

The Map of The Religious Elite Conflict and Resolution Effort

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Abstract: *Conflict can occur anywhere and anytime, even in a society that seems homogeneous and religious. This paper aims to describe, analyze, and interpret the causes of the operation of the religious elite conflict in Mlangi and the efforts to resolve the conflict. This goal can be achieved by using a qualitative approach with the type of case study research designed in the form of a single case. The data collection techniques can be done by observation, interviews, and documentation which makes the author himself as a research instrument. The results obtained from these achievements are as follows: religious elite conflicts can occur because there is a symbol building that is glorified by the local community, the struggle for social position between the Jero (inside) and Jobo (outside) communities, changes in regional administration and social structure, intersections between religion, economy, and local elite politics, scramble for information access, resources, and sources of funds, differences in livelihoods, and the emergence of negotiations on religious and cultural values. Some of the causes of the conflict can be eliminated by fading the building of symbols that confirm social position and status, allowing mixed marriages, creating awareness of equality of origin or descent, needing government intervention to find a middle way over the conflicts that occur, emerging to common enemies and independence.*

Keywords: *Conflict Map, Religious Elite, Jobo-Jero (inside-outside), Middle Way, Resolution Efforts*

Abstrak: *Konflik dapat terjadi di mana saja dan kapan saja, bahkan pada masyarakat yang tampak homogen dan relegius sekalipun. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan, menganalisis, dan menafsirkan penyebab beroprasinya konflik elite agama di Mlangi dan upaya-upaya resolusi atas konflik tersebut. Tujuan tersebut dapat dicapai dengan cara memakai pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis penelitian studi kasus yang dirancang dalam bentuk kasus tunggal. Adapun teknik pengumpulan datanya dapat dilakukan dengan observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi yang menjadikan penulis sendiri sebagai instrumen penelitian. Hasil yang diperoleh dari capaian tersebut adalah sebagai berikut: konflik elite agama dapat terjadi karena ada bangunan simbol yang diagungkan oleh masyarakat setempat, perebutan posisi sosial antara masyarakat jero dan jobo, perubahan administrasi wilayah dan struktur sosial, persinggungan antara agama, ekonomi, dan politik elite lokal, perebutan akses informasi, sumber daya, dan sumber dana, perbedaan mata pencaharian, dan munculnya negosiasi nilai-nilai agama dan budaya. Beberapa penyebab konflik tersebut dapat eliminir dengan cara memudahkan bangunan simbol yang meneguhkan posisi dan status sosial, mengizinkan perkawinan campur, melahirkan kesadaran persamaan asal usul atau keturunan, perlu campur tangan pemerintah untuk mencari jalan tengah atas konflik yang terjadi, melahirkan musuh bersama dan kemandirian.*

Kata Kunci: *Peta Konflik, Elite Agama, Jobo-Jero, Jalan Tengah, Upaya Resolusi*

INTRODUCTION

In fact, conflicts can occur anytime and anywhere, whether in religious communities or not, in citizens with a large or homogeneous degree of plurality. Conflict occurs when two or more parties perceive that their interests are incompatible with each other's interests. In a society, the presence of conflict as much as possible is eliminated and avoided. It is often considered as something

abnormal in society. The causes of conflict can be various, it can be social, economic, religious, racial, or political. Its nature can also vary. Conflicts can be vertical and vertical, namely conflicts among community elites. Vertical and horizontal conflicts are conflicts between the elite and the community. The nature of conflict can also be in the form of horizontal and horizontal conflicts, namely conflicts between fellow communities.

The term conflict is etymologically derived from the Latin *configere* which means hitting each other. According to Antonius, et al, conflict is an action of one party that results in blocking, inhibiting, or disturbing other parties that can occur between community groups or between individuals. Meanwhile, according to Scannell,¹ conflict is a natural and normal thing that arises because of differences in perceptions, goals, or values in a group of individuals.

According to Hunt and Metcalf² there are two types of conflict in human life, namely intrapersonal conflict (intrapersonal conflict) and interpersonal conflict (interpersonal conflict). Intrapersonal conflict is a conflict that exists within oneself, for example, the beliefs held by a person are contrary to the cultural values of the citizens or their desires do not match their abilities. This interpersonal conflict can psychologically interfere with the psychological or mental health (mental hygiene) of the person concerned, if not handled properly. On the other hand, interpersonal conflict is a conflict between people. This conflict occurs in every social area, for example within the family, peer groups, citizens, and countries. This conflict can take the form of conflict between people or between groups, either within a group (intragroup conflict) or between groups (intergroup conflict).

¹ Scannell, Mary, *The Big Book of Conflict Resolution Games*, (United States of America: McGraw – Hill Companies, Inc., 2019), p. 2.

² Hunt, M.P. and Metcalf, L, "Ratio and Inquiry on Society's Closed Areas," dalam *Educating the Democratic Mind*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), p. 97.

This paper examines interpersonal conflicts, namely the religious elite conflicts that occurred in Mlangi and how to resolve them. To the author's knowledge, this study has not been found by the author, although many atrocities about Mlangi have been committed. Studies related to this in the last few years are as follows: Imawan, 2020 which discusses how the Islamic spiritual-intellectual axis of Yogyakarta in the XVIII-XIX centuries occurred in the Mlangi Islamic boarding school? These problems are answered by qualitative methods with a historical approach. The results can explain that the intellectual and spiritual axis of Yogyakarta Islam exists XVIII - XIX in Mlangi with evidence of Mlangi as one of the *pathok negoro*. Integration of the teaching of fiqh based on the Shafi'i madhhab, the *ahlussunnah wal jama'ah*, sufism, and coaching cadres of fighters and scholars.³

Rakhim, 2020, revealed about the background of the continuity of the Ngelik *shalawat* tradition in Mlangi village, Sleman DIY? Rakhim solved this problem by using a qualitative approach and ethnographic research. The results of this study reveal that the Ngelik *shalawat* tradition is a new culture resulting from a cross between Islamic and Javanese culture. Islamic boarding schools, students, and Mlangi youths have become agents of conservation, so that Ngelik's *shalawat* still exists today.⁴

Azizah, 2017, how did the community respond to the renovation of the 2012 AD *Pathok Negoro* Mlangi mosque? The response of the Mlangi

³ Dzulkifli Hadi Imawan, "Pesantren Mlangi: Poros Spiritual Intelektual Islam Di Yogyakarta Abad XXVIII - XIX M," *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 19, no. 2 (2020): 225–46.

