

## **SOCIAL CAPITAL MANIFESTED IN PESANTREN:**

### **The Role and Contribution of Kyai toward Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng's Victims**

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**Abstract:** *This research, praxis aims to describe and interpret various forms of the role of the clerics to victims of Dimas Kanjeng. Sociologically, the existence of the kyai in society occupies the most strategic position, even all his actions and advice are used as references and legitimacy for various problems. Therefore, the presence of the kyai is understood as a pioneer of changes in both the religious, moral, social and cultural fields of all domestication and social and cultural domestication. Thus, to interpret the role and social action of the kyai, the researcher uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, between  $Habitus \times Modal + Domain = Practice$ , with a qualitative research approach. In praxis, this study produced several findings; 1) the presence of the kyai basically cannot be separated from scientific genealogy which is built through the Koran and al-Hadith, as core beliefs and core values, thus making the kyai's social capital to carry out social practices in realizing social change, by transmitting universal religious values (kaffah), this view is expected to influence and inspire social thought and behavior and give birth to individual piety and social piety; 2) the model of the kyai's approach to social change, including; cultural approach and structural approach, so that it is expected to influence the thinking and social behavior of other individuals; 3) various social contributions of clerics include; social change, social cohesion, social harmonization;*

*purification of the soul (tazkiyyat al nafs) and moral fortifications in maintaining social integrity.*

**الملخص:** يهدف هذا البحث العملي إلى وصف وتفسير الأدوار والمساهمات الاجتماعية المختلفة للشيوخ / العلماء لضحايا ديماس كانجينج في بروبولينجو. من الناحية الاجتماعية، يحتل وجود العلماء / الشيخ في وسط المجتمع المكان الأكثر استراتيجية، حتى يتم استخدام جميع أشكال العمل الاجتماعي والمشورة كمراجع وشرعية لمختلف المشاكل الاجتماعية. لذلك، يُفهم وجود العلماء / الشيخ على أنه رائد التغيير في كل من المجالات الدينية والأخلاقية والاجتماعية والثقافية لجميع التدين الاجتماعي والثقافي، وخاصة بالنسبة لضحايا ديماس كانجينج. في هذا السياق، يعد وجود العلماء / الشيخ جزءاً مهماً في توفير التنوير للتغلب على المشكلات المختلفة التي تحدث، كشكل من أشكال التغيير الاجتماعي لضحايا ديماس كانجينج. وبالتالي، لتفسير الأدوار والإجراءات الاجتماعية للعلماء / الشيخ، يستخدم الباحث نظرية الممارسة الاجتماعية لبيير بورديو، بين  $habitus \times modal + ecitarP = domain$ ، مع نهج نوعي ونوع من أبحاث دراسة الحالة. في الممارسة، أنتجت هذه الدراسة العديد من النتائج، بما في ذلك؛ (١) لا يمكن فصل وجود العلماء والشيوخ والبيزنزة في الأساس عن علم الأنساب المبني من خلال القرآن والحديث، كمعتقدات وقيم أساسية، بحيث يصبح رأس المال الاجتماعي للكيي لتنفيذ الممارسات الاجتماعية وإحداث التغيير في المجال الديني، من الناحية الأخلاقية والاجتماعية، من خلال نقل القيم الدينية العالمية (الكفة)، من المتوقع أن تكون هذه النظرة قادرة على التأثير وإلهام الفكر والسلوك الاجتماعي، وخاصة لضحايا ديماس كانجينج، لتشكيل التقوى الفردية والتقوى الاجتماعية؛ (٢) نهج العلماء / الشيخ في إحداث تغييرات اجتماعية، بما في ذلك؛ النهج الثقافي، من خلال عملية الإرشاد بشأن فهم التعاليم الإسلامية؛ من خلال نهج ثقافي، تصبح مشاركة الكيان في مختلف المنظمات الاجتماعية الدينية هي العاصمة الرئيسية للتأثير على التفكير والسلوك الاجتماعي للأفراد الآخرين؛ (٣) تشمل المساهمات الاجتماعية المختلفة للشيوخ عدة جوانب؛ العلماء / الشيخ كتغيير اجتماعي وتماسك اجتماعي ومواءمة اجتماعية؛ تطهير الروح (تزكية النفس) والتحصينات الأخلاقية في الحفاظ على النزاهة الاجتماعية.

**Abstrak:** Penelitian ini, secara praksis bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan dan memaknai pelbagai bentuk peran kyai terhadap korban Dimas Kanjeng. Secara sosiologis, keberadaan kyai di masyarakat menempati posisi paling strategis, bahkan segala tindakan dan petuahnya dijadikan refrensi dan legitimasi atas pelbagai persoalan. Karena itu, kehadiran kyai difahami sebagai pelopor perubahan baik di bidang keagamaan, moral,

*sosial maupun kultural terhadap segala domestikasi dan penjinakan sosial (social and cultural domestication). Demikian, untuk memaknai peran dan tindakan sosial kiai, peneliti menggunakan teori praktik sosial Pierre Bourdieu, antara  $Habitus \times Modal + Ranah = Praktik$ , dengan penelitian kualitatif. Secara praksis, penelitian ini menghasilkan beberapa temuan; 1) kehadiran kyai pada dasarnya tidak dapat dilepaskan dari genealogi keilmuan yang dibangun melalui al-Quran dan al-Hadits, sebagai core belief dan core values, sehingga menjadikan modal sosial kyai untuk melakukan praktek sosial (social practice) dalam mewujudkan perubahan sosial, yaitu dengan cara mentranmisikan nilai-nilai keagamaan secara universal (kaffah), pandangan ini diharapkan dapat mempegaruhi dan mengilhami pemikiran dan perilaku sosial serta melahirkan kesalehan individual dan kesalehan sosial; 2) model pendekatan kyai dalam melakukan perubahan sosial, meliputi; pendekatan kultural dan pendekatan struktural, sehingga diharapkan dapat mempegaruhi pemikiran dan perilaku sosial individu lainnya; 3) pelbagai kontribusi sosial kyai meliputi; perubahan sosial, kohesi sosial, harmonisasi sosial; penyucian jiwa (tazkiyyat al-nafs) dan benteng moral dalam menjaga keutuhan sosial.*

