

Defections “Kiai”, “Santri” and Farmers in the New Order and Reform Order in the Islamic Tradition in Rural East Java

Ach. Fatchan* Mustofa Hadi Soekamto

Faculty of Social Science, State University of Malang, Jalan Semarang 5, Malang 65145, Indonesia

* E-mail of the corresponding author: ach.fatchan.fis@um.ac.id

Abstract

The study purpose of understand the context which aspects influenced the rejection and the meaning of actions carried out by individual “Kiai”, “Santri” and farmers. “Kiai” is leader in the Islamic boarding school named “pesantren”, so “santri” is students in the “pesantren”. That action such as monoculture cropping patterns, refused Bank credit in trying to farm, and rejected the use of pesticides. Qualitative research phenomenological approach to uncover the meaning behind the defections of action called “noumena”. Phenomenological approach holds that each individual action has a unique meaning that need to be understood. Results of this research showed that the action of rejection or defections by “kiai”, “santri” and farmers have different meanings, which is backed by the context and motives, “because motive” and “in order to motive”, are different on the New Order and the Order of the Reform. That action like “wong manut” or follower; “wong mblebes” or farmers creative, strategy and active in the farming; “wong lecet” or blisters; “wong keset” or doormat that starts from “Kiai” and then imitated by “santri” and farmers in the vicinity. The findings of this research is different from the pattern of dichotomy Clifford Geertz about the “santri”, “abangan” and “priyayi”. Understanding the diversity of the individual actions of the sort suggested the concept of agricultural development in Indonesia at the time will come, especially Java, attention to the diversity of local socio-cultural context, not execution of development as a leveler on the New Order.

Keywords: defections, “pesantren”, “kiai”, “santri”, farmers, new and reform order

1. Introduction

Based on science that examined, Islamic boarding school or “pesantren” more inclined to examine the general science and skills, in addition to religious sciences (Dhofir, 1983; Fatchan, 1996; Susilo and Fatchan: 2014). Patterns of community empowerment through skills training farmers in Islamic boarding school is more humane, reliable, and capable of output a more honest man who is responsible for the basic welfare of the world and in the hereafter. Pattern training is conducted at present life-oriented and the future or monopluralist (Fatchan, 1997). Thus, it can produce an human resources responsible to God Almighty Creator, the life of a fellow human being, and the natural surroundings, in the tradition of the Balinese cultural wisdom locally referred to as the “tri hita karana” (Surya, Thoyib, Fatchan, and Rahayu. 2014).

Changes to openness with the outside world, resulting in a “pesantren” experienced change from only examining the science of religion religious science review to be accompanied by science and skills. Islamic boarding school is not only the classical religion expert, but also general science and skills to students and the surrounding community with the typical model of learning pattern of “pesantren” as the system of “Sorogan and Bandungan approach” are adaptive (Steenbrink, 1986; Irhammi, 1993; and Fatchan, 1996; Susilo and Fatchan, 2014). Agricultural skills developed in the form of various types of farm enterprises that comply with the environmental conditions where the village of “pesantren” was located (Chirzin, 1979; Fatchan, 2003). In performing the farmer found the refusal of some of the actions carried out by “pesantren”, among them the refusal/defections to the implementation of the program of agricultural development (Feder: 1981) as “Bimas” and “Inmas” that proclaimed by the Government in Indonesia. Bimas is mass guidance of peasant society and Inmas is intensification of mass of peasant society. The actions undertaken by the resistance among “pesantren” were subsequently imitated by peasants in the vicinity. This occurs because of the existence of “pesantren” accepted by the people of neighboring farmers (Fatchan, 2004).

Based on the above, this research seeks to understand the context which aspects influenced actions and the meaning of the action undertaken by the individual rejection of “kiai”, “santri” and farmers, especially in the New Order and the Order of the Reform. Among other actions the cropping pattern rejects monoculture --such as rice and sugar cane-- rejected the Bank's credit, and rejected the use of pesticides. To uncover the meaning behind the phenomenon of defections named “noumena” approach is used for research in phenomenology.

2. Method

The research was designed using a qualitative to uncover the meaning behind the defections of action by “kiai”, “santri” and farmers in the village-based “pesantren”. Thus, this research is at a level of social definitions paradigm (Ritzer, 1992). To uncover the meanings used “knife analysis” the perspective of Phenomenology. This perspective holds that many acts of the individual caused by “because motives” and “in order to motives” as well

as a variety of contexts that are background. Research location in East Java in the context of cultural “maduraan” in pesantren Saichona-Madura, cultural “mataraman” in pesantren Abufaid-Blitar, and cultural “tengahan” in pesantren Mubtadliin Malang. The subject consists of the “kiai”, “santri” and farmers. Determination of the subject of the research carried out by snow ball technique that uses key informant “kiai” and leader of the village. Data collection was carried out with the participation and observation techniques in depth interviews. Data analysis using interactive techniques of models from Miles and Huberman (1995).

