The Shift of Kyai’s Roles in Kediri East Java in the Post New-Order Era: The contribution on local environment context

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Abstract: this study discusses kyai’s roles in responding to the social, economic, and political changes in Kediri, East Java, in the post new-order era. Since the collapse of Soeharto’s power in 1998, Indonesia was viewed as a model of the unity of Islam and democracy. Islam played important roles in the orientation of the political form in Indonesian. The stronger contribution of the Muslims after the new order can not be separated from the roles of kyai. To date, kyai has a role of selecting outside cultures that enter the society. Unfortunately, the capability of kyai to select outside cultures is often not comparable to the swift flow of culture that reduce the role of kyai. This study concludes that the ownership of all symbolic, social, economic, and cultural capitals, has not been able to lead kyai to be successful in all arenas of their struggle. This is because efforts to strengthen economic and social capitals, especially political capital, turned out to weaken symbolic capital. The further impact is that their followers do not provide adequate support when kyai develop their wings in economic and political affairs.

Key words: The shift of kyai’s role, Kediri East Java, the Post New-Order Era

1. Introduction

This study discusses the shift of the role of kyai in responding to social, economic, and political changes in Kediri East Java after the new order. Geertz, in his study of the role of kyai conducted 55 years ago, precisely in 1960, concluded that the role of the kyai would continue to exist as long as he established a religious school that was religiously satisfying villagers and schools that served to help the growth of New Indonesia. Because he failed to do that, according to Geertz, the days when kyai who was the dominant force among the Javanese village community had approached the end.[1] Geertz, according to Bull, doubted the ability of the kyai to become cultural brokers who could lead Indonesia to renewal.[2] The conclusion about the end of the role of kyai in Geertz’ study was not proven until now. The role of kyai also remained felt until the reformation period, after the collapse of Soeharto's power in 1998.

During this reform period, according to Collins, Indonesia was seen as an example of the unification of Islam and democracy. Islam plays an important role in orienting political forms in Indonesia. Collins also cited key conclusions from the “Islam in Modern Indonesia” conference held on 7 February 2002 stating “Democracy will not proceed in Indonesia until it is supported by the Islamic community and until the value of democratization is explicitly articulated as compatible with Islamic doctrine.”[3] The important position of Muslims cannot be separated from the role of kyai as the central figure. This central and strong position of kyai makes the existence of kyai very charismatic and obeyed.[4] My research about pesantren 5 years ago concluded that the level of legitimacy of kyai that was marked by the devotion and obedience of the people towards was partly determined by the assumption of the people about the level of sincerity of the kyai. The higher the level of trust of the ummah towards the sincerity of the kyai, the higher their devotion and adherence to the kyai.[5]. As a proof, when materialization of life enters the life of the pesantren, the position of the kyai undergoes a shift. As the next implication is the emergence of a feeling of lack of trust from Muslims towards their kyai. For example, when there was a presidential election, several kyai in Kediri, East Java supported one candidate pair, even the kyai delivered a message that Muslims chose the presidential candidate. When the presidential election was held it turned out that the candidate's votes supported by the kyai pesantren not win. The contribution of the kyai to the candidate's votes was clearly observed in the pesantren of each of the kyai.
The phenomenon of shifting the role of kyai as illustrated above also occurred in Kediri, East Java, where this research was conducted. However, according to Abdurrahman Wahid, it was very difficult to generalize to this shift in the role of the kyai because of the existence of various types of kyai that resulted in differences in the responses of each kyai to the matters they considered important.\cite{6} Viewed from the educating role they played, the types of kyai referred to by Wahid were kyai who educated in pesantren and kyai who did not have any pesantren, such as kyai who directly taught the community through speeches.\cite{7} In addition to these 2 (two) models, there should be another type, namely kyai of tarekat, often called murshid and political kyai. The subject of this study concentrates on the kyai of pesantren who have the four characteristics of kyai.

Departing from the background above, the main problem of this research is how the role of the kyai in responding to social, economic and political changes in Kediri East Java after the New Order. There are at least three research questions to be answered: first, what is source of authority the leadership of kyai; second, how is the response of kyai to the political, economic and social shifts after the New Order. Third, how the people respond to the response of kyai to the political, economic and social changes.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used in this study is Pierre Bourdieu's social reproduction theory. This theory was chosen because he felt it was more appropriate to be used to see the phenomenon of the role of the pesantren-owned kyai. Bourdieu's theory can be displayed in a formula: 

\[(\text{habitus} \times \text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{practice}.\] \cite{8} Social practice is an integration between habitus multiplied by capital and added to the realm.