**Keywords:** social capital, pesantren, kyai's, social contribution.

## INTRODUCTION

From the sociological perspective, kyai and pesantren are two inseparable entities. Therefore, the role and actions of the kyai are not only within the scope of the pesantren, but also in the various areas within society such as religion, education, and culture. In this context, this research is more focused on the role and actions of clerics towards victims of Dimas Kanjeng, as a form of domestic and social domestication in the midst of society today.<sup>1</sup> The existence of a kyai basically cannot be separated from his inarguably strategic role and position within the community. Therefore, the study of the kyai

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Fauzi, 'Konstruksi Pendidikan Pesantren; Diskursus Terhadap Fundamentalisme Dan Liberalisme Dalam Islam', Al-Fahri IAIN Ponorogo, Vol.18. Islam: Liberalism & Fundamentalism (2018), 89–114.

has become an interesting phenomenon and has never been resolved; it is a social magnet, moral guide, spiritual and social transformer,<sup>2</sup> and even all forms of kyai have become references and legitimacy on various undisputable issues.<sup>3</sup>

In this context, how important the role and social action of the kyai in dealing with all forms of social and religious issues, especially for the presence of Dimas Kanjeng followers who still reside in Padepokan,<sup>4</sup> this view cannot be separated from the influence of Dimas Kanjeng teachings, so that their existence continues to spread into various remote areas outside the island of Java. In the end, the teaching of Dimas Kanjeng must be totally eradicated, because it violates teachings of Islam, as this was explained by the chairman of the MUI of Probolinggo Regency and the MUI of East Java Province.<sup>5</sup> Although the teachings of Dimas Kanjeng were declared to be contradictory,<sup>6</sup> the condition continued experiencing significant development, and even some of his followers have survived to this day. They still believe in the truth that can bring various blessings both personally and socially.

Such problems universally cannot be taken away from religious understanding as a form of expression in responding to global dynamics, along with the swift current of modernization that

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<sup>2</sup> Hiroko Horikoshi, *Kyai dan Perubahan Sosial*. Ter. Umar Basalim dan Andi Muarly Sunrawa (Jakarta: P3M, 1987), 1-3

<sup>3</sup> Azra, Azyumardi, *Pesantren: Kontinuitas dan Perubahan*, sebagai Kata Pengantar dalam Madjid, Nurcholish, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren* (Jakarta: Penerbit Paramadina, 1997), 68

<sup>4</sup> Interview, with Ahmad Khumaidi, December 20, 2018

<sup>5</sup> The religious dynamics among the Probolinggo community since the last few years have been enlivened by various teachings that are deemed deviant, such as the Bintaos case with the giant Tombstone monomen in Pajarakan, Ardi Husain who claimed to be a Prophet, the blasphemy of the Seven Youths in Probolinggo and the Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng Dimas Kanjeng Village Wangkal Gading. Various statements from religious leaders namely kyai and socio-religious organizations such as; MUI and NU from Probolinggo Regency and East Java Provention, even some Islamic Boarding Schools reap various responses, until finally issued a statement of attitude that labeled the religious school as a heretical school. In this context, along with the development of the religious flow above with a heterogeneous structure of society and accommodative attitude, causing the religious flow is easily accepted to flourish and develop. see <https://www.timesindonesia.co.id/read/173297/20180607/145426> / blasphemy-religion-by-seven-youth-in-probolinggo-mui-form-investigation-team /

<sup>6</sup> <https://news.okezone.com/read/2016/10/13/519/1513281/mui-jatim-keluarkan-fatwa-sesat-untuk-ajaran-dimas-kanjeng>

permeates life, giving birth to various forms of sects or movement in the name of religion.<sup>7</sup> In Azyumardi Azra's perspective, the development of religious sects and understanding in the community can be caused by various changes, both socially and economically, besides the influence of globalization which causes disorientation or psychological dislocation disruption, as well as being driven by dissatisfaction with religious understandings and organizations that are considered to have been established during this time, and are considered no longer able to accommodate their religious odyssey.<sup>8</sup> Besides that, Kuntowidjoyo, emphasized that of the emergence of religious sects was caused by increasingly sharp social polarization,<sup>9</sup> and even caused by the fragmentation of authority over the interpretation of the Qur'an which has implications for the shift in religious authority.<sup>10</sup>

Based on the above facts, the role and social actions of the kyai become an important part in providing enlightenment both individually and socially, through various enhancements in understanding religious teachings in accordance with universal Islamic teachings, so that they can influence all forms of social and religious thought and behavior.<sup>11</sup> In this context, the existence of the kyai within the community occupies the most strategic position and becomes an important part as a social change for the victims of Dimas Kanjeng. Kyai is believed to be a moral landscape for all forms of liberation for various domestications and social taming, so that all forms of his advice are always attended and become reference material in addressing various problems,<sup>12</sup> where the existence of the

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<sup>7</sup> Ahmad Husnan, *Gerakan Inkah al-Sunnah dan Jawabannya* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1980), 44-46

<sup>8</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Konteks Berteologi di Indonesia: Pengalaman Islam* (Cet. I; Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), h.10.

<sup>9</sup> Kuntowidjoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi untuk Aksi* (Cet. VIII; Bandung: Mizan, 1998), 204.

<sup>10</sup> Jajat Burhanuddin, Ahmad Baedowi, *Transformasi Otoritas Keagamaan: Pengalaman Islam Indonesia* (Cet. I; Jakarta: Gramedia, 2003), 29.

<sup>11</sup> [https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3307310/pengikut-dimas-kanjeng-bantah-tudingan-aliran-sesat-dan-penggandaan-uang?\\_ga=1.74046996.767126707.1439414490](https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3307310/pengikut-dimas-kanjeng-bantah-tudingan-aliran-sesat-dan-penggandaan-uang?_ga=1.74046996.767126707.1439414490)

<sup>12</sup> Mohammad Kosim, *Kyai dan Blater, Elite Lokal Masyarakat Madura* (Ejournal Karsa, STAIN Pamekasan, Vol XII, No II, 2007), 162., Geertz, Clifford, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Surabaya: Pustaka Jaya, 1989), 80.

kyai is considered to have the power and authority to provide various enlightenments socially.

