



Khidmah in Transition: Santri, Kiai, and Social Transformation in Pesantren

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ABSTRACT

The concept of *khidmah* has expanded in *Pesantren*, seeing that today's *Kiai* have various social positions, such as political *Kiai*, business *Kiai*, academic *Kiai*, and so on. This study aims to describe the actualization of the concept of *khidmah santri* towards *Kiai* in *Pesantren*. This study used a qualitative method with the concept of *khidmah* in *Pesantren* as the research object. Data were collected from key informants such as clerics, ustadz, *santri*, and *Pesantren* administrators who were selected by purposive sampling, using documentation study, observation, and interview methods. The findings of this research indicate that there has been a transformation of the concept of *khidmah* in Islamic boarding schools which can be actualized in several concepts. 1) the concept of *khidmah* towards special *Kiai* (teaching *Kiai*) by becoming abdi ndalem, badal, and chauffeurs of the *Kiai*. 2) the concept of *khidmah* towards business clerics in an employee-like manner. 3) the concept of *khidmah* towards academic *Kiai* by becoming badal *Kiai*. 4) the concept of service to the political *Kiai* by serving as a *Kiai Pesantren* staff member and personal assistant to the *Kiai*.

KEYWORDS

Transformation, Khidmah, Kiai, Santri, Serving



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Introduction

Pesantren is a popular Islamic educational institution in Indonesia with five pillars: *Kiai*, *santri*, mosque, *kitab kuning* (the classical Islamic book), and dormitories (Baidowi, 2022). Many cultures are implemented and born as traditions in *Pesantren*, such as cooperation, community service (*roan*), and *khidmah* to *Kiai* (Saini, 2020). *Khidmah* in the context of *Pesantren* is self-dedication by a *santri* to the *Kiai* as a form of respect and appreciation for the time, energy, and thoughts that the *Kiai* has given at all times in transferring knowledge and educating the morals of the *santri*, to form *santri* who are educated and have noble character, in all actions (Nilan, 2009).

The essential development of the meaning of *khidmah* in *Pesantren* must be connected to *Kiai*'s charisma and ability to manage *Pesantren*, which is also an effective Islamic education in Indonesia (Hariyanto, 2004). In addition, the *Kiai* also has a role as the owner and caretaker of the *Pesantren*, as is the custom of *Pesantren* in general (Fathurrohman et al., 2023). This significant role of the *Kiai* is by the definition of the *Pesantren* itself, which is a kind of primary and secondary school with dormitories where *santri* study religious knowledge under the supervision of a teacher or *Kiai* (Az-Zarnuji, n.d.).

The threat of *khidmah* is exemplified by ancient *Kiai* and scholars in a sacred story earlier to the *Pesantren* community. As with Ahmad Naufa in his writings, when *Kiai* Hasyim Asy'ari was a student of *Kiai* Kholil Bangkalan, he never recited the Koran. Nor has he ever sat down to recite the Koran in front of *Kiai* Kholil. However, all the necessities needed by *Kiai* Kholil at that time were always prepared by *Kiai* Hasyim. Once when *Kiai* Hasyim rushed to recite the Koran, *Kiai* Kholil suddenly said, "Syim, Nyai wants to cook, but the wood is running out; look for wood". Without thinking, *Kiai* Hasyim did not recite the Koran and immediately looked for wood in the forest. As soon as he finished looking for wood, *Kiai* Kholil finished the Koran. Things like that were repeated several times until *Kiai* Hasyim returned and was then able to establish a boarding school in the Jombang area, which is also known as the Tebu Ireng *Pesantren* (Khoirul Faizun, 2020).

In the next period, after Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari died, and *Kiai* Yahya Masduqi decided to stay in Tebu Ireng to continue the struggle of his father, KH Masduqi Ali, who was the personal secretary of KH Hasyim Asy'ari. So that *Kiai* Yahya Masduqi's intention and determination to serve the family of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari is already strong (Affandy, 2016).