3. Results

3.1 Conditions of context aspects influenced the actions of denial

The findings of this research show that the science of the study of changes in Islamic boarding school East Java in the 1970s-2000s (New Order era) average “kiai”, “santri” majored in religious studies examines 43,33% and amounted to examine religious science accompanied science and life skills of 56,67%. After the 2000s (the Order of the Reform era) average “santri” majored in religious studies examines amounted to 36% and examine the science of science and religious accompanied skills 64%. It is especially the case in "pesantren khalafiah" or islamic boarding school that examines the science of religion and general science, as in Table 1.

**Table 1. Changes to the study of religious knowledge and skills in "pesantren" East Java
 The New Order and the Order of the Reform**

Era/Boarding	Religious studies science (%)	Religious & life skills science (%)
The New Order:		
Saichona – Madura	46	57
Abufaid – Blitar	43	54
Mubtadliin – Malang	41	59
Average	43.3	56.7
The Order of The Reform:		
Saichona – Madura	39	61
Abufaid – Blitar	33	67
Mubtadliin-Malang.	36	64
Average	36	64

Associated with different types of skills training to “santri” and farmers around the Islamic boarding school shows the following: rice farming venture, dry land farming, plantation crops as coconut, citrus, sugar cane, corn, cassava crops. So home industries, clothing, and industry of “tahu and tempe”, “tahu and tempe” are traditional food in Java, as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2. Types of Skills in several “Pesantren” East Java

No.	Name of “Pesantren”	Type of Skills Training
1.	Saichona - Madura	dry land agriculture corn and cassava crops coconut plantation
2.	Abufaid - Blitar	sugar farming & rice chicken farms manufacture of “tahu & tempe”
3.	Mubtadliin – Malang	chicken farm, goat, cow farming of rice and vegetables citrus plantations

Types of food and agricultural skills training cane seemed to dominate, because of the location of the Islamic boarding school in East Java, the majority (70%) are in the rural areas. Rural agricultural development as a result identical to the knowledge, skills, and entrepreneurial are done by "pesantren" tend to be farming activities or agroindustry. These skills are generally a hereditary heritage, influenced by the surrounding natural environment, and peasant society.

Pesantren Saichona in Madura East Java is dominated by the farmer dry land and plantation. The farmer of land located on the slopes of the hills to the South of pesantren. Surrounding communities Islamic boarding school monoculture cropping pattern that rejects the recommended Government. The recommended land planted with Guava cashew nut, precisely planted with various types of crops like mango, guava and coconut, as well as corn, beans, and cassava. The rejection was because of those plants have been widespread since the existence of the "pesantren" in the village. Such a pattern of trying to produce their, "kiai and santri", next transfer to farmers in the vicinity with the patterns of group approach named "bandongan approach" (Fatchan, 1996).

Pesantren Abufaid in Blitar, East Java, indicated the existence of farming skills, sugarcane farming skills, and laying hens farm. In addition also the agricultural management skills training such as industry of "tempe". Rice and sugar cane farms managed by "Kiai" himself, so in Islamic boarding school is a farmer planting sugar cane and rice crops, developments or changes in the era of New Order and the Order of the Reform can be seen in Table 2. In sugar cane farming show that "Kiai" never want to join the TRI program (TRI is the Intensification of People's Cane sugar) but always option TRB (TRB is Free People's Cane sugar). The reason is, because the more freely in selling crops and free from Bank loans. Employee administration pesantren holds that a Bank's credit including "makruh law" (in the Islamic law which noted that if one Bank doesn't credit loan got reward, but if that person does not get a reward). Whereas livestock chicken is managed by alumnus and industry "tahu and tempe" maintained special helpers.

Pesantren Muftadliin in Malang, East Java were the farmer performed include citrus orchards, vegetables, rice, and horticulture. This Islamic boarding school defections to patterns of farmer in monoculture, refused to plant rice during the year. The defections as a veiled form of such plant or vegetable and pieces of rice whose positions are into the village. Agricultural skills development is carried out by means of "pesantren" in collaboration with farmers in the vicinity in the form of the lease and contract farmland. On the land on lease and contracted that used for apprenticeships by "santri" and farmers.