In the contest above, the role and social actions of the kyai for victims of Dimas Kanjeng are an important part of the study and parsing in this study. Therefore, to provide a holistic and holistic understanding, the researchers use Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, regarding the roles and actions of clerics, between;  $Habitus \times Capital + Domain = Practice$ . In the context above, social reality is understood as a dialectical process (*dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality*) or between (*internalization-externality and externalization-internality*). In the social practice theory, the dialectics regarding the relationship includes the social role of the kyai which is then understood as (*habitus*). In other dimensions habitus is also interpreted as a form of network owned by the kyai, such as the involvement of the kyai in various religious organizations, giving birth to a social value system, namely recognition of the existence of the kyai as a central figure in society, then used as (*capital*), in carrying out social change. Besides that, capital is also understood as a form of kyai knowledge that is constructed based on his understanding of the Qur'an, al-Hadith and some classical Islamic textbooks, that make up a figure of a kyai. Internalization of the values above, understood as the main capital for the kyai in providing various enlightenment both individually and socially, this step is then made as a (*the realm*) in making changes (*social of change*) through the roles and social actions of the kyai, this process is a form of praxis regarding (*social practices*) that the kyai conducted against victims of Dimas Kanjeng.

## **KIAI'S SOCIAL CAPITAL AS THE CAPITAL OF SOCIAL CHANGE**

Sociologically, the position and role of the kyai become a unique social phenomenon to study. Therefore the development of the kyai community can color the dynamics of social life today. This view, basically, cannot be separated from the social roles and functions of the kyai, among Javanese people, the kyai contains various interpretations, including; a) the name of the kyai is only used to mention experts in the field of Islamic science, in the form of mastery of the Koran, al-Hadith and the Islamic classical-textbooks, so that

he came to be known as (*ulama, alim ulama*) as a sign of respect for him.<sup>13</sup> Even though in the circle of Certain communities both terms have different interpretations and meanings, the term *kyai* is more focused on someone who has knowledge in the field of religion, becomes a leader in an Islamic boarding school and appears as a teacher of the Koran,<sup>14</sup> while the term *ulama* is more focused on someone who has knowledge in the field of Islam; b) the designation of *kyai* is more used for an honor for parents in general, as is the case with the community especially along the north coast, horseshoe areas such as; Regency and City of Pasuruan, Lumajang, Probolinggo, Bondowoso, Situbondo and Banyuwangi; c) the term ‘*kyai*’ is only used to refer to heirlooms that are considered sacred, such as Polang Geni clerics in the form of Keris, Nagasasra Inten belts in the form of Keris, Garuda Yaksa *kyai* in the form of *kencana* chisels that are considered sacred and several other sacred heirlooms.

Despite various interpretations of the *kyai*, he still has the role and social function. Therefore, the role of the *kyai* in essence is better understood as a set of value systems related to his behavior (*self*), on the actions and behavior of other individuals. At the level of praxis, the role is a form of dialogue that is built between the *kyai* and other individuals, with the aim of influencing various social conditions on a particular community, both concerning social thought and behavior in the midst of society,<sup>15</sup> even the said relationship is also said as (*patron and client*), namely mutual influence between the two.<sup>16</sup> In the context above, the form of the role of the *kyai* is essentially always related to two important aspects, between the position (*status*) and the role (*role*) it self. This view, as Ralp Linton explained, is meant

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<sup>13</sup> Geertz, Clifford, *The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker*, dalam *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 2, No.2, 1960), 18., lihat juga dalam Harsja W. Bachtiar, *The Religion of Jawa, a Comentary* (terj *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa*, 1981), h 543

<sup>14</sup> Sudirman Tebba, *Islam Orde Baru dalam Perubahan Politik dan Keagamaan* (Penerbit Tiara Wacana, Jogjakarta, 1983), 78; lihat juga Achmad Patoni, *Peran Kyai Pesantren dalam Politik* (Pustaka Pelajar, Jogjakarta, 2007), h 29.

<sup>15</sup> Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta: PT Grafindo Persada, 1990), 21.

<sup>16</sup> Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto, *Memelihara Umat; Kyai Pesantren, Kyai Langgar di Jawa* (Jogjakarta, LkiS 1999), 115, lihat juga dalam Scott, James, *The Erosion of Patron Client Bonds and Social Change in Rural Southeast Asia* (*Journal of Asian Studies*, November, 1972), 67

(*a collection of rights and duties*) and is interpreted as an interrelated association between rights and obligations towards others around it. In addition, the role is part of various individual activities and is dynamic (*the dynamic aspect of status*), namely the relationship between the social status of the kyai in society, both as religious (*ritual*), social, and pesantren leaders.<sup>17</sup> Historically, the role of the kyai basically cannot be separated from the process of spreading Islam in the midst of society towards social conditions that are full of concern. He came to live and establish a pesantren as a center for Islamic education.<sup>18</sup>

Sociologically, the significance of the role and actions of the kyai gives birth to various interpretations, even the existence of the kyai is believed to be a figure who receives revelation guidance from Allah SWT, and is considered to have an established religious quality. Therefore he can influence and mobilize all social behavior and actions of individuals, based on kyai's emotional concern and identification of other people's behavior. In this context, the role appears as a result of the relationship or influence between the kyai and individuals and society, and interactive communicative (*interactive communication*). Besides that, the existence of the kyai, is described as a person who has emotional capability and breadth in Islam, so that his existence can emit a value system, and be part of the formation of social behavior in the midst of society. In the above context, the role and social actions of the kyai are essentially built through two aspects; a) personal kyai who has power and is built based on the values of the Qur'an and al-Hadith, even theologically it is the basis of social behavior. Besides that, the existence of the kyai is often identified as having charismatic power, and is even considered to have extraordinary abilities so that it can move and influence individual behavior, b) the role of the kyai becomes magnet as social change, as Geertz explained, that the influence of the kyai lies in

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<sup>17</sup> Ali Maschan Moesa, *Nasionalisme Kyai Konstruksi Sosial Berbasis Agama* (Yogyakarta: Lkis, 2007), h 2., Sindu Galba, *Pesantren Sebagai Wadah Komunikasi* (Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta. 1995), 62.