⁴ Nur Rokhim, "Tradisi Shalawat Ngelik Di Kampung Santri Mlangi, Sleman, Diy," *Tamaddun: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Sastra Islam* 20, no. 1 (2020): 15–28.

community is contradictory. Many people support and some are against.⁵ Arifin, 2015, reveals the patterns, strategies, and implications of kiai leadership on the thoughts and understanding of students about Islamic teachings. Arifin's research is a qualitative research that produces several findings. Among them are related to the typology of leadership and the ideology of the kyai, as well as the strategy of the ideology of the *santri* which has implications for the thoughts and understanding of the *santri* towards science and religion.⁶

The researches of Imawan, Rakhim, Azizah, and Arifin have each touched on and have their own focus on studying Mlangi. This paper is closer to Umi Azizah's writings, but has different specifications for revisiting the classic question of the Mlangi *jobo-jero* conflict, and has become a classic analysis of any study on the conflict in Mlangi. The current study of the Mlangi *jobo-jero* conflict is no longer relevant. However, this issue remains an entry point and an important thing to see about the conflict in Mlangi. The conflict that will be the focus of this research is the conflict that occurs between religious elites and the followers behind them. Herein lies the difference between this research and previous studies on Mlangi. This is also what the authors value as the authenticity of this research. However, various previous studies are very useful as data that enriches this research. Thus, the author focuses more on revealing: What are the causes of the operation of the religious elite conflict in Mlangi? How is the resolution of the religious elite conflict in Mlangi?

RESEARCH METHODS

This paper is the result of research that uses a qualitative approach with the type of case study research, an approach that produces analytical descriptive

⁵ Umi Azizah, "Masjid Pathok Negoro Mlangi: Respon Masyarakat Terhadap Renovasi Masjid 2012 M," *JUSPI: Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Indonesia* 1, no. 2 (2017): 212–22.

⁶ Zainal Arifin, "Kepemimpinan Kiai Dalam Ideologisasi Pemikiran Santri Di Pesantren-Pesantren Salafiyah Mlangi Yogyakarta," *Inferensi, Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 9, no. 2 (2015): 351–72.

data in the form of words, written or spoken from the people (subjects) themselves.⁷ This approach will be able to explain in depth the phenomenon about the causes of the operation of the religious elite conflict in Mlangi. This approach will also provide an opportunity to explore further the middle way as an effort to resolve conflicts between the religious elite in Mlangi. The presence of the author as a research instrument assisted by recording devices and data loggers is tasked with determining the focus of the research, selecting informants as data sources, collecting data, assessing data quality, analyzing data, interpreting data and making conclusions as research findings. about the conflict map of the religious elite and its resolution efforts.⁸ Source of data is done by snowball sampling (snowball). While the data collection is done by using the techniques of observation, interviews, and documentation.

Then the data that has been collected is verified by using data triangulation techniques, checking the validity of the data using something other than the data for checking purposes or as a comparison against the data.⁹ While data analysis using inductive analysis. A way of thinking to draw general conclusions from various personal phenomena.¹⁰ This technique is used to analyze the data obtained in the field, then connected with relevant theories to draw conclusions. The data analysis process is carried out by examining all available data sources from various sources, both from documentation, observation,

⁷ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 2002), p. 3, See too Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan, Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D*, (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2014), p. 15.

⁸ Sugiyono, *Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2008), p. 60

⁹ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Pendidikan, Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2011), p. 330.

¹⁰ Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research*, (Yogyakarta: Fak. Psikologi UGM, 1986), p. 4.

interviews that have been written in field notes, either as emic or ethical data, personal documents, official documents, pictures, photos, and so on.¹¹

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Reading the Causes of Conflict of the Religious Elite

After the death of *mbah* Nur Iman, Mlangi continues to grow with its dynamics. Various conflicts arise and sink marking the presence of development and renewal in the life of the village. Educational centers also sprung up along with the strengthening of the realization of the mission of preaching, until giving birth to eighteen Islamic boarding schools that adorn Mlangi.¹² It didn't stop there, eventually between the owners of the pesantren or the religious elites fighting for resources and influence. This is one of the causes of the emergence of religious elite conflicts. The following will describe the factors that trigger the religious elite conflict in Mlangi:

a. *Mbah* Nur Iman as a Symbol Building

¹¹M. Djunaidi Ghony and Fauzan Al Manshur, (2012), *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, p. 246

¹² Eighteen *pesantren* (*boarding schools*) are divided into 2 groups, including: 9 *pesantren* (*boarding schools*) are included in the Nur Iman foundation, which includes (1) PP. Al Miftah was raised by Kyai Sirrudin and continued by KH. Munahar, (2) PP. Al Falahiyah which was raised by KH. Zamrudin and continued by Nyai Hj. Zamrudin, (3) PP. Al Huda was raised by KH. Muchtar Dawam, (4) PP. As Salimiyyah raised by KH. Salimi, (5) PP. An Nasyath was raised by KH. Sami'an, (6) PP Aswaja Nusantara, (7) PP al Mahbubiyah, (8) PP Falahussyabab, (9) PP. East Mlangi was raised by KH. Wafirudin and continued by Nyai Hj. Wafirudin. As for the boarding school that were established outside the Nur Iman foundation, they were (1) PP As Salafiyyah which was raised by Kyai Masduqi and continued by KH. Suja'i Masduqi, (2) PP. Hujjatul Islam was raised by KH. Qothrul Aziz, (3) PP. Ar Risalah who was raised by KH. Abdullah, (4) PP. Hidayatul Muqtadin who was raised by KH. Nur Iman Muqim, (5) PP Al-Qur'an, (6) PP Darussalam, (7) PP al-Ikhlash led by KH Bahaudin, (8) PP al-Furqon led by KH Imanuddin, (9) PP Atbau Salaf. With the existence of so many *pesantren*, it is not surprising that Mlangi hamlet is referred to as a *santri* area.

According to an oral story¹³ that developed in the Mlangi community, *mbah* Nur Iman was a descendant of the royal court during the Kartasura Islamic Mataram period. His real name is Raden Sandiyo. He is considered the founder of Mlangi Hamlet. *mbah* Nur Iman is a person who still has a relative relationship with the *Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat* Palace.

There are many versions of the story about the actual form of relationship between *mbah* Nur Iman and the Keraton family. Some say that Mlangi was originally an area belonging to the Yogyakarta Sultanate Palace which was granted to *mbah* Nur Iman and her descendants. According to the family tree, *Mbah* Nur Iman is the half-brother (other mother) of Sultan Hamengkubuwono I who holds the title Pangeran Hangabehi Sandiyo, also known as BPH. Sandiyo.

