easier, practical, expand purchase options and comply with sharia (RU, personal communication, May 2022).
- 2) HH informants have the perception that digital transactions are a means of payment that really helps work, is simple, facilitates activities, is safe and does not conflict with Islam (HH, personal communication, July 22, 2022).
- 3) MN informants perceive digital transactions as a means of payment that is easy, convenient, fast, helps with work, in accordance with the times and legal according to religion (MN, personal communication, July 21, 2022)
- 4) Informant NS has the perception that digitizing economic transactions is part of an easy, practical, fast financial transaction, is a common practice in society and the law is permissible according to religious teachings (NS, personal communication, August 2022).

The perception of the digitization of economic transactions that was formed among the kiai who violated this first category seems to be well developed. Those who have received sufficient stimulus regarding the digitization of economic transactions are then able to select and organize the stimulus in such a way that the interpretations that emerge form a perception that is "linear" or relevant to the digitalization of economic transactions.

Direct experience also seems to contribute a lot in determining the perceptions that are formed. Direct experience is one stimulus that does play an important role in determining the formation of perceptions. The violating kiai, as shown by the results of the interviews, did not see much advertising, information or promotions regarding the digitization of economic transactions. However, because the digital ecosystem has begun to form and disseminate massively, the violating kiai who fall into this category often come into contact with and/or practice digital transactions in the economic sector.

The perceptions of the kiai who violated this first category did not appear to be disturbed by things that could distort their perceptions. First impressions, jumping to conclusions, the halo effect and a series of factors that trigger the occurrence of distortion seem invisible to the perceptions that arise among the clerics of the violation. When viewed from the substance of perception, the kiai's perception of violating the digitalization of economic transactions focuses on two things, namely the economic aspect and the syar'i aspect. What is meant by the economic aspect is that the perception that is formed is more emphasized on elements that are in contact with the economic aspect, such as facilitating transactions, making transactions more secure, making transactions more practical, cheaper transaction costs, and the like.

Meanwhile, what is meant by the syar'i aspect is when the kiai break the connection between the digitization of economic transactions and its fiqh aspects; whether it is contrary to Islamic teachings or not. With the main provision of direct experience as users of digitizing economic transactions, all violating kiai who fall into this category have the same view that m-banking, e-money, e-wallets as part of digital transactions do not conflict with Islamic teachings. Even though the terms they convey are not deep, several key words such as *masalah*, *yassirū wa lā tu'assirū*, *dar'ul mafāsid*, changing times, prevalence, no violence, no one is wronged/harmed and the like are among the bases that make they are of the view that the digitization of economic transactions does not conflict with Islamic teachings.

b. Kiai violated the second category

Whereas the second category is the violated kiai who receive stimulus with a fairly low intensity, and do not have much direct experience in the field of digital economic and financial transactions. This second category does not know much about several types of digital transaction forms. When mentioned about e-money, e-wallet and the like they stated that they did not know about these things. Because they are not familiar with digital transaction media, the violating kiai who fall into this category also cannot mention their use. Even though there are clerics in the second category who have heard about several practices and tools for digital economic transactions, they do not know the details of their use.

- 1) NZ informants perceive digital transactions as a means of sharia-compliant financial transactions preventing harm, providing more benefit and safety (NZ, personal communication, June 4, 2022)
- 2) MT informants because of very limited stimulus and direct experience, the perception that is formed is limited to that digitalization of economic transactions is a means of payment without cash (MT, personal communication, July 11, 2022).
- 3) NF informants perceive that the digitalization of economic transactions is buying and selling without using cash (NF, personal communication, July 29, 2022).

The limitations of stimulus and direct experience seem to be the determining factors why the kiai's perception of violating the second category looks different from the first category. Moreover, informants NF and MT simply perceive the digitalization of economic transactions as non-cash transactions. As for the attributes attached to the digitization of economic transactions—as can be identified by the kiai violating the first category—they do not appear in their perception. These two informants also could not provide answers regarding the sharia aspect of the use of digitizing economic transactions, due to their limited knowledge regarding this matter.

From the discussion in this section, it can be concluded that the kiai's perception of violating the digitization of economic transactions is divided into two, namely first the violating kiai who is exposed to stimulus and direct experience of digitizing economic transactions at high intensity; and secondly, the Kiai violates with a low level of exposure and direct experience. Kiai violates the first category perceiving the digitization of economic transactions in the aspects of function and Shariah compliance, in which the digitization of economic transactions is perceived as a transaction medium that is easy, practical, safe, efficient, comfortable, supports activities and does not conflict with sharia aspects. The kiai violating the second category perceives the digitalization of economic transactions as merely a non-cash financial transaction.