According to data from Islamic boarding school Muftadliin at 2007 shows that the change in land area controlled for the internship in the last ten years (1997's up to 2007 's) from 2.25 to 5.5 acres. Although land contract system of domination on Muftadliin. The reason is that such patterns have been habit in the neighborhood of the village and was used as a place of internship the "santri" and farmers around the Islamic boarding school. The village are found profit oriented and market oriented. Among the farmers found the "Muslims Aboge" i.e. Muslims who avoid activities at the time of the day "rebo" and "wage".

Paddy rice, vegetables, horticulture and always planted throughout the year (in the rainy season and the dry season). In terms of local Agriculture Department rules in the wet season paddy fields should be planted with rice. Such defections phenomenon also happens to farmers, where most of their vegetables, horticulture, gardening people like orange. In other words, "kiai", "santri", and farmers refuse the planting patterns of monoculture (only paddy) in rainy season and change it with a pattern of multiple cropping.

Based on the above description of various can note that defections made shown in many types of plants that are cultivated in paddy fields which should be planted with rice, but planted with different kinds of plants. This occurs because the farmers affected farmer performed Islamic boarding school, which always grow multicultural in every season. Refusal of Bank credit for capital stock of farmers as a result of the influence of the existence of the Institution of "Jami'iyah" (an agency within the Islamic tradition of religious activities in rural East Java). In the "Jami'iyah" loan was done by way of results, because according to their understanding of Bank credit is "makruh law".

The findings suggest that such phenomenon in Islamic boarding school is going on changes to the mainstream activities of the practical nature of worldliness (Fatchan, 2003: 180). So boarding was one of social institutions independent of the typical alternative in the field of economic and moral vision ethos of Kiai (Hefner, 1999). In the 1980s most of the Islamic boarding school applying the pattern of modernization, among others, integral education patterns, applying not only to print religious experts, but also the skills and entrepreneurship (Steenbrink, 1986: 229-230; Dhofier, 1983). The use of entrepreneurial skills and the transfer of knowledge through the practice of direct field or outdoor study (Fatchan, Amiruddin and Utaya: 2012). As a result of Islamic boarding school as a barrier to development assumptions in an era of modernization in Indonesia started to disappear (Geertz, 1983: 239; Atok, 1994: 58). In the 1990s Islamic boarding school productive and independent start popping up, causing image Islamic boarding school as a social institution of religion always depends help began to disappear, because partial Islamic boarding school has been able to meet the economic needs of the entrepreneur-owned (Hidayat, 1997; Fatchan, 1996: 88). However, found some aspects of the renewal of the Islamic boarding school turns out to be resisted, rejected, and counter (Fatchan, 2003: 166).

3.2 The meaning of the act of defections

3.2.1 Rejection in farming activities

Research findings related to the subject of the action Kiai, santri, and peasants rejected the attempt to produce

advocated by the Government or Ministry of Agriculture at the New Order and the Order of the Reform shows each having a different meaning. The complete range of these actions can be seen in the Matrix 1 and Matrix 2. The New Order which became a role model farmers in applying the technology of agriculture in the village-based islamic boarding school actively and creatively is “Kiai”. The “santri” who belongs to forward in agriculture and farmers multiple cropping is a pioneer of progress of agricultural development in the village action that they named “wong manut” i.e. they try to obey the will of the farmers the Government or Ministry of Agriculture. However, most of them do a farmer with purpose (in order to mitives) so that it can become a public figure, in order to increase earnings, and in order to maintain the fertility of paddy field cropping rotation through. While the motive for or because motives, namely: the reality of production and farmers' income increase, the effect of the behavior of Kiai and Ustad or Naat in trying to farms, and feel tired of planting rice all year. Such farmers act they refer to as “wong mblebes”. Found most of them adapts creatively in applying the technology of agriculture and cropping patterns that kind of action they refer to as blisters. Such research findings also shows that some farmers do business with how to apply casually agricultural technology and planting patterns, people of this village called doormat.

Matrix 1. Action Kiai, Santri, and farmers in farming activities at the New Order