Kiai Yahya's activities at the *Pesantren* are mostly spent devoting himself to the *Kiai* and do not hesitate to herd goats and raise livestock belonging to the *Kiai* and prepare for all the needs of the *Kiai*. While at the *Pesantren*, *Kiai* Yahya was also close to Gus Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), the son of his teacher, KH. Abdul Wahid Hashim. *Kiai* Yahya always prepared Gus Dur's needs, making them close friends. Thanks to *Kiai* Yahya's close relationship with Gus Dur during his time at the Tebu Ireng Jombang

Pesantren, when *Kiai* Yahya invited Gus Dur to attend every activity at the Miftahul Muta'alimin *Pesantren* in Babakan Ciwaringin, Gus Dur always took the time to attend, even though he was president (Juliayanto et al., 2021).

Khidmah stories of *santri* to other *Kiai* were also carried out by KH. Musthofa Bisri (Gus Mus) when he was still a student, KH. Ahsin Sakho Muhammad, KH. Yahya Cholil Tsafur and several other *Kiai* scholars, modern and *salaf* in Indonesia. *Khidmah* is not only done when you have a *santri* title but also when you become a cleric, *Kiai*, Ustadz, or another social status because *khidmah* means to serve and serve so that the form of *khidmah* of *Kiai* and ulema is to become a servant of Muslims (*khodimul ummah*) (Abdillah & Maskuri, 2022).

From the description of the story above, it is evident that several pious and well-known *Kiai* and scholars are dedicated to building social interaction between *Kiai* and *santri* wrapped in the concept of *khidmah*. This makes the *khidmah* tradition in *Pesantren* be maintained to this day because of its urgency in providing benefits to others and bringing benefit to the people, and not pushing towards big harm (Hamdi et al., 2015).

The tradition of *khidmah santri* to *Kiai* has become a culture since the establishment of the *Pesantren* until now, which is also believed to bring blessings to *santri*. Imam al-Ghozali defines blessing with the term *ziyadah al-khair* which means increasing goodness in the individual concerned (Azizah, 2020). In essence, the notion of blessing in *Pesantren* refers more to the efforts of *santri* to achieve something good, not just learning naturally, which is directly tied to science. In the *Pesantren* environment, efforts such as *khidmah* and *riyadhah* are some of the businesses that bring blessings (Irawan, 2018).

Muhakkamurrohmah, in his article, Zamami describes the perspective of *barokah* as a concept of sincerity or devotion without taking into account personal gains and losses, which then turn into good relations within the *Pesantren* environment (Zamami, 2017). In his article quoted by Hidayatul Maghfiroh, Jamaluddin also said that *barokah* and *kualat* are social institutions that often foster the obedience and respect of a *santri* to the *Kiai*. A view that makes the *Kiai* a figure with broad religious knowledge, high purity with deep faith, a noble character, and is believed to be able to provide blessings (Maghfiroh, 2021).

According to Alan Lukens-Bulls, *Kiai* is a *Pesantren* that has four components at once: first, knowledge; second, spiritual capability; third, lineage or lineage (both spiritual and biological); and fourth, morality (Lukens-Bull, 2004). This confirms that the *Kiai* is somewhat different from humans in general.

Kiai's daily example implies an attitude of humility, low self-esteem, and full of charisma. This can be proven by how he simply dresses, wears a sarong, and wears a cap, both in religious and public activities. The approach used by the *Kiai* in cultivating the value of simplicity is still entrenched, even becoming its specialty for *santri*. It is a

natural phenomenon that when visiting *Pesantren*, it is common to find *santri* in simple clothes, white clothes, and wearing sarongs and caps (Roqib, 2021).