Habitus, according to Bourdieu, is "the way in which individuals 'become themselves' - develop attitudes and dispositions-and, on the other hand, the ways in which those individuals engage in practices."\cite{9} Habitus expresses individuals to be themselves, builds attitudes and character. Every individual has a scheme that they use to perceive, understand, appreciate, and evaluate the social world. Through this scheme, people produce their practices, perceive and evaluate them. Habitus is obtained as a result of occupying that position in the social world for a long time.\cite{10} So, habitus becomes a way for every individual to participate in public life in general.

Bourdieu views social life as a battleground for every individual and social group to improve and maintain their position.\cite{11} In this battlefield the strength of individuals or groups of people is determined by their respective habitus. It is the habitus that determines the ability of each individual or community group to use various capitals they have, all symbolic capital, economic capital, and cultural capital so that the capitals can be used cumulatively and maximally\cite{12}. Bourdieu's theory is used as a lens to see the phenomenon of the shifting role of kyai in responding to changes in politics, the economy, and the surrounding communities.

3. Review of the Previous Studies

Research on the role of kyai has been widely conducted. In 1960, Clifford Geertz published his work on kyai. Geertz, by borrowing the concept of Eric R. Wolf, concluded that kyai in Java occupied positions as cultural brokers.\cite{13} According to this theory, kyai originally acted as a communicator who explained the various scientific, social and political developments at the center of Islam, Mecca, to the rural population in Java. Since independence era, kyai have performed a dual role of being religious leaders and politicians who became the link for the interests of the government.\cite{14} At different times, kyai also plays a role in selecting the outer culture that enters into traditional Javanese society. Unfortunately, often the ability of kyai to select outside cultures is not comparable to the swift flow of culture so that this will reduce the role of kyai.\cite{15}

Geertz, according to Hiroko Horikoshi, gave the impression that the role of kyai in Java was only determined by their role as a passive cultural broker.\cite{16} According to Horikoshi, Geertz's opinion was not entirely correct. When conducting research in Garut, West Java, Horikoshi found that kyai not only played a passive role as a cultural broker, but also played an active role in selecting external cultures and choosing various attitudes that were considered positive to be developed by the community.\cite{17} Geertz's failure to understand Islam in Java, according to Marshall G. S. Hodgson, was
because he was influenced too much by the perspective of modernist Islam.\(^{[18]}\) Similar opinion was also expressed by Mark Woodward. When understanding Islam in Java, according to Woorward, Geertz used the terminology proposed by neo-fundamentalist.\(^{[19]}\) However, despite these various criticisms, Geertz has been a pioneer in the study of Islam in Java. So many studies of Islam in Java refer to Geertz's work.

Another study examining kyai was carried out by Zamakhsyari Dhofier. Dhofier's study focused on the role of kyai in maintaining and developing traditional Islamic ideals in Java. In this study, Dhofier concluded that kyai took a broad attitude in organizing the modernization of pesantren institutions in the midst of changing society, without leaving positive aspects of the traditional Islamic education system. Or, more clearly, kyai as top leaders of pesantren institutions has been undergoing fundamental changes and also playing a role in the transformation process of Indonesian modern life.\(^{[20]}\) The weakness of Dhofier's study, according to Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, is the neglect of the relation of kyai with the outside world. Dhofier indeed often mentions the existence of the relations of kyai and the world outside pesantren, but these relationships are often just assumed, and not followed by supporting data.\(^{[21]}\)

Seven years after Dhofier defended his dissertation, precisely in 1987, Iik Arifin Mansurnoor defended the results of his research on the position and role of the Madurese kyai. Mansurnoor found that the role of ulama in Madura experienced ups and downs. In the colonial period, the role of ulama was so powerful because the government did not pay attention to the needs of the Madurese population. After independence era, for a long time the central government could not show its attention to the villagers, so the leadership role of the ulama was so steady. Nevertheless, the situation changed when the government program touched this area. When ulama felt they gained competition, because the government could increase its presence in the Madurese, the ulama mobilized their colleagues and followers to defend their role.\(^{[22]}\)