There are also those who say that in fact *mbah* Nur Iman is an uwa or the older brother of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwana X's parents. There is also a story that describes that *Mbah* Nur Iman is actually the person who should hold the throne of the palace. However, because Kyai Nur Iman did not want it. He decided to leave the palace and open a hamlet which later became the Mlangi hamlet, as it is known today.

There is another version that says, *mbah* Nur Iman did leave the palace. With the reason, he could not stand the palace life which was full of intrigue to fight for power. Together with two of his servants, Sarwi and Nusi, Raden Sandiyo traveled to the west of the capital (now Yogyakarta) to spread

¹³ The full story can be seen in Siti Marmiyati's undergraduate thesis, "Sastra Lisan Dalam Tradisi Acara Haul Kiai Karto", 1998 (unpublished). See also, "Sejarah *Mbah* Nur Iman" Pujo (no year).

the Islamic religion he had acquired at the pesantren. In this area, he obtained fief land. On that land he founded a *pamulangan* (where people recite/study Islam) until the end of his life. From the story, we can briefly understand the role of the character. He decided to start preaching and eventually opened a hamlet. Since the hamlet started with mulagi or teaching activities, the hamlet was named Mlangi hamlet.

In another version, there are also those who say that BPH. Sandiyo did intend to go out of the Sultanate to preach. Until finally BPH. Sandiyo settled in East Java and developed a pesantren there. However, at the request of Sultan Hamengkubuwono I, BPH. Sandiyo was willing to return to the Sultanate. To appreciate it, Sultan Hamengkubuwono I gave BPH. Sandiyo and his descendants several plots of land with the mission of religious development. These lands are located at the four corner points of the Yogyakarta Sultanate, which is called the *pathok negara*.¹⁴

The same thing from all versions only in the story, that *mbah* Nur Iman who is considered the founder of the Mlangi hamlet and *mbah* Nur Iman have close relations with the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace. As a result, *mbah* Nur Iman is believed to be a descendant of nobility and nobility. The story has not been proven to be true and indeed there is not enough evidence to substantiate its position. For the Mlangi community, being a descendant of *mbah* Nur Iman is seen as a blessing, with that status they feel they have special rights, such as being the leader of an organization or being called a *raden*.¹⁵ However, the oral story does not explain who really *mbah* Nur Iman is. Is *mbah* Nur Iman Raden Sandiyo or someone else? Because the story does not reveal since when Raden Sandiyo changed his name to Nur Iman and the history of *mbah* Nur Iman has passed for several centuries.

¹⁴ Interview with Mr. Sri Pujo October 17, 2015

¹⁵ Mochamad Sodik, "Etos Kerja Dan Dinamika Umat" dalam *jurnal penelitian agama* No.19 Th. VII Mei-Agustus 1998

For the people of the Mlangi hamlet, the truth of history does not seem to matter. The story was developed not for the sake of straightening history itself, but for "something" more specific related to the effort to reaffirm the existence as a wayah son. This is reinforced by the publication of an oral story book which was carried out just before the implementation of the first haul¹⁶ of *mbah* Nur Iman (1990) by one of his descendants. For the Javanese, the tradition of commemorating someone's death has existed since Hindu-Buddhist times.¹⁷ In this tradition, the family left behind usually carries out an activity known as a *slametan*.¹⁸ Within that framework, *haul* with all its underlying motives is carried out after several centuries of death.

Most of the Mlangi community, *mbah* Nur Iman is the center of origin linkage. In the interviews we conducted around September - October 2015. Most of the informants placed this figure as the origin of the Mlangi hamlet community. He is considered the founder of Mlangi Hamlet. His role is very

¹⁶Haul in this sense is a memorial service for someone's death. Usually done one year after his death. This activity continues every following year. This tradition is carried out continuously to explore and reinterpret the hopes and aspirations of the people who carry it out. The meaning of haul in Sunendar, Dadang, Dkk, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI)*, 2020, <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri>. Compared with Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto, *Memelihara Umat: Kiai Pesantren-Kiai Langgar di Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS,1999), p. 98-101 and Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya*, cet. Ke-3, (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama; 2005)

¹⁷ See to Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java*, (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 11-86; Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, (Jakarta: PT Rineka Cipta, 1984); Niels Mulder, *Mistisisme Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001), p. 136-137; Sutiyono, *Poros Kebudayaan Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2018), 41-81

¹⁸*Slametan* is the Javanese version of what is called the most common ceremony in the world. It symbolizes the mystical and social unity of those who participate in it. For the Javanese, this ceremony is the essence of the daily life of the Javanese. The discussion of *slametan* as an abangan tradition can be seen in *Religion of Java* (Geertz, 1960). *Slametan* as a religious tradition of jawi (kejawen and Islamic *Santri*) see, *Kebudayaan Jawa* (Koentjaraningrat, 1982) and *Slametan* as part of the daily life of Javanese people see *Mistisisme Jawa*, (Mulder, 1984).

prominent and has made the "social imagination" of the Mlangi people always rely on these figures. This sequence of stories and the majesty of *mbah* Nur Iman caused the construction of the symbol building which caused social conflict between *jobo -jero*.

It seems that there is not one of them who does not want to be said to be not the son of *wayah* (children). Being the son of *wayah* seems to have special rights, when compared to those who are not included in it. Therefore, almost all interviewees claimed to be the son of *wayah* of this figure. This tendency to attach family identity to individuals as descendants of *mbah* Nur Iman has led to the emergence of defenses among the Mlangi community into two groups of people, namely Mlangi *Jero* (Inside) and Mlangi *Jobo* (Outer). The impact of this separation is felt in the socio-religious and economic spheres such as the pattern of division of roles among them, the model of marriage, division of labor, and so on.

b. Mlangi *Jobo* and Mlangi *Jero* : Struggle for Social Position

According to the story, *mbah* Nur Iman is the figure who started the Mlangi community split into two social categories, namely Mlangi *Jero* and Mlangi *jobo*.¹⁹ The pride of the *Jero* people to be one of the descendants of *mbah* Nur Iman has not faded at all. Meanwhile, the Mlangi people who are not descendants of *Mbah* Nur Iman or Mlangi *Jaba* are less respected. This is influenced by the difference in social status between the two which ultimately refers to the difference in treatment that affects their relationship. The Mlangi *Jobo* community is looked down upon and is often not considered to exist. They become a marginalized or marginalized society. In the context of Mlangi, Mlangi *Jobo* are administratively still listed as Mlangi residents, but in the implementation of their daily socio-political and cultural life, they are

¹⁹In addition to using the terms Mlangi *Jobo* and Mlangi *Jero* to identify those who are descendants of *mbah* Nur Iman and not, the terms Mlangi *Lor* (North) and Mlangi *Kidul* (South) are also used.

not considered. The people of Mlangi *Jero* and *Jobo* tend to have separate lives.