The tradition of *khidmah* in *Pesantren* with the pattern of relations between *Kiai* and *santri* until now still exists. However, this concept is slowly transforming the realm of practice (Suradi, 2018). Several new concepts have emerged in this millennial era, such as becoming a *Kiai's* success team in their political affairs. The birth of this new concept cannot be separated from the influence of *Kiai's* social status in the *Pesantren*. Today's *Kiai* has various social positions, such as political, business, academic, and so on (Rofiq, 2020).

As the phenomenon occurred in the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, the concept of *khidmah* at the Al-Munawwir Krapyak *Pesantren* underwent a significant alteration. The emergence of several new concepts in the *khidmah* tradition in this *Pesantren* cannot be separated from *Kiai's* social status and its influence on the relationship between *Kiai* and *santri*. For example, in this *Pesantren*, the phenomenon of political *Kiai* emerged. The concept of *khidmah* with the pattern of the relationship between *santri* and *Kiai*, who is also a politician, cannot be equated with the *khidmah* of *santri* in the past, which can be done by becoming *khodam* (servant), *badal* (substitute), and chauffeur of the *Kiai*. Rather, it is more professional, such as being a personal assistant in the DPD, a successful team, and so on (Akhmad, 2021).

The author chose Pondok *Pesantren* Al-Munawwir Krapyak, Bantul, Yogyakarta, as the locus of this research. Because in this *Pesantren*, there is an actual transformation of the concept of *khidmah*. From here, the writer is interested in studying more deeply the actualization of the concept of the *khidmah* in the *Pesantren* by using a sociological-phenomenological approach. The sociological approach is used to explain the actualization of *khidmah* that occurs, while the phenomenological approach is used to find out the facts about the actualization of the concept of *khidmah* in *Pesantren*.

Method

This research uses a type of qualitative research using the case study method. Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* Krapyak, Bantul, Yogyakarta was chosen as the research locus because the *Pesantren* is a representation of a traditional *Pesantren* that is closely related to hospitable traditions or culture, besides that Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* is also the oldest Al-Qur'an *Pesantren* in Indonesia. Sources of research data were obtained through private documents from the *Pesantren*, field notes, and interview transcripts (Creswell, 2014). While collecting data using participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Qualitative research based on case studies with data analysis methods inspired by Miles Huberman, specifically: Data reduction: all interviews, documents, and data collected will be summarized by researchers only on matters relevant to the main research problem. Data presentation: An understandable

and relevant narrative is used to present the data collected. Make conclusions and confirm them (B.Miles & Huberman, 2009).

This research chose a location at the *Pesantren* Al-Munawwir Krapyak, Yogyakarta, where in this Islamic boarding school there is a process of transforming the concept of *Khidmah santri* towards *Kiai*. The concept of service is no longer conventional, such as being a servant of the *Kiai*, but is more heterogeneous according to the characteristics of the *Kiai*'s life. *Pesantren* Al-Munawwir Krapyak is a *Pesantren* consisting of several *Pesantren* whose names are A-Q. Meanwhile, the focus studied is the culture and traditions of service in *Pesantren* which are known as *khidmah*. The informants in this research were the caretakers of the *Pesantren* Al-Munawwir Krapyak Yogyakarta, the Head of the *Pesantren* Al-Munawwir Krapyak, the complex coordinator, and several *khidmah* students. The researcher started by obtaining data through in-depth interviews with the focus of attention, namely the *Khidmah* students, the complex coordinator, the head of the boarding school, and the *Pesantren* caretaker and will continue the interviews according to the direction of the first informant and then until the saturation limit.

Results

Actualization of the *Khidmah* Concept in *Pesantren*

Khidmah is an attitude of obedience, submission, and obedience in serving or assisting the *Kiai* with totality, patience, and full sincerity, to get the *Kiai*'s blessing so that the knowledge that has been obtained becomes a blessing and useful knowledge (Hilmy, 2022). This is so in the Salaf *Pesantren*, especially in the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, which is very thick and traditional. The tradition and culture of *Pesantren*, especially in traditional *Pesantren*, is *adabiyah (tata krama)* implied in *khidmah*. One way to show the *santri* respect for the *Kiai* and his family is to be humble when he meets the *Kiai*, gus, and their teachers. Respect, reverence, and obedience to the *Kiai* are the main values every *santri* emphasizes (Siroj, 2022).