<sup>18</sup> Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta: PT Grafindo Persada, 1990), 243., lihat juga dalam Yusuf, Choirul & Suwito NS, *Model Pengembangan Ekonomi Pesantren* (Purwokerto: STAIN Press, 2009), 10



its function and role amid the community.<sup>19</sup> Thus, various capitals referred to can universally give birth to the social role of the clerics, even become a space (*the space*) for the clerics in realizing social change.<sup>20</sup>

## **ROLE AND SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION OF KYAI**

In the pesantren tradition, the kyai is the most important part of social life, as a religious, moral and social guide.<sup>21</sup> This view cannot be separated from the scientific genealogy that the kyai builds to various pesantren, before he plays his role in the midst of society.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the existence of the kyai is seen as a central figure and a pioneer of various social changes, and all forms of advice and behavior become legal legitimacy and moral role models among the community, even not infrequently the presence of the kyai is often visited by the public to be asked for various advice and become a place of consultation on various issues social religious. Thus the social role of the clerics is so important, although lately there has been a polarization of the clerics' personalities, giving rise to various types of clerics. However, the form of clerical typology is an important part and still has social influence. Even the existence of the kyai is understood as an indicator of the continuity and success of religious diversity in the community, the social role of the kyai is not only as a religious ritual leader, but also as a place to express complaints about various problems that are being faced by the community. Suja'i posits that the presence of the kyai basically becomes an important part to solve various problems that are befalling the community, including the development of the teachings of Dimas Kanjeng, which until now some of them are still in the Padepokan complex. Therefore, the kyai is the most important element that is inseparable from the life of the community. In fact,

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<sup>19</sup> Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Surabaya: Pustaka Jaya, 1989), 56

<sup>20</sup> Ahmad Fauzi, 'Shalawatan Celebration In Probolinggo Community Cultural Frame: Study Of Symbolic Interactionism', *Al-Tahrir IAIN Ponorogo*, 19, No. 1 (2019), 71–99.

<sup>21</sup> Nurochim, 'Sekolah Berbasis Pesantren Sebagai Salah Satu Model Pendidikan Islam Dalam Konsepsi Perubahan Sosial', *Al-Tahrir IAIN Ponorogo*, 16, No.1 (2016), 69–88.

<sup>22</sup> Rustam Ibrahim, 'Pesantren Dan Pengabdian Masyarakat: Studi Kasus Pondok Pesantren Dawar Boyolali Jawa Tengah', *IAIN Ponorogo*, Vol. 16 (2016), 89–108.

it is not uncommon for all forms of religious and social affairs that do not involve the presence of the kyai, both regarding religious celebrations such as; village *slametan*, *maulidan*, weddings, and other social fields such as victims of Dimas Kanjeng followers. Because of his significant existence, all forms of religious celebration that are not attended by the kyai is seen illegitimate.<sup>23</sup>

In this context, the social role of the kyai is always balanced by religious abilities, both those of an inner nature (*esoteric*) and *zhahirah* (*exoteric*), with the above social capital, he places himself in the middle of society and becomes a central figure even as a charismatic figure. With his knowledge, the role of the kyai increasingly shows its existence in various social lives as both spiritual, moral and social guidance, as explained by Clifford Geertz in his research that the presence of the kyai has an important role in all forms of social diversity issues so that he can guide the community in accordance with the values of universal truth value,<sup>24</sup> even Horikoshi also emphasized the presence of kyai as the main role as social change over various social problems being faced.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the various roles of the kyai in essence can be determined by scholarship and social status, so that all forms of action are strongly influenced by community appreciation. Therefore, the higher the appreciation given, the higher the social status. This view can ultimately place kyai as a moral role model or (*parton*) in the midst of society.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, not all kyai have a social role, even though they share the title of kyai. The character of the clerics is the impact of social status shown by his skills and radiant personality, so that he becomes a charismatic central figure and has a central role in society. Sociologically, charismatic kyai is understood as a social magnet to influence, mobilize individual social thought and behavior, especially for victims of Dimas Kanjeng, besides charismatic kyai is also understood as a benchmark of authority, it is even believed to be a source of inspiration and social change. This view is as stated by Ahmad Khumaidi, that; the involvement and concern of the kyai for the development of the teachings of Dimas

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<sup>23</sup> Interview, with Mr. Suja'i, August 9, 2019.

<sup>24</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker*, dalam *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 2, No.2, 1960), 18

<sup>25</sup> Hiroko Horikosi, *Kyai dan Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: P3M, 1987), 242.

<sup>26</sup> Endang Turmudi, *Perselingkuhan Kyai dengan Kekuasaan* (LKis: Jogjakarta, 2003), 40-48

Kanjeng is seen to have troubled the community since the last few decades, but not all kyai have the same social sensitivity and concern for religious issues, only a few kyai are actively joined in the organization of the NU, MUI and LDNU which is considered to have concern over the various problems in question.<sup>27</sup>

At the level of reality, the dominant role of the kyai on all social issues is basically inseparable from the portrait of the charismatic figure of the kyai. Therefore, all forms of *fatwa* and kyai's advice are always used as social references that are obeyed among the community, even with his charisma, kyai can move and influence the social behavior of other individuals in the midst of society. In this context, the charismatic figure of the kyai becomes an important part and is understood as a paternalistic social magnet to influence individual social behavior and actions, especially for victims of Dimas Kanjeng, as explained by kyai Munir Kholili, that; the role of the kyai social kyai in various aspects is very much determined by his charisma. Therefore not all kyai can influence and move each individual, even though the existence of the kyai both has the same function and role. This largely depends on the quality and personality of the kyai. This view, as we can see from the kyai's participation in the capture of Dimas Kanjeng, is also the case for the kyai who carry out the training and guidance of the victims of Dimas Kanjeng who are still in the Padepokan complex.<sup>28</sup>

The position and status of the kyai is strategic within society, both as a moral guide, spiritual, inculcation of social values and as an agent of change. In this context, as a religious elite, the existence of the kyai remains in the most strategic position, as Suzanne Keller explained that, the position of religious leaders, the kyai, becomes the determinant and social object in three ways; first, the kyai has the role and authority in making every decision both in the religious and social fields; second, the existence of the kyai as supporters of the implementation of morality; third, the role of the kyai is seen as having a strategic role in various social contexts. Therefore, the existence and social role of the kyai are essentially required to

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<sup>27</sup> Interview, with Mr. Ahmad Khumaidi, 11 July 2019.