Interaction of these two groups is very rare. According to a confession from one of the Mlangi *Jobo* people. The interaction between Mlangi *Jero* and Mlangi *Jobo* is different when they are inside and outside the Mlangi hamlet environment.²⁰ While outside Mlangi, both Mlangi *Jero* and Mlangi *Jobo* still behaved and behaved like other Yogyakarta people. They greet each other as *Yu, Mbak, Mas, Lek, Kang* and so on. It's a different story when they enter the Mlangi hamlet area, the *Jobo* and *Jero* dichotomy will be seen again. *Jobo* people are called 'small people', while *Jero* people are 'big people'. In responding to it, the people of Mlangi *Jobo* seem to have gotten used to it. *Jobo* people are very inferior to their status. They know themselves that they are considered stupid, stupid, and poor. Some sources even said that if the *Jero* people are blue blooded, then for them, the *Jobo* people are only black blooded.

The *Jobo-Jero* election manifested itself in the form of a geographic election. The Mlangi *Jobo* people mostly live in the northern part, while the Mlangi *Jero* people mostly live in the southern part. This choice has further implications. In the social order, the Mlangi *Jobo* people must use the Kromo language towards the *Jero* Mlangi people. Meanwhile, the Mlangi *Jero* people only use the ngoko language towards the Mlangi *Jobo* people. Call usage is also different. On the one hand, if a Mlangi *Jobo* person wants to greet a *Jero* Mlangi person, then he must use the nickname Gus or Raden (Den) for those who are not married, mas nganten for those who are married.

²⁰ Interview with Pak Nurudin, Head of RT 8 on 28 May 2013.

On the other hand, the *Jero* people only use the words *lek* or *yu* against the *Jobo* people. This distinction also applies to the division of labor. In business, the Mlangi *Jero* are more likely to be employers. Rarely do they want to become laborers for the Mlangi *Jobo* people. On the other hand, the Mlangi *Jobo* people are mostly laborers.

This lineage distinction also affects a person's social status in the Mlangi community structure. This is very visible in the Jami 'Mlangi mosque in the past. In the past, when this identity became a strong symbol and identity in Mlangi, people from the descendants of *mbah* Nur Iman could choose the front row. Meanwhile, people who belong to the Mlangi *jobo* group, consciously choose the more backward line. Even if there are Mlangi *jobo* people who try to sit in the front row, then he will receive glares from the deep Mlangi people. A story like that told by one of the younger generation of Mlangi, Haithami may be able to explain this:

"One month of Ramadan. As is the custom of the Mlangi, in this month of Ramadan there is also a Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an (Al-Qur'an Reading Contest). Incidentally, at this time the MTQ who won first place was Haithami. As is customary, MTQ 1st place winner must be asked to read the Qur'an at the opening of the Nuzul Qur'an event. Haithami feels proud to have this assignment. Why not, by appearing as a reader of the Qur'an on the night of Nuzul Qur'an, it means that all Mlangi people recognize his greatness. That pride vanished when he got a story from his father that Mlangi's elder was angry that night. "Are there no Mlangi people who can read the Qur'an anymore," said his father repeating the elder's words."²¹

In their social and political life, the *Jobo* people were never involved in village deliberations. For example, the deliberation for mosque construction and the establishment of the Village Representative Body (BPD). Mlangi *Jobo*'s absence did not significantly affect the outcome of the deliberation. This is because the people of Mlangi *Jobo* never have an opinion.

²¹ Interview with Haithami El-Jaid, October 2, 2015

Remembering, apart from being unable to express his opinion, Mlangi *Jobo* is also afraid to express it. *Jobo* people can understand marginalization a little. They admit, there is indeed a significant difference between *Jero* and *Jobo* in scientific matters.

As stated by Muis,²² a young man from the 60's generation, being a descendant of *Mbah* Nur Iman does not mean gaining social status benefits, therefore he is privileged in the social structure of the Mlangi community. For him, the meaning of being a descendant of *Mbah* Nur Iman is as an encouragement to always maintain public morals. Not the other way around, enjoying privileges as a *Jero* and seeing *Jobo* as someone else who is outside the Mlangi community structure itself.

Their role in the life of the Mlangi community does not seem to mean anything if they do not have an origin link with *mbah* Nur Iman. Every effort, either through economic or institutional means, is always aimed at gaining recognition for their special status. In this sense, someone for reasons of marriage, religious affiliation and political organization different from those of the Mlangi *Jero* people is not considered a *Jero*. Marriage is always placed within the framework of the *jobo-jero* social dichotomy. The Mlangi *Jero* people do not want to marry off their children to the Mlangi *Jobo* people. Apart from that, they are more willing to accept immigrant *Jobo* people to be married to their children.

The struggle for interests over who actually has the right to represent the Mlangi hamlet community has resulted in social tensions between them.

²² Interview with the Yong Mlangi man, Muis, October 2015

Jero people feel that he has the most right about it. With all the efforts shown, for example, establishing a batik cooperative, becoming a t-shirt entrepreneur, leader of a pesantren, leader of political parties and so on. The "consciousness" feels that they have the most right because of their origins as wayah's sons. Therefore, the right to obtain privileges in the socio-religious, economic and political fields is the basis of their activities.

Joba-Jero tensions can sometimes be replaced by tensions between one particular political party and another. The tension can also arise from the rivalry between Muhammadiyah and NU people. Tensions can also be born from social institutions to other social institutions. *Jobo* people, no matter how rich they are, are still considered as outsiders who have to prioritize the position of the *Jero* people. Pak Muin's case is an example of this. For the *Jero* people, not living simply doesn't matter as long as there is pride as a wayah's son. This position cannot be contested and replaced. That is why, when this position tends to dim, there is a desire to remind others (*Jobo*) that *Jero* is a Mlangi community today.

c. Changes in regional administration and social structure

In a more modern life, administratively the Mlangi area, Ledok is not included in the Mlangi area. Ledok entered the sub-village of Sawahan. Indeed, there is no clear boundary between Mlangi and Sawahan hamlets. However, administratively, the two regions are indeed separate. People living in the Sawahan area and directly adjacent to the Mlangi hamlet still feel that they are residents of the Mlangi hamlet area, according to their initial conditions. Meanwhile, the area of Blendangan or Mlangi RT 8 by the *Jero* people is often not recognized as part of Mlangi. The people of Blendangan

are only seen as claiming to be Mlangi people.²³ Although, administratively, Blendangan is included in the Mlangi area.