In 1988, in order to complete his studies at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto began his research in the Tayu region Central Java about the response of kyai pesantren and kyai langgar to economic, social and political changes. The results of this study also show that the five sources of authority of kyai are: support and acceptance of the ummah, institutional support, such as langgar, madrasas, pesantren, and tarekat. Other sources of authority are networks of relations among kyai, kyai’s relations with centers of power, and personal qualities of kyai themselves. Dirdjosanjoto also stressed that the source of authority for a kyai is not always accumulative. One source of authority can reduce other authority.\(^{[23]}\) Unfortunately, the Dirdjosanjoto study did not use data from the ummah extensively. The response of the ummah to the response of kyai in addressing economic, social and political changes needs to be considered.

Almost in line with the concentration of Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto's research, in 1999, Endang Turmudi defended his dissertation at the Australian National University which concentrated on the political role of kyai. One aspect explained in Turmudi's study is how far the political action of kyai influenced his followers. There are at least three findings in this study. First, Kyai occupy an honorable position in Jombang society, where research is conducted. Second, Islam has been and is still rooted in Jombang society. Third, Muslims have access to the wider socio-political life of the nation because they have many figures with national reputation. Another conclusion from this study is that the convergence between the tendency of Muslims to support Islamic parties with the support of kyai towards the party is an important factor in the victory of the party. The political role of kyai which is so large is slowly but surely reduced by the people who obtain modern education.\(^{[24]}\) As Mansurnoor's study, Turmudi's study also did not utilize data from the ummah regarding the political role of kyai.

In addition to examining how kyai responds to social, economic and political changes in Kediri East Java after the New Order This study, this study also investigates how the people respond to kyai's response to social, economic and political changes. This is what distinguishes this study from the previous studies.
4. Research Methods

The Kyai I observed in this study was KH. Jauhar Nehru, caregiver of pesantren Raudlatul Ulum Kencong, and KH. Muhammad Nuril Anwar, Mursyid of the Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah that is center at the pesantren. KH. Jauhar Nehru, who is better known as Gus Mahu, besides being the caretaker of pesantren Putra Raudlatul Ulum and general chairperson of the Central Coordinating Committee for Jam'iyyah Ahli Thariqah Al-Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah, pesantren Raudlatul Ulum Kencong Kepung Kediri during the period of 2012-2017, he is also active in political parties. While KH. Muhammad Nuril Anwar, who is often called Gus Muh, besides being Mursyid Thariqah Al-Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah Islamic Boarding School Raudlatul Ulum Kencong, he was also an economic actor. By considering the characteristics they have, namely kyai of pesantren, tarekat, politics, and economic actors, the two kyais at pesantren Raudlatul Ulum Kencong were used as subjects to observe. As soon as I made the decision to choose Gus Mahu and Gus Muh as research subjects, then on July 4, 2015, I came to the two kyai to meet and ask permission to conduct a research at their pesantren.

My presence at this pesantren received a warm welcome. On the sidelines of the crowded recitation program, which is often referred to as Khususiyah which is held regularly on every Saturday wage, I can hold in-depth interviews with both Gus Muh and Gus Mahu, as well as with Gus Bik Mukhtaruddin, the youngest brother of the two kyai that I observe. This field research was carried out continuously for 5 (five) months, from July to November 2015, both at pesantren Raudlatul Ulum Kencong and at other places of this research resources who responded to the responses of the two kyai that I observed in terms of political, economic, public tendencies at the post New Order era.

There were nine informants in the study. Two kyai were observed and 1 (one) youngest brother, 3 (three) Central Coordinator of the Jam'iyyah Ahli Thariqah Al-Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah, 3 (three) people who understood the activities and thoughts of the two kyai I was observing. There should still be 2 (two) other resource persons who I ask for their willingness to become resources, but unfortunately he did not dare to answer some of the questions I asked. They recommended that I interviewed some colleagues who were considered to know the activities of the two kyai. This reality shows the truth of Abdurrahman Wahid's thesis that no matter how democratic the management structure and leadership in the pesantren are, there is still an unbridgeable distance between kyai and their families on the one hand, and assistants and students on the other. So the position held by a kyai is a double position; as a caregiver and owner of a pesantren. In fact, the obstacles to commenting on the activities of kyai are also experienced by people outside the structure of pesantren kyai, when the person has an emotional relationship with the pesantren and kyai.