<sup>28</sup> Interview, with kyai Munir Kholili, May 12, 2019

develop and build a reciprocal and symbolic relationship between religious leaders and the community both structurally and culturally.<sup>29</sup>

### **KYAI AS A MORAL GUIDE**

At the level of reality, the social condition of Probolinggo people in general is very thick with religious values and even classified as religious communities, but the religious values have not had a significant impact. This view is based on the number of people who are still entangled in the Dimas Kanjeng's sect, this view as explained by the cleric Munir Kholili, that; the presence of Dimas Kanjeng in recent years has disturbed the community both at the local and national level, even the presence of Dimas Kanjeng followers is not only from among Probolinggo people but also from various regions in Indonesia. Besides that, Dimas Kanjeng followers consist of various classes, not only irrational communities, but also rational societies.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, the statement as explained by Moh Yasin, followers of Dimas Kanjeng not only came from the Probolinggo community, but also came from various corners of the country. In addition, Dimas Kanjeng followers are not only from people with low levels of education,<sup>31</sup> but also highly educated, where the level and low level of education does not have a significant impact. Therefore, the level of education and low religious understanding in a person can be understood as triggers and impetus for various beliefs and the formation of social behavior in a particular community. As stated by Martin Van Bruinessen that, one of the symptoms that causes a person to believe in a religious belief or sect is the level of education and inadequate understanding of diversity . this statement does not apply to followers of Dimas Kanjeng because most of his followers have a relatively high educational background, even perceived as having good religious understanding and enthusiasm.<sup>32</sup>

In this context, the teachings of Dimas Kanjeng among his followers are understood as part of the value of religious truth that contains the truth, as a guide to go to Him. Therefore, not infrequently

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<sup>29</sup> Suzanne Killer, *Penguasa dan Kelompok Elit: Peranan Elit Penentu dalam Masyarakat Modern* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Perkasa, 1995), 213

<sup>30</sup> Interview, with kyai Munir Kholili, May 12, 2019.

<sup>31</sup> Interview, with Moh Yasin, May 20 2019.

<sup>32</sup> Martin Van Bruinessen, *Gerakan Sempalan, Rakyat kecil Islam dan Politik*, Anotasi Nomor 1, 206

all forms of orders and advice Dimas Kanjeng, are always carried out and undisputed, even they are willing to sacrifice some of his wealth. This is performed to gain recognition as being part of the Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng *santri*. Of course the labeling of students referred to does not find its relevance to the world of pesantren, because the meaning of *santri* is essentially understood as a group of individuals who study and study Islam in a kyai in the boarding school environment,<sup>33</sup> through the process of kyai guidance on the basis of the depth of knowledge and nobility of the characters, both done by staying or domiciled in boarding schools or those who return to their homes after the class session ends.

At the level of reality, the meaning of the kyai has now changed, which is in accordance with their respective perceptions in society. This view is explained by Mr. Humaidi that portrait of Dimas Kanjeng's existence in the view of the community, especially among his followers better known as kyai who have various features, one of which he is believed to be able to multiply money. Besides that, Taat Pribadi (*his real name*) is also mentioned as Dimas Kanjeng, in fact is also called by the title Raja or Prabu.<sup>34</sup> This view, as stated by Marwah Daud Ibrahim, Dimas Kanjeng received a gift with the title of king, as a form of honor from the Indonesian Royal Palace Association, because it is not wrong if the community then mentions the kyai.<sup>35</sup>

In this context, the title of kyai and other titles of Dimas Kanjeng is still believed among his followers, even though the appellation of kyai is actually aimed at those who are experts and have various advantages both religiously and socially. Besides that, the name of the kyai must have policies that appear to the someone's kyai (*outer*

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<sup>33</sup> Mutasim Radjasa, *Perlawanan Santri Pinggiran* (Yogyakarta: Insan Madani, 2010), 34

<sup>34</sup> Dimas Kanjeng is a native of Wangkal Gading Probolinggo Village, then in 2000, he was given an additional name by his teacher to become Dimas Kanjeng, in 2002 he established a padepokan by the name Padepokan Dimas Kanjeng Taat Pribadi. In its development he was later crowned King Anom with the title Sri Raja Prabu Rajasanagara Raden Mas Kanjeng in 2016, by the Chairperson of the Indonesian Royal Association or Sultanate, because he was perceived as a person who was able to glue the Archipelago so that the people were more prosperous and prosperous. The results of the interview, with Ahmad Khumaidi, a resident of Ivory Village, on July 15, 2019, lihat juga dalam <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yB0lSdpJe2s>

<sup>35</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_rpxisF6Ln4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_rpxisF6Ln4)

*beauty of human being*) and nobility of character that comes from the beauty of his soul (*inner beauty of spiritual human being*).<sup>36</sup>At the same time, theoretically the term *kyai* has various meanings with different interpretations. In this context, the term ‘*kyai*’ is certainly different from the term ‘*ulama*’, even though both of them have knowledge in the field of Islam, but the existence of *kyai* is seen as having a strategic role and occupying the top position, when compared to an *ulama*. Thus the existence of the *kyai* in the social structure is more believed to be part of an agent of social change, moral and spiritual guidance, especially for followers of Dimas Kanjeng who are still and residing in Padepokan. According to their respective beliefs that, the existence of Dimas Kanjeng is currently running worship as the perfection of his knowledge, as this view put forward by Hariyanto saying that “Dimas Kanjeng, currently still performing the pilgrimage, I am as a student must remain faithful waiting for his arrival”. This is also a test for students in Padepokan, and as a student must obey his teacher even though he is not in Padepokan.<sup>37</sup>