This change was the fault of the formal government institutions in power in the Mlangi area, especially the Village Head.²⁴ They divide the territory regardless of their cultural background. As a result, there is a problem with the citizenship status. Blendangan which from the beginning was not part of Mlangi became part of Mlangi. Meanwhile, Mlangi Ledok, which was originally part of Mlangi, was not included in the Mlangi area.

Problems also arise as a result of the administrative error, the Mlangi community cannot accept this in its entirety. As a result, the Mlangi community, especially the *Jero* community, could not have close relations with people who were not Mlangi residents. So that administratively Mlangi, makes the Mlangi region divided, so that many Mlangi people do not know at all with fellow Mlangi residents. So that the distance between the Mlangi people is getting further and it is increasingly difficult to blend in with each other.

Changes in the geographical map of the area have serious implications for the existence of the Mlangi community in general. About 10 hectares of the Sawahan area which is located along the North - South east of the Mlangi hamlet has been developed. On top of the former rice fields in the Mlangi hamlet, a new housing estate has been built, most of which are immigrants from outside the region and are non-Muslim. Of course, this is a problem for

²³ Interview with Mrs. Hajjah Zahrona in September 2015

²⁴ Interview with Gus Mustafid in August 2015

the Mlangi people. Usually they together reject the immigrants who come from various social circles and religious groups.

The reasons that are often put forward by Mlangi people can be seen from the following 2 factors: first, geographical factors, the Sawahan area is actually included in the administration of the Nogotirto kelurahan from a different hamlet. Secondly, including the Sawahan area as part of the administration of the Mlangi hamlet not only brings socio-cultural implications, but the "special" position of Mlangi is blurred, moreover it is feared that it will bring excesses of the "purity" of the area. In general, this is a general impact of the establishment of new housing estates around the 1980s in the Yogyakarta area which has raised its own problem.

d. *Haul*: The Intersection of Religion, Economics, and Local Elite Politics

Haul as a religious tradition is generally carried out to commemorate the role of a (religious) figure, in order to take advantage of stories about their past figures to guard the ideals of life in the future. In *haul* there is always a tradition of reading life history (*manaqib*), disclosure of the merits and role of the character in his lifetime.

This idea first came from *Jobo* people (people who are considered not descendants of *mbah* Nur Iman) (1987), namely KH. Daldiri. As a *Jobo*, his ideas were not immediately accepted. The Mlangi community only accepted this idea after an appeal from *mbah* Mad Watucongol, Muntilan, who is actually a descendant of the fourth generation, *mbah* Nur Iman. As stated by Mr. Munir, after *mbah* Mad Watucongol's visit to the Jami' Mlangi Mosque (1989), he suggested: "if the Mlangi people carry out the haul, God willing, the Mlangi people will prosper". *mbah* Mad's suggestion received a positive response considering that in those years the Mlangi community was experiencing a severe economic downturn due to the defeat of economic

competition with batik printing entrepreneurs and the state's monopolistic tendency towards the batik marketing area.

Since 1990, the commemoration of the first haul of *mbah* Nur Iman has been started. There is no adequate information on when *mbah* Nur Iman died. If asked one by one, the Mlangi people, none of them know exactly when this figure died. However, for the haul itself they agreed to be held every 15th of *Suro* (Javanese year; 15th of Muharram in the Hijri month). There is also no official explanation as to why the date was taken as the day the haul was carried out. It can be assumed that the determination of the 15th of *Suro*²⁵ is related to the mystical view of the Javanese which states that the first month in the Javanese (also Islamic) calendar is full of virtues. For the Javanese, this month is considered as the place of revelation. The most appropriate time to ask for intentions and prayers, and is believed to be an opportunity to communicate with the ancestors.

Preparations for the implementation of the haul of *mbah* Nur Iman were carried out, as if they were a series with the haul itself. Generally, local people who know the character well are willing to donate anything, ranging

²⁵ The determination of this date is closely related to the symbolic actions of the Javanese, the *petangan*. What is meant by symbolic actions here is related to the science of *petanga* (numerological system) adopted by the Javanese. In general, Javanese people really like to do mystical calculations. This relates to the view that all actions taken, if not based on careful calculations, are full of risks. That is why, in many Javanese religious rites, *Petangan* science, as the basis of reference for taking action, Javanese people are very concerned with good and bad days for an action. When a *slametan* ceremony (not all *slametan* ceremonies use traditional knowledge such as the death *slametan* and religious ceremonies related to the Javanese calendar) is usually determined based on careful calculations. An adequate discussion regarding *petangan* can be seen, for example, *Kebudayaan Jawa* (Koentjaraningrat: 1984) and *Religion of Java* (Clifford Geertz: 1960).

from just drinking water, even some food to facilitate all the congregation who attended the commemoration. The Haul ceremony begins with a pilgrimage to the grave of *Mbah Nur Iman*. People who attended flocked to the tomb to read short letters, *tahlil*, and pray. They come from all walks of life from all over Yogyakarta, even areas that were once considered a stopover for this figure, such as Temanggung, Magelang, and even some coastal areas of Java, such as Kendal and Semarang. The arrival of pilgrims at the haul event is interpreted in terms of the Javanese cosmological view, namely respecting ancestors. In Javanese cosmology, the ancestors became a kind of center for linking the origins of society.

The highlight of this haul event began with the reading of the holy verses of the Qur'an, the committee's remarks, remarks from one of the representatives of wayah's sons, reading of history (*manakib*), *tahlil*, and general recitation by a *kiai* who was specially invited to fill this recitation. The event closed with a prayer by one of the elders who was asked for it. As a political event, the haul for the family and community of Mlangi *Jero* is an attempt to reaffirm their role in social and religious life. It can be shown here that the socio-religious role of the Mlangi *Jero* people, such as being a preacher for Friday prayers, the leader of a political party even at the branch level, an organizational leader (NU), being a teacher of the Koran, the head of a village, and so on.

The conflict in Mlangi Hamlet, where haul is one of the mediums, is more reflective of the efforts made by the *Jero* people to maintain their socio-religious role as a result of two tendencies with all their implications, namely the economic decline and the dimming social position of the *Jero* people. *Jero* people in this case can enjoy social, economic, political, cultural and religious status. While being a *Jobo* means being someone else who must respect and always be a loyal servant of the interests of the *Jero* people. In

this context, haul has become a new medium for efforts to maintain the authority and role of the *Jero* people who are constantly being challenged. These two trends not only affect the joints of their economic life, but also affect the awareness of the Mlangi community. Social differences or the *Jero-Jobo* dichotomy with all its variants are no longer relevant as their social identification model.