Table 1. Categorization of Kiai Violations Based on Perception towards the Digitalization of Economic Transactions

NO	ELEMENTS	KIAI VIOLATED CATEGORY 1	KIAI VIOLATED CATEGORY 2
1	Stimulus intensity	Moderate	Low
2	Direct Experience	High	Low/Never
3	Ways to Use Digital Transactions	Know	No
4	Functions of Digital Transactions	Know	No
5	Knowledge of Economic Aspects	High	Low

	of Digital Transactions		
6	Knowledge of Shariah Compliance in Digital Transactions	Sufficiently	Inadequate

The digitization of the economy, including economic and financial transactions, was born from the womb of the 4.0 Industrial Revolution, which is often called the disruption era, or the disruptive era. There is a group of people who feel "disturbed" by their comfort and status-quo due to the presence of the Industrial Revolution 4.0. Base ojek drivers are disturbed by the presence of online ojeks; traders in the goods market are disturbed by the presence of market-places or e-commerce; and other examples that are too numerous to mention.

This era of disruption seems to have not only created a new cultural pattern from cash to cashless, offline to online, and so on. The presence of this new revolution also seems to be able to "disturb" the status, role and function of certain groups of people in their social structure. The functions and statuses that have been played so far seem to have begun to be eroded by the new culture forged by the Industrial Revolution 4.0.

However, for community groups who are able to adapt to these dynamics, they will not feel so disturbed. Some adjustments do need to be made to be able to follow new cultural patterns. Darwin's theory of survival of the fittest in several aspects seems to be able to explain which ones are able to continue to survive and develop because of their ability to adapt; and which ones are marginalized because they are static and frozen.

From the data and discussion that was discussed previously, it seems that there are several categories of kiai violating them when it comes to their perceptions of the digitalization of economic transactions. The first category is those who are able to adapt to the new digital culture in the economic and financial sector, where their daily activities have shifted from cash to cashless, offline to online and so on. Apart from knowing various types of digital transactions, they have also used and practiced digital financial instruments, such as e-money, m-banking, e-wallets and the like. The perception that is formed about digital transactions seems to be very close to reality, not biased and not distorted.

While the second category is the violating kiai who are not familiar with digital transactions. They are those who do not use, are not interested in and do not know much about digital economic and financial transactions. Indeed, there are many factors that cause kiai to violate such conditions, starting from their daily activities, lifestyle, level of needs as consumers, education and so on.

If it is related to his position as a religious leader who ideally becomes a reference group, agent of social change and cultural broker, then the kiai violating the first category are those who have the resources to play these roles. The scientific

authority and experience they have in the field of digital transactions is the capital for the violating kiai to continue to have resources that strengthen their scientific authority. With this scientific authority, social functions and roles are not degraded.

As for the kiai langgar who fall into the second category, it seems that their authority is slowly eroding because they are a bit hobbled behind the fast pace of the wheels of civilization. The ummah, community and congregation will usually come to religious leaders to ask the religious leaders (kiai langgar) for their views on a matter. If this case—including digital transactions for example—then it has the potential to degrade the authority of the kiai, it violates it in the eyes of its congregation.

Kiai breaking the first category are those who are able to adapt and follow the development of the dynamics of human civilization. The adjustments they make are not only to fulfill their needs as a consumer or user of digitizing economic transactions, but also as a medium for learning new things caused by the dynamics of the civilization above. Because of this learning (Tadabbur) that they do, they then provide their own resources to maintain their existence in society as someone who has scientific authority and knowledge. This means that their ability to adapt to developments that occur in society brings them to a position that has a degree of scientific authority in the social structure of society.

It is different from the kiai in the second category who are less flexible in following developments in one of the sectors that involve people's daily activities. Due to various circumstances and conditions, they have not been able to adapt to the digitalization of economic transactions so that their knowledge resources in this field are very limited. This means that the degree of scientific authority possessed by the kiai in the second category is very limited.

CONCLUSION

Referring to the discussion that has been described in the previous chapters, it can be concluded that the kiai's perception of violating the digitization of economic transactions is divided into two, namely first the violating kiai who is exposed to stimulus and direct experience of digitizing economic transactions at high intensity; and secondly, the kiai violates with a low level of exposure and direct experience. Kiai violates the first category perceiving the digitization of economic transactions in the aspects of function and shariah compliance, in which the digitization of economic transactions is perceived as a transaction medium that is easy, practical, safe, efficient, comfortable, supports activities and does not conflict with sharia aspects. The kiai violating the second category perceives the digitalization of economic transactions as merely a non-cash financial transaction.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Theoretically, the results of this research provide several notes and "contest" certain theories and concepts.

1. From this study it can be stated that the theory of perception formation which includes elements of confirmation is amplified by the findings of this research.

Therefore, the theory of perception formation for individuals—whether kiai or not—who has awareness of shariah compliance is different from the theory that has existed so far in various literatures. Based on this, this research strengthens the existence of a confirmation stage in the process of forming perceptions.

2. The study results also provide boundaries (boundaries) on the applicability of agents of social change and cultural brokers. The function of the kiai langgar as agents of social change and 'cultural brokers' can be carried out if the kiai can adapt to the dynamics of human civilization as a resource to maintain the level of scientific authority and charisma of a religious leader who must also continue to develop and learn.

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