Farming action	The Meaning of The Act		
	Kiai	Santri	Famers
Applying the technology of agriculture and cropping patterns called act "wong manut" or follower	1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai, Government, farmer leaders. 2) Because motives: Agriculture has been a regular done, the existence of earnings increased, elite & pressure the ruler 3) In order to motives: the position of the elite, avoiding problems with elite, so unexpectedly outmoded.	1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai and "Ustad", Departement of Agriculture, Farmer character. 2) Because motives: Agriculture has been a regular done at islamic boarding school, the earnings increase, pressure kiai, elite & rulers 3) In order to motives: the proximity of the Kiai, to avoid problems, not on outdated thought.	1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai and Ustad, Departement of Agriculture, Farmer character. 2) Because motives: The application of technology can increase production, the existence of income increases, the influence of the peasants, the pressure of the elite & rulers 3) In order to motives: income, avoid trouble, not behind the times.
Themes found	Action "wong manut" or follow	Action "wong manut" or follow	Action "wong manut" or follow
Creative application of adaptation technology in farming and cropping pattern called "wong lecet" or blisters	1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai first & farmers figures. 2) Because motives: Agriculture multicultural is wont to do, need new jobs, the income increased to boarding school. 2) In order to motives: the position of the elite, avoiding the problem of peasant, improve revenue behind the times.	1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai, Ustad and the peasantry. 2) Because motives: Agriculture multicultural is wont to do, any revenue increase. 3) In order to motives: Increase the elite & proximity Kiai, avoiding the problem of farmers ' income, improve the handling of boarding, no outdated.	1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai and peasant growers, multicultural students 2) Because motives: The multicultural investment & perapan technology can increase revenue, influence of kiai and students, its small. 3) In order to motives: Improve of income and adding to the busyness of work in the rice fields.
Themes found	An Action "wong lecet" or blisters	An Action "wong lecet" or blisters	An Action "wong lecet" or blisters
Applying it technology of agriculture and cropping pattern no creative and no active called "wong keset" or doormat			1) Patterns of thinking: Small farmers who remain poor. 2) Because motives: Structural poverty, are narrow rice paddies, abandonment of small farmers. 3) In order to motives: To be trained in other agricultural skills and trained the skills an alternative for small farmers.
Themes found	-----	-----	An Action "wong keset" or doormat

Matrix 2. Action Kiai, Santri, and farmers in farming activities at The Order of The Reform

Farming action	The Meaning of The Act		
	Kiai	Santri	Famers
Creative strategy and active in the application of the technology of agriculture and cropping pattern was named “wong mblebes”	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai, farmers figures inside & outside village.</p> <p>2) Because motives: Multiple cropping already performed, need new jobs, the income increased to Islamic boarding school.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: the position of the elite, avoiding the problem of peasant, improve revenue, and modernist.</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai and peasants figures inside & outside village.</p> <p>2) Because motives: Multiplecropping already performed and any revenue increase</p> <p>3) In order to motives: Increase the elite 90s & proximity Kiai, avoiding the problem of farmers income, improve the handling of boarding, and modernist.</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai, santri, farmers and growers within multiplecropping figures inside & outside village</p> <p>2) Because motives: the application technology of agriculture low income, the influence of kiai and santri, tired of planting rice.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: To become a public figure, enhance earnings, keeping fertility of prosperity.</p>
Themes found	An Action “wong mblebes” or individu creative, strategy and active	An Action “wong mblebes” or individu creative, strategy and active	An Action “wong mblebes” or individu creative, strategy and active
Applying it technology of agriculture and cropping pattern no creative and no active called “wong keset” or doormat	-----	-----	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Small farmers who remain poor.</p> <p>2) Because motives: Structural poverty, are narrow rice paddies, abandonment of small farmers.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: To be trained in other agricultural skills and trained the skills an alternative for small farmers.</p>
Themes found	-----	-----	An Action “wong keset” or doormat

The Order of the Reform shows that the actions of Kiai, santri and farmers get around in a creative and active in the application of the technology of agriculture and cropping patterns that he did. That kind of farming people named as “wong mblebes”. The Order of the Reform also found a subject that applying it technology agriculture and cropping patterns that are known as doormat. Thus, the findings of this research show that each act of Kiai, students islamic boarding school, and farmers are different on the New Order and the Order of the Reform. The New Order are likely to be dominated by the subject of action follower and acting as well as a doormat. Whereas, in the Order of the Reform the Kiai, santri, and farmers tend to act “mblebes” as well as some acting doormat. Thus, it seems that the action conducted by the doormat of the subject both on the New Order and the Order of the Reform. In other words, the actions of the doormat is found not only on the New Order but also on the Order of the Reform.

3.2.2 The rejection of the use of Pesticides

Research findings related to the act of refusing to use pesticides in the implementation of the farmer on the New Order and the Order of the Reform shows the same phenomenon on each individual. Refused to wear the pesticide yet concocted her own poison pests named “wong lecet” or blisters. They not follow the programme of the Department of Agriculture. The conditions farmers reject the use of pesticides because there was pressure from the Programme of the “Bimas”, elite village, small farmers and always in the position subordinate to gain fair treatment in applying agricultural technology. The complete range of these actions can be seen in Matrix 3.