Based on the statement, the sect of Dimas Kanjeng since the last few decades has disturbed the social conditions of the people in Indonesia, and is interpreted as a splinter movement. Although this view is not explicitly stated, it is believed among his followers that the teachings of Dimas Kanjeng can bring blessings and change the lives of each individual, even though that belief has never been proven. Various public understanding and belief in the existence of the teachings of Dimas Kanjeng can be driven by economic factors with relatively less religious understanding. Theoretically, the term splinter among the people is understood as a term for religious movements or schools that are considered strange, deviating from *aqidah* of worship or practice in Islamic religion. Indeed the term is a translation of a sect or sectarian which is then interpreted with a negative connotation, such as a protest and separation from something that is considered different from the majority, with a firm stand, firm and closed (*exclusive*), claims of truth and excessive fanaticism. The existence of a splinter sect, basically departs from an

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<sup>36</sup> Ahmad Fauzi, ‘*Persepsi Barakah Di Pondok Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong; Perspektif Interaksionalisme Simbolik*’, Al-Tahrir IAIN Ponorogo, 17. Islam Ortodoksi Heterodoksi (2017), 105–32.

<sup>37</sup> Interview, with Hariyanto, June 23, 2019

orthodox religious understanding, besides that the sect is a religious faction that separates itself from orthodoxy and applies generally. Such a view is certainly still contextual in accordance with its social conditions, thus to provide an understanding that it is truly a splinter sect and is contrary to the religion of Islam, an in-depth study of the flow is needed, through various approaches.

In sociological studies, the splinter sect, especially regarding Dimas Kanjeng among the public, can be understood as a movement that is hostile to the teachings of Islam, is exclusive and separates from universal truth,<sup>38</sup> thus observing the conditions and development of the religious sects referred to, Bryan Wilson divides several models of religious flow, between other; a) conversionist sect, understood as a form of flow that pays more attention to the improvement of morals and actions of each individual, b) revolutionary sect, this stream emphasizes radically change in the middle of society, the movement is implicitly a social critique of the status quo, and is perceived as a reaction to unbalanced cultural contacts,<sup>39</sup> c) reformist sects, movements that see social reform efforts and good deeds as an essence of religious teachings, therefore aqeedah and morals that are not accompanied by actions are considered meaningless, namely by emphasizing pure religious teachings, and d) the Utopian movement is a sect that seeks to create an ideal community, ie as an example in the midst of society, with more practical actions.

## **MODEL AND APPROACH TO SOCIAL CHANGE KYAI**

Various knowledge of clerics, in essence believed to be the basis of belief (*core belief*) and basic values (*core values*) in providing various enlightenment over social hegemonization, through the roles and social actions of the clerics. Various knowledge inherent to the kyai can be interpreted as social capital (*social capital*) and become the basis of the kyai's social action in influencing, mobilizing and inspiring individual thought and social behavior, especially

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<sup>38</sup> Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (London, 1931), 55., Taufik Abdullah, editor, *Agama, Etos Kerja dan Perkembangan Ekonomi* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1979), h 41-78.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order*, University of North Carolina Press, 1979., terj: Ratu Adil: *Tokoh dan Gerakan Milenarian Menentang Kolonialisme Eropa* (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1988), 76

for followers of Dimas Kanjeng. In Bourdieu's perspective, social capital has various interpretations and meanings that are universal and flexible (*flexible*), but specifically it explains that social capital is interpreted as a collection of a number of resources and has a relationship with individuals both in the form of knowledge and in various other forms such as; the position, relations and social networks in the community,<sup>40</sup> this view is like what some kyai have built in the middle of Probolinggo society. Meanwhile, Putnam defines social capital as a system of values, norms and ethics which then becomes a trust among the people (*social trust*) and gives birth to social networks so as to encourage the realization of other individuals' social behavior.<sup>41</sup>

In this context, Bourdieu's thought shows that there is a strong relationship between capital and social relations that occur in the community, therefore the meaning and interpretation of capital is not only material (*material*) but also immaterial such as the existence of social relations, positions and the role and knowledge of a cleric. Besides that, Bourdieu further explained several forms of social capital that can be seen in various social activities in the community, including; a) capital in economic form, this view can be directly measured or even exchanged so that it can be institutionalized in the form of goods; b) cultural capital also has the same view as economic capital which can be interpreted as economic capital and institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; c) social capital, which can form social bonds both in providing various guidance and in carrying out social transformation and cultural change.

Whereas the social construction of the kyai capital is understood as a series of value systems that are shared among the groups or the community, and give birth to various social roles and actions.<sup>42</sup> Thus, all forms of clerical roles and actions then form a social system so that it can affect other individuals. Meanwhile, social networks built by kyai in various social contexts, both in the form of religious and social

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<sup>40</sup> Turner, John FC, *Freedom to Build, Dweller Control of the Housing Process* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), 87.

<sup>41</sup> Putnam, Robert, *The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life*, "The American Prospect", 13 (Spring 1993), 35-42.

<sup>42</sup> Fukuyama, Francis, *Trust Kebijakan Sosial & Penciptaan Kemakmuran*, Terj. Ruslani, (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2002), 56



formal organizations can also be interpreted as -capital-, which then gives birth to interpersonal relationships, individuals with institutions and even between other institutions, through the social role of kyai, such as the involvement of kyai in *Jam'iyah Nahdlatul Ulama* and the Indonesian Ulema Council, as socio religious organizations. Departing from the various interpretations above, capital is not only understood as a form of knowledge in a kyai, but can also be determined from the strategic position, network and relationships that kyai builds in his social interactions. Therefore, how important is the social capital of the kyai which means whether or not the capital owned by the kyai depends on the role of the kyai in building relationships, networking and occupying an important position in the midst of society. In the context above, capital in this study is about the form of the social role of the kyai in various organizations both structurally and culturally and is understood as part of the forms of action and the role of the kyai in carrying out social transformation.