The interview technique I did was often called an in-depth interview. In each interview, 3 (three) points were explored, as Seidman's advice, namely life history, contemporary experience, and reflection on meaning. To facilitate the making of interview records, recording devices available in mobile phones was employed from the beginning. In addition to these 9 (nine) resource persons, I also observed the students of the Qadiriyyah and Naqsyabandiyah tarekat when they met and communicated with the two kyai I observed, as well as their descendent.

Furthermore, the observation technique that I uses in this study is often called participant observer by Raymond L. Gold or called active membership by Adler and Adler. I was developing relationships with participants so that I could be accepted as part of the participants. I tried to do what was being done by the informants, and not to play complete participation by doing fully what the informants did. This, according to Spradley, as quoted by Ahmad Sonhadji, will make it difficult for researchers to place themselves as researchers. To facilitate data extraction, I followed all the special processes and various activities that existed at the pesantren. Coincidentally I have also ever participated in the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah activities of a Murshid who has pledged allegiance as a student at pesantren Raudlatul Ulum.
5. Research Findings and Discussion

The three research findings are presented below, related to the source of religious leadership of kyai, the response of kyai to the political, economic and social shifts after the New Order, and the people's response to the kyai's response to political, economic and social changes.

5.1 Source of Kyai Leadership Authority

The Kyai I observed were KH. Jauhar Nehru and KH. Muhammad Nuril Anwar. The two kyai's families that I observed were the sons of KH. Zamrodji and Nyai Hj. Ash-Sholihah. KH. Zamrodji is the son of KH. Syairozi bin KH. Syakur. KH. Syakur is his brother KH. Abdullah, his father Shaykh Mahfudz at-Termasi, a productive kyai from Termas who lives in Mecca. While Nyai Hj. Ash-Sholihah is the daughter of KH. Abdul Aziz and Hj. Siti Aminah, from Polaman Kediri, the descent of the founder of Pesantren Hidayatul Mubtadi'in Lirboyo Kediri. KH. Syairozi, the grandfather of the kyai whom I observed was son-in-law KH. Sirojuddin, an ulama of followers of Prince Diponegoro who migrated to Kediri and pioneered villages in the Kepung Jombangan Region and then established a pesantren in the area.

This data shows that the two kyai I observed were descendants of the kyai. For more details, it can be seen in the genealogy of the kyai that I observed on the next page. KH. Jauhar Nehru, who is usually called Gus Mahu, began his studies at Raudlatul Ulum with direct guidance from KH. Zamrodji, his father. In addition, Gus Mahu also studied at Miftahul Huda Singosari Malang Islamic Boarding School and Batokan, Mojo, Kediri Islamic Boarding School. The latter mentioned boarding school was raised by KH. Jamal, who is famous for pesantren which teaches books in weton, does not use the madrasa system.

Meanwhile, KH. Muhammad Nuril Anwar, who is usually called Gus Muh, in addition to learning from his own father at pesantren Raudlatul Ulum Kencong, he also studied at pesantren Raudlatul Hikam Secang, Magelang and Miftahul Huda Singosari Malang. KH. Zamrodji often asks Gus Muh to be his driver when KH. Zamrodji received an invitation to recitation or a special event conducted by the regional coordinator of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqshabandiyah Order in various regions. KH. Zamrodji always paid Gus Muh for his services as a driver so that Gus Muh was always eager to participate in various activities of his father's tarekat. When arrived at the recitation site or specialty, KH. Zamrodji gave Gus Muh the freedom to attend the recitation or go to another place. When Gus Muh chose to go to another place, KH. Zamrodji only asked when the recitation was over, that Gus Muh had returned to the place of recitation. According to Gus Muh, this is how KH. Zamrodji train him to know various activities in tarekat.

During their studies, Gus Muh and Gus Muh were relatively diligent when studying at pesantren, both when studying at their own pesantren and other pesantren. Unfortunately, their time to study in some pesantren was relatively short. Gus Muh, for example, when he was around 17 years old in 1413 H or in 1992 AD, had been indicted as a murshid. On the other hand, except in his own pesantren, other pesantren where the two kyai I observed emphasized more on weton teaching, not managing madrasa. Gus Muh studied the field of Sufism more when studying in Secang Magelang. In fact, pesantren Raudlatul Ulum Kencong is not only a pesantren tarekat, but also a pesantren that organizes religious education (diniyah) through the Madrasah Diniyah Nidhomiyah.