Matrix 3. Reject The Use of Pesticides but Concocted Poison Pests Themselves

Poison Plant Pests	Understanding of The Subject's Actions		
The New Order	Action of Kiai	Actions of Santri	The Action of Farmers
Refused to wear the pesticide yet concocted her own poison pests named "wong lecet" or blisters.	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai and erstwhile centre of development in the field of agriculture.</p> <p>2) In order to motives: to save his farming business. Farming is more rational, creative, and active income better. More respected as a socialite because of the ability of their knowledge.</p> <p>3) Because motives: The difficulty of pesticides and farmers could not afford it. Because it does not join the "Bimas". Easy herb obtained raw materials. Pressure rulers and elite village.</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Mimic Kiai and farmer community leaders engaged in agriculture.</p> <p>2) In order to motives: to be near his farming efforts, rescuing Kiai and farmers around the pesantren. Be rational, active, farmers and better earnings. In order to be closer to the surrounding community.</p> <p>3) Because motives: The difficulty of pesticides, it does not follow the "Bimas" easy herb, raw materials obtained, he easily. pesticide prices are very expensive, and can be used to eradicate pest "cabuk".</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Mimics action Kiai, ustad pesantren, and engaged in farming.</p> <p>2) In order to motives: to save production costs, farmers can be rational and cost-effective production, better known by the public in the surroundings.</p> <p>3) Because motives: The difficulty of pesticides to eradicate pests, not following program "Bimas", raw materials are easy to get, cheap and easily made, the price of pesticides are expensive, and can be used to eradicate pest "cabuk".</p>
Themes found	An action Blisters or "Lecet" (not follow or reject)	An action Blisters or "Lecet" (not follow or reject)	An action Blisters or "Lecet" (not follow or reject)
The Order of The Reform	Actions of Kiai	Actions of Santri	Actions of Farmers
Refused to wear the pesticide yet concocted her own poison pests named "wong lecet" or blisters	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai and erstwhile centre of development in the field of agriculture.</p> <p>2) In order to motives: to save his farming business. Farming is more rational, creative, and active income better. More respected as a socialite because of the ability of their knowledge.</p> <p>3) Because motives: The difficulty of pesticides and farmers can't afford to buy it. Because it does not join the "Bimas". Easy herb obtained raw materials. Pressure rulers and elite village.</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Mimics action Kiai and farmer community leaders engaged in agriculture.</p> <p>2) In order to motives: be near Kiai, saving the farmer and the farmer in the vicinity of the pesantren. Be rational, active, farmers and better earnings. In order to be closer to the surrounding community.</p> <p>3) Because motives: The difficulty of pesticides, it does not follow the "Bimas" easy herb, raw materials obtained, he easily. pesticide prices are very expensive, and can be used to eradicate pest "cabuk".</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Mimics action Kiai, ustad pesantren, and engaged in farming.</p> <p>2) In order to motives: to save production costs, farmers can be rational and cost-effective production, better known by the public in the surroundings.</p> <p>3) Because motives: The difficulty of pesticides to eradicate pests, not following programme "Bimas", raw materials are easy to get, cheap and easily made, the price of pesticides are expensive, and can be used to eradicate pest "cabuk".</p>
Themes found	An action Blisters or "Lecet" (not follow or reject)	An action Blisters or "Lecet" (not follow or reject)	An action Blisters or "Lecet" (not follow or reject)

3.2.3 Rejection of Bank credit

Research findings related to the subject of the action Kiai, santri, and peasants rejected the bank's credit at the

New Order and the Order of the Reform shows each of the same phenomenon that is refused credit from banks. The meaning contained in the disclaimer that bank credit is “makruh”, the existence of financial institutions based on local wisdom that is named “jami'iyah”, and borrow money to bank more shortcomings than on its own. Kiai, santri and peasants in the village of the rejection of a bank credit. However, they develop farm business capital in a joint venture in the container the agency of Jami'iyah. The act is named in an action “lecet” or blisters. Kiai act develop venture capital farm through the institution of Jami'iyah and refused bank credit based consideration of mindset some religious institutions such as the Organization of NU and “fatwa makruh” of Bank credit. Kiai never borrow Bank credit but developed institutions of “Jami'iyah”. The complete range of these actions can be seen in Matrix 4.