As a fairly large activity, when viewed from the preparation, planning and implementation of the haul for the *Jero* people, it is an important effort to prove that their presence in the Mlangi community and the people of Yogyakarta in general has not faded away. In the haul, Mlangi shows the strength and power between internal individuals in the world of politics. This was shown during the 2015 haul, one of the committee or ahlul bait invited a candidate for regent of Sleman who was supported by a member of the ahlul bait family, but another family member did not support one of the candidates for regent. Before the candidate for regent who was still serving as regent arrived at the seats provided, he was asked by some of the committee to go home. Finally, the candidate for regent came home. Here, haul becomes a parameter of a person's character and influence in one area over another. The presence of the congregation from all directions, on the one hand, does not merely show the extent of *mbah* Nur Iman's influence on society in general.

e. Educational institutions: The scramble for access to information, resources, and sources of funds

The number of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in Mlangi is quite large, approximately 18 *pesantren*. In the last 3 years, some of these *pesantren*

have joined the Nur Iman foundation,²⁶ nine Islamic boarding schools, and the rest have not joined. Each pesantren certainly has different characteristics, although the pesantren in Mlangi agree on the virtue of mastering religious knowledge that can be accounted for both materially and the origin and source of the recipient. Without intending to abandon worldly knowledge, Islamic boarding schools in Mlangi continue to develop patterns of religion-based education in accordance with the revolution of civilization. However, most *pesantren* are salafi pesantren which make the yellow book (*turats*) their main study.

In accordance with the dichotomy adopted by Mlangi, his Islamic boarding schools were spread around the Jami' Mosque (*Jero* area). Inside the complex is the tomb of *mbah* Nur Iman and her family. *Pesantrens* also exist outside the Jami' Mosque area (*Jobo* area), meaning that the pesantren caregivers on average come from the descendants of *mbah* Nur Iman. Even so, between Islamic boarding schools can compete for students, access to information, resources, and sources of funds.

The scramble for students can occur up to the *santri* base of each *pesantren*. For example, the al Miftah *santri* base mostly comes from Cilacap, but the caretakers of the Salafiyah *pesantren* are invited to the Cilacap area, so the al Miftah students will certainly not be able to accept the presence of the Salafiyah *pesantren* caregivers.²⁷ This will result in conflict at the *pesantren* base level. In addition to the struggle for influence and students, they often

²⁶ In the last ten years, the Nur Iman foundation has been established, almost half of the Islamic boarding schools in Mlangi are members of the foundation. This further adds to the array of conflict-triggering factors. Although at first the foundation tried to bring together Islamic boarding schools under the banner of the Nur Iman foundation. In addition, the foundation strives to be a forum for potential Mlangi youth. After they study from various directions. From the foundation also established secondary schools, named MTs Nur Iman and Madrasah Aliyah (MA) Nur Iman. Whereas in Mlangi itself there is already the same level of schooling. Thus, fighting over access to human resources, information, students and sources of funds can no longer be dammed.

²⁷ Interview with KH. Jalis, October 2015

compete for sources of funds for the sustainability of the *pesantren*. For example, the Salafiyah *pesantren* after the arrival of government guests, *mbak* Tutut Suharto, not long after the inauguration of the flat (*rusun*) under the name of the Salafiyah *pesantren*, there will be a lot of gossip related to the flat. This of course caused jealousy among *pesantren*, even though in reality the flats were built at the expense or dues of the Salafiyah *pesantren* family.²⁸

There was an open conflict between *pesantren*, when the Mlangi hamlet held a traveling takbir competition on the night of Eid al-Adha 2014 between *pesantren*. In the traveling *takbir* competition, there are contestants who carry the theme of religious plurality. According to the theme chosen by the contestants, the contestants will carry religious attributes and symbols, such as crosses, moon, stars, etc. Incidentally, the contestants who carried the theme of plurality became the best winners among the participants. The next day, the hamlet that was said to have been founded by *mbah* Nur Iman was crowded. The students from one of the *pesantren* who took part in the contest were apostatized, and were asked by local leaders and communities to repent and commit the creed again.²⁹ Even the *santri* were advised to be expelled from the *pesantren*. Even the protests were carried out by means of vandalism or doodles on the streets and fence walls with anti-JIL (*Jaringan Islam Liberal*; Liberal Islam Network) writings.

f. Livelihood differences: reading from economic sources

²⁸ Interview with KH. Hasan, October 2015, strengthens the opinion of KH. Jalis.

²⁹ Interview with Mrs. Nyai Hasan, Oktober 2015

In one area, of course, the complexity of the profession becomes natural in an effort to meet each other's needs. The majority of the Mlangi *Jero* community work as batik printing convection entrepreneurs. The Mlangi convection is relatively well known to other areas.³⁰ Unfortunately, this Mlangi batik convection does not create Mlangi batik ornaments which will be able to open up business opportunities for Mlangi souvenirs.³¹

Unlike the *Jero* people, the Mlangi *Jaba* are mostly farmers, both cultivators and laborers. The *Jaba* community itself is also very supportive of their livelihood. There are many rice fields where irrigation sources are not difficult around their homes. However, land used for farming can be rented out because most of the privately owned land has already been sold.³² In addition to the agricultural sector, there are also *Jaba* communities who have fishing businesses, although not many. The fishery itself is also not big, only a few small ponds (ponds). According to Mr. Nurudin himself, fishing is usually used as a side activity. Even so the results can also meet the needs of the family. Outside of *Jaba-Jero*, there are also some who become local bureaucrats such as sub-districts and sub-districts. However, in general the economic differences are not so contrasting. Some *Jero* people seem to live in simple houses. Even from the *Jaba* circles, there are also wealthy figures who are recognized as the main contributors to the construction of the Blendangan mosque.

g. Wayang vis a vis *Qosidah*: negotiation of cultural and religious values

The arts that develop in Mlangi are arts that are considered Islamic art. Among them are *Qasidahan*, *Kojan Rodat* and *Gladen*. *Kojan Rodat* is sung

³⁰ Interview with Mr and Mrs Bakir in August 2015

³¹ M. Jadul Maula et al, also explained about the livelihoods of the Mlangi *Jero* community as wholesale batik traders. M. Jadul Maula, eds., Ngesuhi Deso Sak Kukuban : Lokalitas, Pluralisme, Modal Sosial Demokrasi, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002,

³² Interview with the head of RT 8 Blendangan in August 2015

by young people, while *Gladen* is sung by older people. Actually, these *kojan Rodat* and *Gladen* cannot be said to be art, but are more of a ritual ceremony because there are more ritual elements than artistic elements. Meanwhile, Javanese arts such as *wayang* and *kethoprak* did not develop here. The reason why the two arts that are very much loved by the Javanese are not developing, because here there is an assumption that this art is not Islamic. This reasoning was confirmed by all interviewed respondents. Moreover, there is an impression that every time there is a *wayang* or *kethoprak*, it must be accompanied by immoral acts, such as drinking and gambling.