The actualization of *khidmah* at the *Pesantren* Al-Munawwir from time to time has experienced changes in the concept and variants of its form. The role of the *Kiai*, with his charisma and characteristics, is the main influence on the change in the concept of *khidmah* from time to time. Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, from its inception to the present, has entered the genealogical generation of leadership at the strata of the founder's grandson. The grandson of KH holds the current leadership relay for the *Pesantren*. Muhammad Munawwir, namely KH. R. Abdul Hamid Abdul Qodir (Al-Bana, 2022).

In particular, initially, the concept of *khidmah* at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* has been running as a class transformation force where *santri* are raised from the lower social class to a class of competence and skills. Before modernism in *Pesantren*, the

concept of *khidmah* in *Pesantren* was an effective and solution-based educational platform for the poor and underprivileged. Then, with time's development, the concept of *khidmah santri* towards the *Kiai* experienced fluctuating symptoms. In the past, *santri* who were devoted to the *Kiai* was only in the form of being pure servants in the form of physical, such as being a servant of the *Kiai* and being badass when the *Kiai* was absent (Dalhar, 2022).

The concept of *khidmah* as a forum for *santri*' dedication to the *Kiai* and their produce successful *santri* in various fields of work. In the research conducted by Putro, hundreds of *santri* have been elected by the Indonesian people to various government positions, ranging from village heads to the president of the Republic of Indonesia (Agung et al., 2021).

The reality is that many alumni of the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* used to serve the *Kiai* in Krapyak, who are currently religious figures, academics, and politicians in the government. For example, KH. Musthofa Bisri (NU leader in Rembang) is devoted to KH. Ali Maksum, Prof. Dr. KH. Said Aqil Siraj, who is devoted to KH. Ali Maksum (NU Leader in Cirebon), KH. Yahya Cholil Tsquf also to KH. Ali Maksum (Chairman of PBNU), and KH. Ahsin Sakho Muhammad (IIQ Chancellor 2005-2014) used to serve KH. Ahmad Munawwir, and others (Wafi, 2022).

However, seeing the condition of the *santri* and the massive development of the times, this concept is slowly being eroded by the demands of the times. *Santri*, who intends to serve and serve the *Kiai* from year to year, has decreased (Akhmad, 2021), according to KH. Fairuzi, this phenomenon is also due to the *khidmah* of *Kiai* today, which is also different from the *Kiai* in the past. The *Kiai* at the beginning of the development of the *Pesantren*, really did the inner and outer totality in educating and praying for *santri*. So that the relationship between the *Kiai* and the *santri* can be established with sincerity and enthusiasm (Dalhar, 2022).

Of all the aspects that affect the change in the concept of *khidmah* above, both the *Kiai*'s social status, genealogy of the *Kiai*'s relationship, to the development of the *Pesantren* must be strengthened by the actualization of the *khidmah* concept. Because if the concept does not actualize *khidmah* today, the concept of *khidmah* in *Pesantrens* may slowly stagnate, which, if left unchecked, will gradually be destroyed by the times (Dalhar, 2022).

Furthermore, the normative and theoretical reasons why it is necessary to actualize the concept of *khidmah* is because *khidmah* is a tradition, culture, and basic norm (fundamental norm) that builds interaction between *Kiai* and *santri* in the learning process in *Pesantren*. Finally, the practical reason is to preserve the education of *santri* etiquette (morals) for their teachers, as the Salafis Salih cleric taught through his books in *Pesantrens* (Al-Bana, 2022).

Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* has several variants of the concept of *khidmah*, which are adapted to the *Kiai*'s social situation and the genealogical relationship of the *Kiai* as the highest authority in the *Pesantren*. So that in building the quality of *khidmah santri*, it seems that the concept of *khidmah* today needs to be reviewed so that *santri* know their exact capabilities and position in serving the *Kiai* or alma mater, as well as in carrying out the mandate that is carried out optimally through the practice of the knowledge they have learned at the *Pesantren* (Akhmad, 2021).

In actualizing the concept of *khidmah* at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, it can be assumed that the concept of *khidmah* can be seen based on *Kiai*'s social status. Social status is a sociological concept representing a person's social hierarchy position. In other words, social status indicates the individual's position in a hierarchical system of society. Individuals in the top position have a high social status, while those at the bottom have a low social status.

This can be seen from the position of the *Kiai* at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, who are gathered in one shade called the board of caretakers. The board of caretakers is the highest council in the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* which was formed to assist the caregivers in managing and determining the direction of the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*'s educational policy, which has been outlined and exemplified by previous masyayikh (Al-Bana, 2022).

The board of caretakers or family assemblies at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* consists of 7 members, including; KH. R. Abdul Hamid Abdul Qodir (Rois Board of Caregivers), KH. Fairuzi Afiq Dalhar (Head of Caregivers Board), KH. Muhtarom Busyro (Board of Care for Worship and Pondok Activities), KH. R. Chaidar Muhaimin (Guidance Council for Public Relations and Security), Dr. KH. Hilmy Muhammad, MA (Education Board of Trustees), KH. Munawwar Ahmad (Ketahfizan Board of Trustees), and KH. Fairuz Zabadi Warson (General Board of Caregivers) (Akhmad, 2021).

Members of the caretaker council or family assembly of Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* are genealogical descendants of the founder of the *Pesantren*. The *Kiai* have ancestors who are then given the mandate to continue the baton of parenting. As is known, the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* has various types of dormitories, referred to as complexes. Each complex at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* has caregivers and features that are highlighted.

In terms of social status, the typology of *Kiai* in *Pesantren* Al-Munawwir can be divided into four categories (Suprayogo, 2007). First, an entrepreneur *Kiai*, a *Kiai* who has a business or business in his *Pesantren*, such as opening a refill drinking water depot business, and so on. Second, there is also the designation of an academic *Kiai*, namely a *Kiai* who is highly educated and has a profession as a lecturer at various universities. Third, a political *Kiai*, namely a *Kiai* who has been recognized by the community but is also involved in political affairs and even has a profession as a politician. Fourth, special *Kiai*, namely *Kiai* are recognized by the community as people who have a deep

understanding of the Islamic religion and have no other job except teaching in *Pesantrens*. The *Kiai* is also not involved in political practices or engaged in a particular business or undertaking. The status of the latter *Kiai* is usually more charismatic than the other *Kiai*.

From the explanation above, it can be seen that the *Kiai*, the caregivers of each complex at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, have different social statuses. Furthermore, gave birth to many variants of the concept of *khidmah* in the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, which were integrated with the perspective of the social status of each *Kiai* in each complex in the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*. The actualization of the concept of *khidmah* is further classified into four variants.

First, the concept of the *khidmah* of the *santri* towards the *Kiai* who only has the status of a teacher. According to Ritzer, the role of the *Kiai* as a leader, caregiver, and teacher is part of the ascribed status, namely the status attached genealogically (Ritzer, 2007). This shows that biological factors or genes determine a person's position. Examples include race, ethnicity, and ancestry. Because he is the son of the *Kiai*, he has a higher position than most children. The son of the *Kiai*, familiarly called Gus in the family environment of this *Pesantren*, is more respected than the children of ordinary people.

The *Kiai* family, which includes his wife, children, grandchildren, and son-in-law, has an extraordinary social status in the eyes of the community. The married wives and daughters of the *Kiai* are given the title Nyai. Meanwhile, sons, grandchildren, and sons-in-law are given the nickname Gus, which comes from the word *can Bagus* (good boy). *Kiai* always expects them to become future *Pesantren* leaders. If a *Kiai* has no sons, one of his sons-in-law is appointed the main candidate. This means that a *Kiai* always provides special education to his sons to ensure that the leadership relay of his *Pesantren* continues.