Matrix 4. Refused of Bank credit but Development the “Jami'iyah” Institutions

Bank credit for Farmer	Understanding of The Subject's Actions		
The New Order	Action of Kiai	Actions of Santri	Action of Farmers
Refused of Bank credit but development of venture capital through institutions produce “Jami'iyah”	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Religious institutions like NU, Islamic boarding school, Kiai predecessor.</p> <p>2) Because motives: “Makruh” in the law of Islam, many farmers refused credit, the existence of potential “jami'iyah” institutions capable of managing savings.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: to existence itself, can be a reward from God, & can strengthen the existence of institutions “jami'iyah”.</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai pesantren's leadership, religious institutions and NU, Kiai predecessor.</p> <p>2) Because motives: “Makruh” in the law of Islam, many farmers refused credit, the existence of potential “jami'iyah” institutions capable of managing savings.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: to strengthen the existence of himself as the “santri” who are in the big family of Kiai, a reward from God, & can strengthen the existence of institutions “jami'iyah”</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai and religious institutions and NU</p> <p>2) Because motives: “Makruh” in the law of Islam, Bank credit that irregularities have occurred, the institution of “jami'iyah” that was able to land credit farmer.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: to get the reward of God, can avoid disaster or shit, easily gets her on loan farmer.</p>
Themes found	An action Blisters or “Lecet” (not follow or reject)	An action Blisters or “Lecet” (not follow or reject)	An action Blisters or “Lecet” (not follow or reject)
The Reform Order	Action of Kiai	Actions of Santri	Action of Farmers
Refused of Bank credit but development of venture capital through institutions produce “Jami'iyah”	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Religious institutions like NU, Islamic boarding school; Kiai predecessor.</p> <p>2) Because motives: Legal “makruh” in Islam, many farmers refused credit, the existence of potential “jami'iyah” institutions capable of managing savings.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: to existence itself, can be a reward from God, & can strengthen the existence of institution of jami'iyah.</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai pesantren's leadership, religious institutions and NU, Kiai predecessor.</p> <p>2) Because motives: Legal “makruh” in Islam, many farmers refused credit, the existence of potential “jami'iyah” institutions capable of managing savings.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: to strengthen the existence of himself as the santri who are in the big family of Kiai, a reward from God, & can strengthen the existence of institution of jami'iyah.</p>	<p>1) Patterns of thinking: Kiai and religious institutions and NU,</p> <p>2) Because motives: Legal “makruh” in Islam, Bank credit that irregularities have occurred, the institution of “jami'iyah” that was able to land credit farmer.</p> <p>3) In order to motives: to get the reward of God, can avoid disaster, easily gets her on loan farmer.</p>
Themes found	An action Blisters or “Lecet” (not follow or reject)	An action Blisters or “Lecet” (not follow or reject)	An action Blisters or “Lecet” (not follow or reject)

Based on the above description of variety can be constructed a new proposition which found this research though is as follows.

First Proposition:

Individual actions applied agricultural technology is associated with a context of occurrence condition action itself. When the context of very strong pressure in the New Order individual act follow, blisters and doorma. When the context of the pressure of increasing economic and weakening in the Reform Order individu act "mblebes", blisters and doormat.

Second Proposition:

When the agricultural development program clashed with the religious norms, conflict with the law "makruh", ignoring the moral religion, local institutions and the presence of nuanced religious who were able to build a more moral human resource development programs, consequently it was rejected.

The refusal is likely to be done by the local elite, and then followed by the "santri" and farmers in the vicinity. The act of denial that accompanied a solution as a consequence of the rejection is done. The solution is likely to strengthen local institutions existence shaped the religious.

4. Discussion

The actions of the individual applied agricultural technology is associated with a context of occurrence condition action itself. When the context of very strong pressure in the New Order individual act follow, blisters and doorma. When the context of the pressure of increasing economic and weakening in the Reform Order individu act "mblebes", blisters and doormat. Thus, the role of Kiai and santri in doing the act of rejection when applying agricultural enterprises into the research findings is reject the theorists "global universal" and revising or supplementing the theorists "local particular". The "global universal" theorists assume that religious life within a society are related to the life of the world outside the global. The theorists such as Beyer (1997: 97) assume that a society's religious life is directly related to social movements from religious leaders, religious organizations, and his followers. Drougus (2000: 263) assume globalization ideology and political influence on the variation and patterns of religious life. Madjid (2000: 453) assume global of technical age give influence on the religious life.