In Bourdieu's perspective, the role and social action of the kyai can occur dialogically, if the relationship is built dialectically, between an objective and subjective structure. The two structures then meet and are understood as social practice. In this context, the roles and social actions of the kyai are essentially built through their understanding of the Qur'an and al-Hadith as a basis for realizing social change under the influence of Dimas Kanjeng. This process takes place in a relative time long enough, so that it settles and affects the logic and thinking of kyai in various social actions. Thus, the form of kyai knowledge can be interpreted as habitus which is then not only recorded in passive memory, but it is active and becomes the basic value of various kyai actions in the midst of society,<sup>43</sup> thus the habitualization of the form of kyai knowledge is used as social capital (*social capital*), so that he is able to influence and appearance of his social behavior both as a mediator and transformer in social reality.

With regard to habitus, the second principle in Pierre Bourdieu's thinking is capital or capital, which is understood as a form of social relations, social networks which then become the realm of

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<sup>43</sup> Jen Webb, Tony Schirato and Geof Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu* (London: SAGE Publication, 2002), 42.

the kyai in building social change.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, capital is part of the kyai's field in realizing social change, thus giving birth to the kyai's social practices.<sup>45</sup> In Bourdieu's social practical theory, the realm is mentioned with (*field*), then he divides the realm into two parts namely; the field of limited production (*field of restricted production*) and the realm of large-scale production (*field of large-scale production*).<sup>46</sup> In this context, the realm is interpreted as part of the social role of the kyai in realizing social change in the midst of society. Besides that, the social role of the kyai culturally also functions as social capital to influence the actions and social behavior of individuals towards a more positive direction, namely through the formation and guidance of attitudes, mental and behavior towards the victims of Dimas Kanjeng, to restore public awareness in accordance with universal Islamic teachings.

In the context above, the kyai's model and approach in building social change for victims of Dimas Kanjeng, in general can give birth to several approaches. First, rejecting conflict, this approach is an effort to reduce the occurrence of various conflicts over the spread and influence of Dimas Kanjeng among the community. Therefore, the caution of the kyai is needed to influence and change the thinking of individuals as part of their followers. This is seen as the most strategic step to awaken them because the form of the role of the kyai in the context is more in the process of guidance and directing them in accordance with Islamic teachings. Second, starting in independence, it is understood as an independent form of the kyai's attitude by positioning the kyai's role towards the whole society. Third, holding dialogue with certain versions of integration, it establishes dialogical relations with victims in realizing social change in the midst of society.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974), 65

<sup>45</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Penjelasan Sejarah: Historical Explanation* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2008), 150.

<sup>46</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production Essays on Art and Literature*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 118

<sup>47</sup> Abdul Djamil, *Perlawanan Kyai Desa; Pemikiran dan Gerakan Islam K.H. Rifa'i Kali Salah* (Jogjakarta, LKis, 2001), 76

## THEORETIC BUILDING MODEL OF KYAI'S SOCIAL CHANGE

Thus to provide a holistic understanding of the form of the role of the clerics in building social change, in Pierre Bourdieu's social practical theory, can be done through three approaches; first habitus or the realm, understood as a person's perspective on social reality or various forms of problems, in this case is a follower of Dimas Kanjeng who still resides in Padepokan. He still believes the existence of Dimas Kanjeng as a teacher and is considered to have supernatural advantages. In this context, the role and actions of the religious clerics are an important part of restoring their awareness, through various forms of approach and guidance. Because of that, habitus in this study is a mental structure understood by the kyai as a social product. In another perspective, habitus is a social condition and other people can relate to their social world, with a series of thoughts in a person to perceive, understand and evaluate the state of their social world, in this view, what is the cause of Dimas Kanjeng followers who still survive, residing in Padepokan. In this context, habitus is also understood as a result of the internalization of the structure of the previous social world in the form of beliefs, the value of the existence of Dimas Kanjeng which is perceived as having power, so that it becomes a habitus.<sup>48</sup>

In the sociological perspective, habitus is basically divided into several aspects including; habitus is understood as a product of history and as part of a set of dispositions and this is obtained through repeated practice (*inculcation*); habitus was born from certain social conditions and became the social structure in which it was born; a disposition that is structured as well as functions as a framework that gives birth to perceptions and representations and gives birth to one's actions, because it is considered to be a structured social structure (*structuring structures*); habitus is pre-conscious (*preconscious*) it is the result of reflections of irrational, spontaneous considerations that are unconscious or unwanted, but are not a movement without a historical background at all. Thus, the interpretation and meaning of habitus in the context of this study concerning Dimas Kanjeng

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<sup>48</sup> Ritzer, George dan Goodman, Douglas J, *Teori Sosiologi: Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir Teori Sosial Postmoder* Terj Nurhadi (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2010), 56

followers, who until now still reside in Padepokan and become a social phenomenon. The social conditions referred to, then is understood as part of social products that were built in a relatively long period of time either he was created individually or in groups. In fact, he was born from a particular social condition and gave birth to a person's perception, representation and actions, because it was considered to be a structured social structure (*structuring structures*) in the midst of society.

Besides that, habitus is interpreted as part of habit (*habitual*), self-appearance (*appearance*) or can also refer to the nature of the individual associated with social conditions. Habitus can also be aimed at a substance, regarding something that is considered to exist (*being*). In that context, Ritzer explained that habitus, as part of common sense logic which can then reflect a thought, and is also used as a structure like a social group. In this case, habitus is a collective phenomenon that allows people to understand the social conditions around him, but the existence of habitus in its social and structural context does not establish itself uniformly. Therefore, habitus becomes the basis for the realization of social practices, and is a form of explanation of functional logic to social conditions, as Bourdieu explains that habitus is part of the conditioning of a group, where the social system is inherited and becomes a social structure, and is seen to form habitus.<sup>49</sup>

In social practice theory, the second habitus is the realm (*field*). It is understood as a network owned by a kyai. Therefore, the realm is an arena of strength in the kyai as capital to fight for and make social changes to the habitus in question. Besides that, the realm is also interpreted as a structured relationship or relationship within the individual with other groups, such as regarding the existence of the kyai as religious leaders, moral guides, and even in the form of kyai involvement in various social social organizations such as NU and MUI, which is also seen as the realm (*field*) kyai's struggle in making social changes to victims of Dimas Kanjeng. In another aspect, the realm is also interpreted as a source of strength that can affect the performance of habitus, even the realm is also a part of fighting over capital as part of the form of clerical struggle in realizing social transformation. In this context, capital is understood as part of the