Indeed, they admit that the *wayang* itself contains a lot of noble values as taught by Islam. That's only natural, because according to H. Abdullah, *wayang* is the creation of the *Walisongo*. While *ketoprak*, there is no lesson learned from there. That's why the Mlangi people don't appreciate this art at all.³³

2. Between Integration and Resistance: Finding the Middle Way

Conflicts at various levels have given rise to a pessimistic attitude from some Mlangi people, that conflicts can be resolved, because there is a tendency that every new social institution that appears in Mlangi always brings new interests, at least interpreted as by those who were not involved in the creation of the institution. The clearest example is the *Majlis Mujahadah* (joint prayer assembly). This is different from the *majlis haul* which displays the NU flag and is controlled by the deep-rooted people in carrying it out. *Majlis Mujahadah* tries to appear neutral, but it is undeniable that this *majlis* was born as a reaction to the *haul* and is related to the exclusion of someone

³³ Interview with H. Abdullah in Mlangi on 27 October 2015

from the Mlangi elite. If explored more deeply, there is still an opportunity for the Mlangi community to reach a middle ground in conflict resolution efforts, including:

a. The development of the times and the fading of the symbol building

In recent developments, in some aspects it appears that the *Jero-Jobo* discourse is starting to fade. For example, in terms of differences in the use of language and greetings, it is almost no longer found. According to information from several informants, such developments began to occur in the 1970s. This development may be related to the increase in education, both among *Jero* people and *Jobo* people. The interesting thing about this *Jero-Jobo* discourse, it seems that there is an effort from everyone to be recognized as a *Jero* person, meaning that they are recognized as part of the descendants of *mbah* Nur Iman. Even people belonging to *Jobo* tried to associate themselves with *mbah* Nur Iman. This is not surprising because the association with *mbah* Nur Iman in Mlangi brings many things: social prestige, economic benefits, as well as spiritual security.

In everyday life, for example, the nicknames for Mlangi *Jero* people such as *mas*, *den* (*raden*) and *mas nganten* have started to change. The *Jero* and *Jobo* people also began to work together in several social and political institutions, such as NU and PKB. It's just that for activities that are initiatives from the Mlangi community, such as the Mlangi *Nahdlatul Ulama Santri Association* (ISNU) and the *Nahdlatul Ulama Great Family Association* (IKBNU), the *Jero* people still see dominance. In both institutions, there is not a single Mlangi *Jobo* person who sits as an administrator.

In addition, at first, the respect that the *Jobo* people gave to the *Jero* was high. At that time, the *Jobo* people paid tribute to the *Jero* people like the

respect given by ordinary people to the nobility in the royal era. It is said that when they talk to small children, they also have to use Javanese manners.³⁴ Now the respect in the form of language is still being carried out, although only by one or two residents. The fading of the *Jobo* people's respect for the *Jero* people is due to the times.

The tendency of the *Jero* Mlangi people not to want to be under the *Jobo* Mlangi people also applies in many other ways. But at this time the trend is not too strong anymore, although it is still there. For example in organizational management. In Ansor (one of the autonomous youth bodies of NU), the management is mostly held by Mlangi *Jobo* people, here there are no Mlangi *Jero* people who are actively involved. They prefer to establish their own organization called the Nahdlatul Ulama Great Family Association (IKBNU). All of the administrators are *Jero* Mlangi people. Meanwhile, in NU, most of the top executives are deep-seated people. In this case, the *Jero* is more active. On the other hand, *Jobo* people are not at all active.

b. Mixed marriage

The increasing number of marriages that occur between the Mlangi *Jero* community and people from outside the Mlangi hamlet, which results in many immigrants so that the culture is fading. In the past, there was no marriage between Mlangi *Jero* and Mlangi *Jobo*. Currently, along with the times and education, this discriminatory tradition is starting to fade. There is already Mlangi *Jero* who married his son to Mlangi *Jobo*. But still very little. This only happens to Mlangi *Jero* residents who live in the RT (Rukun Tetangga) area which borders the RT where Mlangi *Jobo* residents live. For

³⁴ Interview with Mrs. Hajjah Zahrona in September 2015

Mlangi *Jero* residents who live in RT 1, 2, and 3 areas, there have not been many marriages involving Mlangi *Jero* and *Jobo* residents. Between *Jobo-Jero* occasionally there is still a small commotion. Usually triggered by trivial problems, such as children fighting over a kite, one of the residents driving his motorbike on the road and so on.³⁵ Usually this problem will spread to become a problem between adults. In this case, the *Jobo* residents admitted that they did not want to enlarge the problem and chose to give in.

c. Equality of origin (descendants) and government intervention

Recent developments that attract the Mlangi *Jobo* people claim to find a tomb that is older than the tomb of kiai Nur Iman. The discovery of this meal began with the dream of a kiai who happened to be part of the *Jobo* group. According to them, the tomb is the tomb of Ki Ageng Mondokoro, another name for Ki Juru Mertani, one of *Panembahan* Senopati's advisors, as well as his uncle. Judging from this reference, it is clear that the *Jobo* people want to claim that in terms of ancestry, they are actually much older. Now the *Jobo* people have succeeded in building the tomb complex. Even more magnificent than the tomb complex of *mbah* Nur Iman. Reportedly, the construction of the tomb complex received assistance from the palace. With the help of the palace, the *Jobo* people can show the *Jero* people that they also have legitimacy.

d. Enemy together and independence

Another pessimistic attitude related to the image of the Mlangi village as a unique society. In the midst of the strong current of globalization, none of the Mlangi people can be considered as citizens who can maintain their image as a religious society, independent, and resistant to outside intervention. This image may be rejected by some Mlangi people, but there is still

³⁵ Interview with Mr. Nurudin, 28 August 2015

something to be proud of from the Mlangi community, regarding its independence and resistance to outside interference.

This independence is shown by their creativity to escape from every economic crisis that befell the Mlangi community. For example, when the traditional batik business fell because they could not compete with batik printing in 1988, they could easily get out of the crisis by switching to a convection business. The same applies to the monetary crisis that has hit almost all Indonesians since 1997. For the Mlangi, the crisis is not felt so much. Regarding resistance to outside interference, the Mlangi are quite prominent, especially resistance to state interference. Events that occurred before the 1997 general election can be used as evidence. At that time, *mbak* Tutut along with several ministers came to visit Mlangi. Usually, visits by officials, especially from the center, must be followed up with great fanfare and with extraordinary preparations from the people who have guests.