After studying in pesantren, besides teaching at her pesantren, Gus Muh is more engaged in the Islamic youth organization, the Nahdlatul Ulama autonomous organization, Ansor. In fact, Gus Muh ever held the position of Executive of the Ansor Branch of the Kediri Regency. After being active in Ansor, Gus Muh also increased his role in the religious social organization, Nahdlatul Ulama. As in Ansor, Gus Muh also held the position of administrator of the NU Branch of the Kediri Regency. While Gus Muh accompanied his father, KH. Zamrodji to guide the tarekat students.

Pesantren Raudlatul Ulum, the site of this research, has several businesses, such as the Darun Najah Cooperative, agriculture by managing relatively large rice fields, and livestock, such that the two kyai have relatively adequate economic resources. Most pesantren are established and developed with kyai's personal finance. Therefore, when the pesantren develops, some businesses are also controlled by the kyai and their families. This also happened in the pesantren where this research was carried out.
Departing from the above explanation, it is known that the two kyai have all the capitals needed to support their roles in the community. As the descendants of the kyai, even the top of their genealogy were great kyai, the symbolic capital is owned by these two kyai. They also have social capital in the form of ownership of followers in tarekat and santri in their pesantren, relations with the wider community through Ansor and NU organizations, even their relationship with centers of power as well as important social capitals. The availability of various business fields owned by pesantren can become economic capitals. One capital that seems to be not optimal is cultural capital, namely formal education. In fact, pesantren Raudlatul Ulum has has religious school Nidhomiyah that has serious management.

5.2 Kyai’s Response to the Political, Economic and Social Shifts after the New Order.

There are at least 3 (three) points used as indicators to measure the response of the two observed kyai towards political, economic and social changes. These three things are related to the kyai's strategy to ensuring the sustainability of pesantren Raudlatul Ulum, and if possible to make some improvement, both related to routine teaching for students, madrasah diniyah, and recitation for tarekat students. Second, related to the response of the kyai to economic development. Third, how the two kyai take part in politics. The continuity of tarekat can be seen through the recitation routines conducted on every Wage Saturday, and the recitation conducted by the coordinator of how the tarekat students are going well and smoothly. This routine recitation begins with various sunnah prayers, tahlil, recitation of the Koran, recitation of the book Al-Hikam, and religious lectures, dhuhur prayers in congregation, and ends with baiatan. During this study, routine recitation took place 5 (five) times, July 4, August 8, September 12, October 17, and November 21, 2015.\[35\]

On various occasions when tarekat students meet the two kyai who are observed to feel an egalitarian relationship. Unlike other pesantren, where most santri kiss the hands of the kyai when they shake hands; in this pesantren, it was seen that most tarekat students did not kiss their hand when they shook hands. In fact, when Gus Mahu finished his recitation, recited the book Al-Hikam, and by chance it was drizzling, apparently none of the tarekat students were moved to shade.\[36\] At first I suspected that this egalitarian relationship was created by the caregivers of this pesantren. I based this suspicion on the reality that the leaders of the various agenda of the program in the recitation were many administrators, not only by the kyai. In fact, according to Gus Muh, the distribution of jobs to the officials had taken place since the time of KH. Zamrodji lives. Gus Muh did want not the domination of certain person\[37\]. Gus Bik, the youngest sister of the two kyai that I observed, validated what I guessed regarding the reality of handshake. He explained that ideally the santri should be tawadlu’ to the kyai. However, this attitude does not need to be traditionalized, not necessarily forced by the kyai for the students\[38\]. However, recitations for the tarekat students, can continue to be carried out routinely, after 17 years since the death of KH. Zamrodji. In fact, the community around the pesantren feel that the students of tarekat Qadirtyah Wa Naqsabandiyah at pesantren Raudlatul Ulum can develop.\[39\] Nevertheless, the development of santri who live in pesantren seems to continue to decline.