So, the theory is different with the "local particular" theorists who assume that true religious life changes are in line with the local character of the environment around. The theorists like Martin (2001) and Weber (176) assume that religious life changes as the surrounding characters, refused, maintaining, or adapted from other parts. Geertz (1974: 87) the thesis involution, assume that the dynamics of religion and culture runs in involution, expressing religious as well as shaping a world where human beings live, and religion was a cultural phenomenon is local. Robertson (1995: 2) assume that religious activities related to connectedness, solidarity, and the activities of individuals in a community centered on a set of symbols from religions that embraced since it related to the meaning of the individual itself. Thus, the results of this research to clarify how patterns and shapes the actions of community disapproval --Kiai, santri, and peasants-- based local wisdom is act "mblebes", follow, blisters, and a doormat. It is different from the pattern of dichotomy Clifford Geertz about the "santri, abangan, and priyayi" communities in Java.

The result of this research showed when the agricultural development program clashed with the religious norms, conflict with the law "makruh", ignoring the moral religion, local institutions and the presence of nuanced religious who were able to build a more moral human resource development programs, consequently it was rejected. The refusal is likely to be done by the local elite, and then followed by the "santri" and farmers in the vicinity. The act of denial that accompanied a solution as a consequence of the rejection is done. The solution is likely to strengthen local institutions existence shaped the religious. So, the theorists "cultural positivistic" noted that just happens the relationship between socio-cultural one fact related to other cultural and social facts. On which there is a "meaning" to be revealed in detail. Therefore, the results of this research is to clarify the meaning of existing between these two relations.

The cultural theorists, such as Martin (2001) argued that the Islamic family lineage deriving from the implementation of the marriage, the descendants of the nobility, and the seminary became a tool of cultural legitimacy in the Islamic community building in rural Java. Rizal (2000) notes the influence of old cultural value -- cultural relics of Majapahit at East Java -- intensively on the behavior of the villagers. Budiwanti (1999: 59-62) noted the change of Islamic purification "waktu telu" on head teachers and became patterned "pribumisasi" in line with the cultural dynamics of the society. Mulkhan (2000: 265-270) noted that purifying Islam happens to the farming community are "pribumisasi" aligned with changes in culture. However, it is associated with the development of the socio-cultural thesis, in fact their multicultural self as "wongjero, wongmambu-mambu and wongjobo" (Rizal, 2000: 331).

Geertz (1983: 6-7) gave the social classification of the Javanese community into the "abangan, santri, and priyayi". The "santri" dominated trading as: religious ethics resources for individuals, was built through the

community of Islamic boarding school, seems to work hard, behave and more rational from “abangan”. It pointed out there is a positive relationship between the ethics of Islam by the spirit of capitalism in Java (Abdullah: 1996). Next Geertz by borrowing the concept of Wolf, he saw that the Javanese Kiai occupies a position as cultural brokers, where Kiai is a passive agent of social change, he received just a cultural change from outside. Otherwise Horikoshi (1976: 211) and Dirdjosanjoto (1999: 23-24) notes a change agent as Kiai active selective he would be as a mediator of cultural brokers. The study of Dhofier (1983) results found that the world 's Islamic boarding school along with the existing Kiai is not stagnant, but changed in line with the culture taken from out the positive and leave the negative.

It appears that the researchers looked at the above mentioned earlier that the fact a religious life caused other social facts --social life, economy, and culture-- (Bellah: 2000). As said Geertz brought "santri" as a source of religious ethics are as hard-working individuals. Whereas the empirical influence on individual basis between both the social fact is not experiencing the same changes, meaning that there is a distinct influence over each individual within a social community. It shows that there is "a thing that gives intermediary" between the social fact. This research explanation, the study found that a religious social life facts not related directly to the other social fact, but first leads to the behavior of individuals. The behavior or actions of individuals that do not appear automatically but casually through a "process" the various considerations or evaluations that are cooked in advance. That process is the definition on the basis of each individual's interpretive to information previous social fact, which at times goes on to give birth to an action that leads to the formation of new social facts. Individual actions is not just a result in order to motives like which allegedly Weber, but also even more so as a result because motives (Schultz, 1972). Understanding the meaning of the actions of the individual actions refusal as an “intermediary relationships” between social facts in the motive of "in order to" and motive of "because". This research also found that a change is coming from the outside is not so only welcomed by individuals but in selection and evaluated for consideration --as a result of in order to motives and because motives-- level of understanding of the actor against his ego.

The norms of religious ethics and the conditions for social, economic, and/or cultural (Bellah:2000). As a mediator, the action of Kiai is selective and active or changeable due to maintaining the position of owned, owned charismatic, accepting, rejected, attention to the influence of the level of understanding of the norms of religious ethics, economic, and the conditions of the existing socio-cultural. Thus, this study actually reject the thesis that Wolf and Geertz of “Kiai as cultural brokers” as well as proofread thesis Horikoshi about “Kiai mediator”.