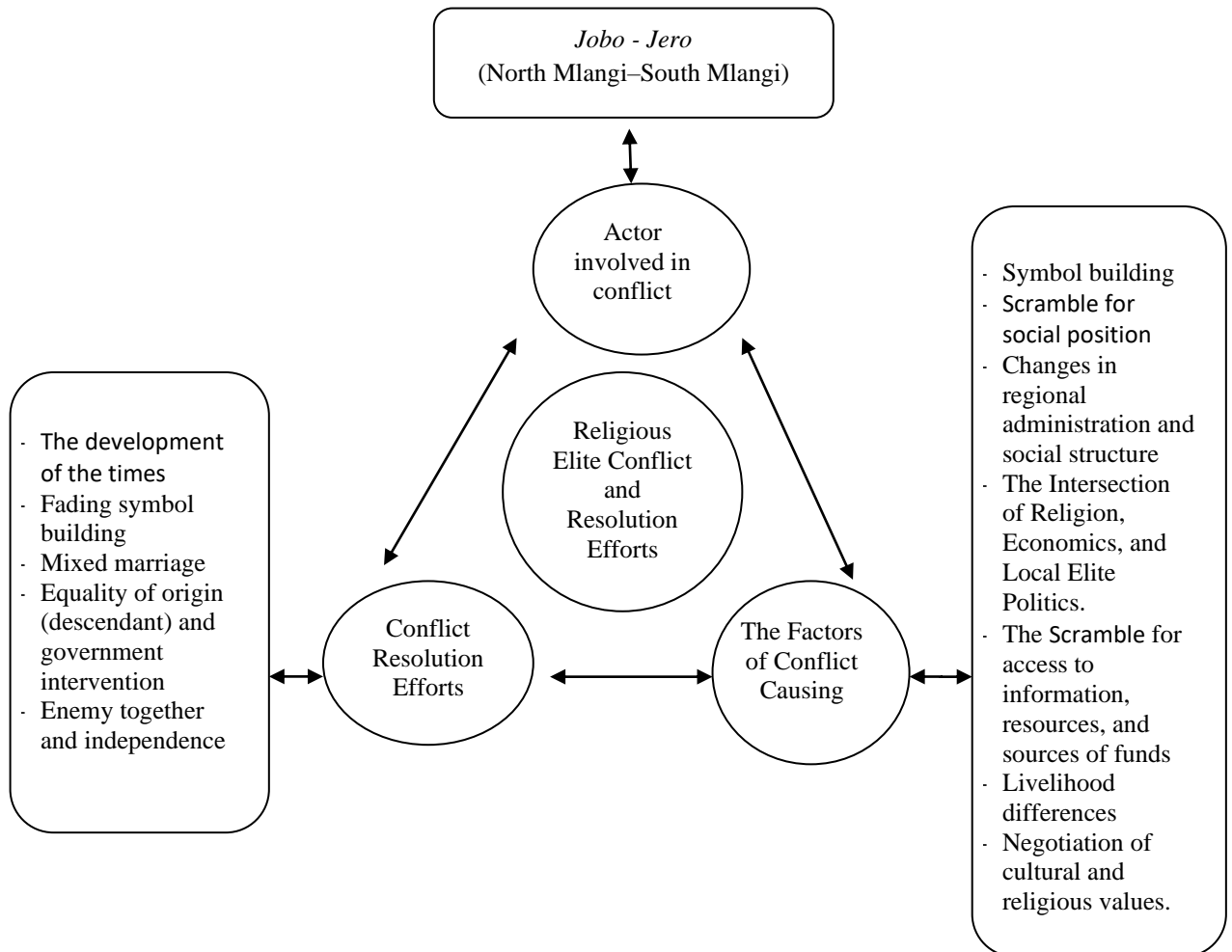
The Mlangi community rejects the plurality that exists in their society, even though in reality the Mlangi community is indeed plural. In terms of religion, in Mlangi there are NU Islam and Muhammadiyah Islam, as well as non-Muslims. In terms of party affiliation, it is also very diverse. This refusal is proven by their efforts to exclude each other. They themselves always echo that the Mlangi are one hundred percent Muslim, even though there are non-Muslims living in their geographical area. For example, non-Muslims who live in housing complexes. According to them, non-Muslims are not part of the Mlangi community. Non-Muslims enter other areas. In fact, if you trace the origin of the land that was built into the housing complex, the land used to be a crooked land belonging to the Mlangi hamlet.

The plurality of the Mlangi society manifested in the form of *Jero-Jobo*, Muhammadiyah-NU and political parties is only a medium for conflict articulation, not the cause of conflict. The real cause of conflict is the struggle for influence (power), perhaps also economic interests. This conflict is difficult to resolve completely, because every time a new social institution emerges it should be a medium for community integration, but it is always interpreted from the point of view of the interests of the struggle for influence, not as a catalyst for conflict. Even so, there is always an opportunity for the Mlangi community to get out of the conflict cycle, as long as they share common challenges. The most effective common challenge in the case of the Mlangi community is external intervention, for example state intervention.

These significant challenges for the people in Mlangi can be overcome by their readiness to jointly build Mlangi without considering their origins and opening themselves up to migrants to participate. A reasonable expectation can be placed on the educated young generation (both *Jobo* and *Jero*) to overcome various problems that cause conflict. Of course, this will bring logical consequences to the redefinition of the *Jobo-Jero* identity (North Mlangi–South Mlangi) before the escalation of tension between the two groups "politically".

The map and efforts to resolve conflicts between religious elites in the description can be schematized as follows:

Picture 1: Scheme the Map of the Religious Elite Conflict and Resolution Efforts



CONCLUSION

The problem Map of the religious elite conflict and the resolution efforts that occurred in Mlangi illustrates that the religious elite conflict occurs due to

several factors which include the existence of a symbol building that is glorified by the local community, the struggle for social position between the *Jero* and *Jobo* communities, changes in regional administration and social structure, the intersection between religion, economy, and local elite politics, the struggle for access to information, resources, and sources of funds, differences in livelihoods, and the emergence of negotiations on religious and cultural values. Some of the causes of these conflicts can be avoided and even eliminated to find a middle way as an effort to resolve with the following things fading the building of symbols that confirm social position and status, the need for mixed marriages, giving birth to similarities in origin or descent, the need for government intervention to find a middle way over the conflicts that occurred, gave birth to common enemies and independence.

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