The concept of the *khidmah* of the *santri* towards the special *Kiai* at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* is identical to being the *khodam* of the *Kiai* in managing various matters related to the needs of the *Kiai* and his family, such as being a servant of the *ndalem*, namely the *khodam* who has the task of preparing the *Kiai's* family meals, washing the *Kiai's* clothes, and cleaning the *Kiai's* house. There is also a *Kiai* driver, the *khodam*, related to the *Kiai's* social affairs, such as *nderekke* the *Kiai's* action (the *Kiai's* driver).

Then some become *badal Kiai*, namely, *khodam* who has the task of replacing the *Kiai's* activities in *Pesantrens*; for example, when the *Kiai* is unable to become the prayer priest, the *badal* is in charge of replacing the *Kiai* as a temporary prayer priest. Alternatively, for example, when there is a band organ recitation in the mosque, the *Kiai* cannot attend, then the *badal* will take the place of leading the recitation.

The relationship between *Kiai* and *santri* can be described as a relationship that gives birth to a model of a patron-client relationship (Siswanto & Yulita, 2018). The basis of the patron-client relationship is that they both need to be able to maintain and strengthen each other. However, a person engaging in some personal bond must aim to realize short-term results and definite benefits. For example, *santri khodam* devotes themselves with full obedience and obedience to the *Kiai* in the hope of obtaining blessings and pleasure from the *Kiai* for the knowledge that the *Kiai* has given them.

Second, the concept of the *khidmah* of the *santri* towards the *Kiai*, an entrepreneur. According to Ritzer, the second *Kiai*'s social status is part of the achieved status, namely the status that a person achieves as a result of his deliberate efforts, meaning that the *Kiai* consciously conducts certain businesses or businesses, as a field of income in developing *Pesantren* (Humaisi et al., 2019).

The concept of the *khidmah* of the *santri* towards the entrepreneur *Kiai* at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* is identical to being the *khodam* of the *Kiai* regarding the smooth running of his business. As is the reality in one of the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* complexes. The complex has a nanny, an entrepreneur *Kiai* who owns a refill drinking water depot. The refill drinking water depot is next to the main gate of the *Pesantren*. Strategic position for a drinking water depot business. Initially operating his business, the *Kiai* initially chose several *santri* to serve as *khodam* in his business, namely a drinking water depot. About four to five *santri* become *khodam Kiai* at the *Pesantren* (Pangestu, 2022).

Like *khodam* in general, *khodam Kiai* entrepreneurs also have a strong intention and devotion to serving and devoting themselves to the *Kiai*. The belief regarding again became the main reason for the *khodam Kiai* in strengthening his decision to serve the *Kiai*. Another factor that affects the *khodam Kiai* for their willingness to devote themselves or work without being rewarded in the form of material is the birth of an inner interaction between the *Kiai* and the *santri*.

It is thus relevant to George C. Homans' social exchange theory that costs and rewards are the two main features of exchange theory. When involved, people always weigh the costs (costs or sacrifices) against the rewards (rewards or benefits) gained from the contact. If the cost does not match the reward, one of the people who experience a situation like this will become irritated and stop interacting, so loyalty cannot be established.

Third, the concept of *khidmah santri* towards *Kiai*, who are academics. According to Ritzer, this is part of the latency status, which is the opposite of the active status (Ritzer, 2007). The latent state is also called the passive state or silent because another state is active. For example, a *Kiai* also serves as a lecturer at a university. On the other hand, the *Kiai* also carries out his obligations in nurturing and teaching the *santri* during the recitation, as *Kiai* generally does when they are in the *Pesantren*. His position as a *Kiai* who is active in the *Pesantren*.