While some of the earlier studies that discuss individual actions reject social change in agriculture among others as follows. Hefner (1999) notes the State intervention in the modernization of Islam and social change on agricultural society is a form of new colonialism in Tengger East Java which change the structure. Forms of colonization in the form of the structural policy of the authorities, according to Yuswadi (1996) cause of resistance in the form of a symbolic resistance from farmers. While according to Hardjono (1990) and Hefner (1999), noted that State intervention on the system led to the fragmentation of agricultural land tenure, change a living and stratification of farmers. Landsberger & Alexandrof (1984) notes as if the farmer unrest failed to finish due to structural pressures. Scott (2000) hegemony, exploitation, marginalization, abandonment labor cause resistance. The findings of this research contrasts with the findings of the above in the event of rejection does Kiai, santri, and farmers. Their refusal to do it wisely and creatively, it indicated that any refusal does always a solution created by the perpetrators of the rejection itself.

According to Wolf (1969: 280) that the influx of capitalism on a farming community in rural areas was opposed by farmers due to it perceived to threaten the interests of economic and socio-cultural institution. Scott (1976; 1985) explained that in the life of a farmer in the countryside is marked by moral relationships which can then bear the moral economy of farmers who now prefer to "peace". The principle of giving priority to welcome this as a basis to perform acts of resistance or refusal. Thesis of Scott and Wolf gets a correction of Popkin (1979) that the economy is too moral approaches emphasize the norm and in maintaining the subsistence farmers of romanticism and the changes in the village of collectively but rather on individual farmers. From the side of the thesis of political economy, Popkin assume that refusal or resistance of farmers is actually based on rational considerations of individual farmers to changes where threatening or obstructing his efforts. So the farmer is free to developed personal rationally. That view is reinforced by the findings of Bates in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Kenya show that the existence of the resistance movement or a boycott by farmers at a time when the Government carries out programs of agricultural intensive and monopoly purchase agricultural output (Bates in Fatchan: 2004). The resistance actions, among others, of selling the result is hidden in the black market, leaving the farmland, and immigrated to the city around it. It is also noted by Bachriadi (1995) that a farmer participant program contract farming in Central Java to sell black market by means of surreptitious because it costs more expensive.

These study findings criticisms against various research as follows:

First, the economic theory of morals Scott, Scott tends to romantic of resistance in the form of

collective in maintaining subsistence or tradition, because the survivors, moved forward on the principled thing on the field encountered resistance or refusal on an individual basis not only openly but also veiled. The results of this research show that the protest does not merely maintain the subsistence farmers but also adapted on the basis of a rational individual is concerned, the rational in the sense of understanding of the capabilities, in line with the norms of religious ethics, the economy, and the existing socio-cultural.

Second, the criticism of the theory of political economy Popkin, Popkin tend to assume that the actions of the resistance done the individual farmers who are rational and creativity is just over the dominance of the consideration of the economic conditions and the resistance was more directed at elites or rulers. In the real thing at that individual rational actions that not only economic conditions but also consider the norm of religious ethics and the existing socio-cultural. Peasant resistance is indeed done individually but not addressed to individual elite and ruler, thus he was more devoted to the program proved that most rational of intensification program that is considered done by the farmers of the village-based "Pesantren".

The explanation that the research was correct that both views, especially the theory of the moral economy of Scott. The study found that the Act of refusal effected individuals --Kiai, santri and farmers-- not only is the reality of the actions that maintain their subsistence but also rational is based on each individual's own, which is oriented towards the past, present, and future. Thus, the action was not simply orientation in order to motives such as in "verstehen" Weber, but even more so as an act of rejection on the basis of because motives as in phenomenology Schultz. So an understanding of the meaning of the Act of elite local and farmers is on the basis of their own interpretation of the actions of the refusal on motion of social change in agriculture. In other words, result of this research on the basis of future oriented, present oriented and past oriented.

5. Conclusion

First, in "pesantren" is going change from only the study religious sciences to study religious science accompanied general science and skills such as agriculture. The changes were showed by actions of "Kiai", "santri" and farmers around the seminary not only that in line with the expectations of the Government, but also a denial of the action program of the Government. It was done because of the influence of the level of understanding of the religious and ethical norms of rationality own.

Second, some form of action of rejection among others "Kiai", "santri" and farmers take action or rejecting the Government argument monoculture cropping patterns, refusing credit Bank, and rejected the use of pesticides recommended by Department of agriculture. The Act of denial among others in the form of social engineer, refused, counter, actions of "mblebes", blisters and doormat. Various actions are laden with meaning on the ground "because motives" and "in order to motives".

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