Related to the decline in the number of permanent santri is due to the community supporting the Raudlatul Ulum Islamic Boarding School want elders of the pesantren could be examples as what KH. Zamrodji performed.\[40\] If it is correlated to the source of authority as described in the previous section, it is found that the two kyai that I observed have inadequate experience to manage the pesantren, especially madrasah diniyah. This is very different from his father, KH. Zamrodji. When studying at pesantren Lirboyo, the young Zamrodji was trusted to help KH. Abdul Karim to revive madrasa that had not been active for some time. Zamrodji was successful in making some innovations in this madrasa named Hidayatul Mubtadi’in. Zamrodji's innovation contributes to the development of the madrasa. When I conducted a research pesantren Lirboyo, Madrasah Hidayatul Mubtadi’in had 5,720 students.\[41\] In politics, these two kyai have relatively high attention. When there is a local election in Kediri regency, these two kyai support different candidates. However, the kyai's political support for these candidates did not correlate with the winnings of the candidates who were supported. Even Gus Mahu stated that the difference in support did not confuse tarekat students.\[42\] This is more due to the attitude of apathy of tarekat students on the political choices of caregivers of pesantren, because, for them, what to be followed are matters of religion and worship, not politics.
In 2007, Gus Mahu also nominated himself as the Syuro PKB Council, a political party founded by the NU community, at the Kediri Regency Branch Conference. Unfortunately, in the nomination it turned out that Gus Mahu lost the vote against Sulaiman Lubis. Regarding this defeat, Nur Habib explained that Gus Mahu was not preparing and not managing his supporters neatly and well. \[43\] Lilik Nur Lathifah stated, the nomination process requires better management, a lot of sacrifice, not necessarily good people. Gus Mahu already has the capital of community members, students, but no one has managed it properly. National capital, ownership of \textit{pesantren}, and students of \textit{tarekat} should be beneficial for Gus Mahu, but apparently all of the capitals were not well managed.\[44\]

Meanwhile, the one that greatly developed the economic business was Gus Muh. Through the Darun Najah Cooperative, cattle fattening, rice field management, the results of \textit{waqf} for the \textit{pesantren}, according to Gus Muh, it was not yet able to go as expected. Gus Muh complains why belief in religion and worship cannot be converted into trust in the economy.\[45\]

Gus Muh argued that Muslims should follow the examples of the Prophet. When he was young, the Messenger of Allah had become an import-export trader, who ran a trading business of a widow, Khodijah, who eventually became his wife.\[46\] Unfortunately, according to Gus Bik, most \textit{tarekat} followers still cannot understand if the \textit{tarekat murshid} concentrates on economic affairs. The \textit{tarekat murshid}, according to the \textit{tarekat} follower, should only guide his followers in worship and \textit{taqarrub} to Allah, and is not associated with political and economic affairs.\[47\]

Departing from the above illustration, it was found that ownership of all capitals turned out to be unable to deliver the two \textit{kyai} whom I observed to be successful in the entire arena of their struggle. This is because efforts to strengthen economic and social capitals, especially political capitals, turned out to weaken symbolic capital. This can be seen from the authority of the \textit{kyai} who have not experienced an increase. A further impact is that \textit{tarekat} followers do not provide adequate support when their \textit{kyai} develop wings in economic and political affairs.

5.3 The Ummah's Response to the Response of the Kyai to Political, Economic and Social Changes.

Today, ummah face the demands of various needs that have resulted in uncertainty in many ways. Therefore, they are trying to get certainty of life through religious activities. This fosters good religious awareness. This situation support the efforts to develop \textit{tarekat}.

The lack of absolute obedience to the \textit{tarekat murshid} and their descendent is at least due to several things. First, most \textit{tarekat} students are linked by KH. Zamrodji, not by KH. Muhammad Nuril Anwar.\[48\] Second, Gus Muh is still young, even now he is not married.\[49\] Third, the activeness of Gus Muh in the economy and Gus Mahu in politics, which is considered by most \textit{tarekat} followers to be incompatible with the teachings of the \textit{tarekat}.\[50\]