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<sup>49</sup> Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (London: Routledge, 1992), 17.

knowledge of the kyai that was built before, even though the term capital in Bourdieu's perspective is used more to map relationships and power in the structure of society. In addition, this concept also includes the ability to exercise control over oneself and others, with various approaches. Therefore, each group and social class cannot be defined separately, but always in relation to other classes.<sup>50</sup>

Thus the dialectical relationship between the realm and the habitus becomes an important part in carrying out social practices. As stated by Goodman and Ritzer, habitus is basically formed in an environment in accordance with the social conditions around it.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the dialectical relationship between the two influences each other and occurs reciprocally, where the relational relationship between objective structures and subjective representations complement each other, thus giving birth to social practices, among others; Kyai's knowledge is understood as the main capital; networking, social relations and *pesantren* are also kyai capital and become the legitimacy that accumulates in building social practices in the midst of society. Thus, capital is the main force of kyai, who will later operate on various social problems, especially on the influence of Dimas Kanjeng, as a result of his influence. Therefore, every field (*field*) requires individuals to have capital the main, so that the existence and role of the clerics can survive, and become part of social change (*social of change*).

In this context, the role and social action of the kyai in making social change cannot be separated from various models and approaches. In the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory, the role and social actions of the kyai are built through dialectics between  $\text{Habitus} \times \text{Modal} + \text{Domain} = \text{Practice}$ . In the conception of social practice, the role and social actions of the kyai are basically driven by various factors over the social phenomena around them, to overcome what is called a social problem between objectivism and subjectivism, or what is stated between individuals and society, regarding social construction and how the social system is built and maintained. In turn, it raises a perception through a process of observation which

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<sup>50</sup> Fauzi Fashri, *Penyingkapan Kuasa Simbol: Apropriasi Reflektif Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu* (Yogyakarta: Juxtapose, 2007), 97.

<sup>51</sup> Fauzi Fashri, *Penyingkapan Kuasa Simbol: Apropriasi Reflektif Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu* (Yogyakarta: Juxtapose, 2007), 97.

then begins to act on that basis, namely through the role and social actions of the kyai as part of a social actor or central figure in the community.<sup>52</sup>

In addition, Pierre Bourdieu focused more on the dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective phenomena, thus giving birth to social practices, as a result of the dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Therefore, the various forms of social practice that do the kyai, in essence are not a product or the result of the free will of the kyai, but it is a reflection of various social issues regarding the existence of followers of Dimas Kanjeng, who until now still reside in the complex of padepokan. In the context above, the dialectical relationship between Habitus x Modal + Domain, through social social practices, is used as an analysis of social change through several approaches, including; a) cultural approach; in this case the form of the role of the kyai is realized through the process of guidance on re-understanding Islamic teachings; the role of the kyai to establish several *majelis ta'lim* and *shalawat* as a place to build awareness for them; the kyai becomes a place of support in providing various services to the community both in the social and religious fields; the role of the kyai to be a religious (*spiritual*) religious and moral leader as a bond of solidarity to provide awareness for them, b) a cultural approach; the involvement of the kyai in various religious social organizations, made it as the main capital to influence the above social conditions, even understood as the main force of social change.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the results of data collecting, findings and analysis in this study, the researcher can conclude as follows; first, the role and social actions of the kyai are an important part, both as ritual, religious (*spiritual*), moral and social leaders. In praxis, the existence of kyai in essence cannot be separated from (*genealogical*) knowledge which is built based on the Koran, and al-Hadith, both esoteric (*bathinah*) and exoteric (*zhahirah*), so that it becomes the basis of belief (*core values*) for the realization clerical social behavior. Internalization of the values above is then understood as (*capital*) and makes the

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<sup>52</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Leisure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 98

field (*field*) of struggle and kyai strategies to influence, move and change the mindset and behavior of individuals towards the victims of Dimas Kanjeng, so that it is expected to give birth to individual and social piety.

In this context, various forms of the role of the kyai in carrying out social change can be done through several steps, including; a) building relationships or relationships through interactive communicative between the kyai and the community, to provide various enlightenment; b) the kyai together with the community build various religious activities such as a number of *majelis ta'lim* as a medium to reaffirm the understanding of universal Islamic teachings by influencing individual thoughts and behavior towards a more positive direction, through a process of reinforcing the attitudes and mentality of each individual; c) the kyai make themselves a place of consultation on various issues in the religious, social and moral fields of their actions and behavior, this practical step can be realized through the process of ongoing guidance.

Second; the involvement of the kyai in various religious social organizations functions as a relation in building social networks, so that the role of the kyai is seen as far more effective in making social changes to various social hegemony, social domestication and social and cultural domestication. Therefore, the expected role and actions of the kyai (*expected role*) really drives change for victims of Dimas Kanjeng, through cultural and structural approaches. In this context, social capital (*social capital*) built by the clerics, both material (*immaterial*) and immaterial, such as the relations, social relations, strategic positions and knowledge possessed by the kyai, can certainly be at stake in a (*realm*) through social practices (*social practice*). Therefore, the realm is seen as a gamble where the social practices of the kyai are highly dependent on the strength of the capital the kyai has in making social changes to victims and followers of Dimas Kanjeng.

Such roles of the clerical social action, according to the Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory in general gave birth to several aspects, including; reject conflict, reduce the occurrence of various conflicts and harmonize the influence of the teachings of Dimas Kanjeng among the community; start in independence, independent clerics' attitude in influencing their social thinking and behavior;

hold dialogue with certain versions of integration, building dialogical relations through the roles and actions of clerics with followers of Dimas Kanjeng who are still in Padepokan to bring about social change. In this context, various roles and social actions of the kyai, in practice gave birth to several contributions, namely; kyai as social transformation, spiritual guidance, social cohesion, social harmonization; purification of the soul (*tazkiyyat al-nafs*) and moral fortifications in maintaining social integrity.

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