In contrast, his latent status is as a lecturer. At a certain time, *Kiai* becomes a le while on campus and teaches and guides his *santri*, just like in general. However, at full time, *Kiai* becomes a teacher and caregiver in the *Pesantren* after his active status.

The concept of the *khidmah* of the *santri* towards the academic *Kiai* at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* can be assumed by becoming a lecturer at one of the universities where the *Kiai* orks. For example, at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, several *santri* are selected by the *Kiai* to help teach at universities managed by the *Kiai*. Even though these *santri* work as lecturers, the perception of these *santri* remains as the *khodam* of the *Kiai*, meaning that the concept of *khidmah* of the *santri* is by helping the *Kiai* teach in the universities they manage. The *Kiai*'s chosen *santri* consist of senior *santri* who have long devoted themselves to the *Pesantren* and are considered capable of helping the *Kiai* manage their higher education (Fahmi, 2022). Most of these *khodams* are married and live near the *Pesantren*, but they often receive orders from the *Kiai* to help develop the *Pesantren* and higher education institutions.

According to James C. Scott, in the relationship between the *Kiai* and the *santri* above, at least three circumstances show the pattern of patron-client interaction. First, there is a significant variation in the scientific capability, position, and power of the *Kiai*. The dominant *khidmah* tradition states that *Kiai* generally has absolute authority based on the genealogical knowledge of the *Kiai* and their social status, not based on inheritance alone.

Fourth, the concept of *khidmah santri* towards *Kiai*, who are politicians. This concept is part of the latency status and the status of an academic *Kiai*; for example, a *Kiai* concurrently serves as a government politician (Ritzer, 2007). On the other hand, the *Kiai* also carries out his responsibilities in nurturing and profit-sharing while in the dormitory or at the mosque, as *Kiai* generally are at the *Pesantren*. His position is an active *Kiai* in the *Pesantren*. In comparison, his latent status became a politician. At certain times the *Kiai* campaigned for his party at a government democratic party. However, at full time, *Kiai* becomes a teacher and caregiver at the *Pesantren* according to his active status.

As is the reality at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren*, there is *Kiai* with the status of DPD (Regional Representative Council) DI Yogyakarta member. Who is also one of the board of caretakers of the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* in charge of education in the organizational structure of the *Pesantren* (Mufid, 2022). Judging from his activities and busyness, the *Kiai*, who has high authority in the *Pesantren* and doubles as the Yogyakarta City Regional Representative Council, certainly needs assistants to manage his responsibilities. Both assistants in terms of *Pesantrens* and assistants within the scope of their positions as members of the DPD. The *khidmah* of the *santri* who become the *khodam* of the *Kiai* politicians at the Al-Munawwir *Pesantren* can be assumed to be of several variants, among others.

As the *Kiai* boarding school staff of *Kiai* boarding school are chosen directly by the *Kiai*, some are usually taken from the boarding school administrator in the field of education. The *Kiai's khodam* is responsible for compiling the schedule of the *Kiai's* activities at the *Pesantren*. For example, when guests want to meet or make friends with the *Kiai*, the *khodam* acts as a liaison or *wasilah* who conveys to the *Kiai* that there are guests. Sometimes the *khodam* is also given orders by the *Kiai* to remind the *Kiai*; for example, there are recitations, meetings, or all things related to the *Pesantren*. Meanwhile, the *khidmah* of the *santri* who become the staff of thing school regarding the status of the *Kiai* as a politician is to participate in campaigning for the *Kiai* to the community, both the *Pesantren* community and the general public (Fahmi, 2022).

Some serve as personal assistants to the *Kiai* in the DPD office; *santri* who become *khodam Kiai* in the form of personal assistants are *santri* whom the *Kiai* has selected based on all aspects. Loyalty, capability, and affectivity are some aspects the *Kiai* considers. Previously, *santri* who joined or towed the *Kiai* only wrestled within the *Pesantren* environment. However, at this time of actualization, *santri*, who, according to the *Kiai*, are qualified, and experts in a particular field, are invited by the *Kiai* to serve in an estuary whose object is more global. For example, serving as *Kiai's* assistant is a representative council member. The *Kiai*, a politician, takes several human resources in carrying out his work, also from the *santri* community. This then makes the phenomenon of actualizing the concept of *khidmah* in *Pesantren* fresher (Hilmy, 2022).