Currently, most students need an educational institution whose diploma has a civilian effect for further study and employment in the formal sector. Most \textit{pesantren} which keep maintaining their allegiance and do not hold any Public School that is characterized by Islam which is often called a madrasa, or do not hold any formal school, tends to be left behind by their supporters. This situation also occurs in \textit{Pesantren} Raudlatul Ulum. Therefore, the establishment of PAUD and MI which are currently pioneered become important to restore the greatness of \textit{pesantren}. The process of reviving the \textit{pesantren} will be faster when the \textit{pesantren} organizes SMP / MTs and MA / SMA / SMK and is managed professionally.\[51\] Based on the data above, it can be concluded that the demands of the world of work, the development of science and technology, and the development of society that were not well followed by \textit{Pesantren} Raudlatul Ulum resulted in the abandonment of the \textit{pesantren} by its supporters. The business of Gus Mahu in the field of economy does not receive adequate support from his followers because of several things. First, \textit{tarekat} followers consider the \textit{tarekat} world to be more concentrated on the afterlife, so they feel less appropriate when the \textit{tarekat pesantren} handles economic affairs.\[52\] Secondly, so far the community has not felt any tangible benefits from the \textit{pesantren}'s economic and political business. In fact, they believe that the benefits do not contribute much to the smooth management of \textit{pesantren} and \textit{tarekat}. the business only contribute positively to the \textit{kyai} family.\[53\]
Various responses from the people above support the truth of the Buordieu theory, that complete capital ownership, if not equipped with habitus in accordance with the expectations of society and the accuracy of the use of capital in a specific arena, will not have a contribution to the social reproduction, i.e. the success of individuals to influence the community of their followers to follow what is desired by the agent, in this case the kyai observed.

So far, the kyai with their excess knowledge, are often regarded as someone who can always understand the majesty of God and the secrets of nature so that they are considered to have a great position and are not affordable, especially by most lay people. Not only are they pesantren leaders but also have power in the midst of society, and even have prestige among the community. According to Dhofer, most kyai in Java assume that a pesantren can be compared to a small kingdom, where the kyai is an absolute source of power and authority in the life and environment of the pesantren except for other kyai whose influence is greater. The position of the kyai who is so central and strong is what makes the existence of the kyai very charismatic and obeyed. When materialization and aestheticization of life enters the life of the pesantren, the relation of the santri-kyai experiences a shift. When market law also occurs in pesantren which creates a transaction process in which people calculate the costs and benefits of each social relationship, including the relation of the santri to their kyai. If there is an imbalance between cost and benefit, there will be tension in the relationship.

This study also supports the results of Pradjarta's research. Each cleric has different sources of authority. From this study it also appears that the importance of the source of authority depends largely on the environment, the situation and with whom he is dealing. In the pesantren environment in general, the sources of authority, such as personal qualities, especially mastery of knowledge and charisma, or interfaith networks are very important. However, in pesantren which began to work in the field of cooperatives, relations with the government are important. It can be ascertained that because of his relations with several officials, when approaching the election, the popularity of a kyai increases and can provide a source of high bargaining power for him. Further, it should also be noted that the source of authority for a kyai is not always accumulative. In other words, one source of power can harm other sources. A kyai who is too close to the government can make him lose the support of his people. Between one source of authority and another source of authority can reduce each other.

6. Conclusion

This study has attempted to explain the role of kyai in responding to social, economic and political changes in Kediri East Java after the new order. The findings of this study support Clifford Geertz's research published in 1960 which concluded that the role of the kyai would continue to exist as long as he established a religiously satisfying madrasa for villagers and schools that served to help the growth of New Indonesia because of failing to do that, and the days when kyai is the dominant force among the Javanese village community have come to an end.

This study answers three questions, namely, first, what is the source of authority of kyai leadership; second, how is the response of kyai to the political, economic and social shifts after the New Order; third, how the people respond to the responses of kyai to political, economic and social changes. This study concludes that the two kyai have all the capitals needed to be successful in their role in the society, both symbolic capital, social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital. The ownership of all of the capitals has not yet been able to deliver the two kyai that I have observed to be successful in all areas of their struggle. This is because, efforts to strengthen economic and social capital, especially political capital, turned out to weaken symbolic capital. Further impact, followers, both santri in pesantren and tarekat followers do not provide adequate supports when their kyai develop their wings in economic and political affairs. Various unhappy responses from the people above have supported the truth of the Buordieu theory, that complete capital ownership when not equipped with habitus according to people's expectations, and the use of specific capital according to the demands of the arena, will not contribute positively to success.
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[32] Interview with KH. Muhammad Nuril Anwar, July 4, 2015, at the home of the caregiver of pesantren Raudlatul Ulum Kencong, Ibu Nyai Hj. Ash-Sholihah Zamroji.

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