The emergence of the concept of *khidmah* towards the *Kiai* is an interesting phenomenon. The concept of *khidmah* to *Kiai* at this time can give birth to job opportunities for *santri*. Although *khidmah* is not a profession, the *Kiai's* perception initially rewarded the *khodam* through knowledge or blessings. Now, there are additional rewards in the form of *ujroh* or bonuses. Furthermore, this is not the main goal of the *santri*, only as a form of appreciation for the performance of the *khodam* in carrying out the *Kiai's* mandate. So the re-actualization of the concept of *khidmah santri* towards the *Kiai* today follows the social status of the *Kiai*, the characteristics of the *Kiai*, and the socio-cultural conditions in the *Pesantren*.

Scott revealed that the giving of *ujroh*, *bisyaroh*, or other bonuses both in the form of material and positions (such as jobs, positions in organizations, and government staff) distributed by *Kiai* politicians to *khodam* is a form of client pattern. In his patronage theory profit-sharing among politicians is to distribute something individually to voters, workers, or campaigners to get political support from them. Thus, the relationship between the *Kiai* and the *khodam* above includes a pattern of patronage (S. Zainal, 2021).

The above expression is also relevant to Homans' theory of social exchange which is based on the argument that cost is an element of a relationship that has a negative value for a person. Here, for example, is the performance of the *Kiai khodam* in carrying out the orders and mandate of the *Kiai*. Then rewards are elements in a relationship that

have positive values. For example, the *Kiai* gives *ujroh* or *bisyaroh* to the *khodam*. Social Exchange theorists argue that the majority view that the relationship between the two parties increasingly shows developments by looking at the costs and rewards (Putra Agustang, 2021).

Discussions

Khidmah in patronage theory consists of two interrelated parts: the patron (*Kiai*) and the client (*santri*). Patron is etymologically derived from Spanish, meaning someone with power, domination, and influence. At the same time, the client means the person who gets the order. The relationship pattern between the patron-client is an alliance of two social groups, both communities and individuals, who are, such in terms of status, domination, and influence. So that the client is placed in a low position (inferior) while the patron is in a higher position (superior). Patrons can also be interpreted as people who are in a position to help their clients (Dwiyanto, 2021).

James Scott provides several concepts about the relationship between *Kiai* and *santri* in *khidmah* as the relationship between landlords and small farmers in many Southeast Asian countries. According to Scott, farmers throughout the region pay services and labor to the landowners they serve in return for protection and support for all kinds of problems (Scott, 2009). In the *Pesantren* world, the *Kiai* act as the patron in the context of the land owner above, and the *santri* also act as clients like farmers.

However, the patronage relationship between the *Kiai* and the *santri* shows a positive interaction pattern, meaning it is mutual. The *Kiai* benefited from the performance of the *santri*, who were devoted to being his servants, and the *santri* benefited from the outward and inward closeness to the *Kiai*. Which, according to *Kiai*'s belief can be the entrance to blessings in his life.

According to James C. Scott, patronage has the following characteristics. First, there is an imbalance (inequality) in exchange, where an individual with a high socio-economic status (patron) uses his influence and power to provide protection and benefits for an individual with a lower socioeconomic status (client) (A. Zainal, 2021). The client then reciprocates by offering the patron general support and assistance, including personal services. As a comprehensive pattern of exchange, the services and goods exchanged by patrons and clients represent the visible needs of the resources owned by each party (Rizky, 2017).

Martin said that patronage is profit-sharing among politicians to distribute something individually to voters, workers, or campaigners, to get political support from them (Shefter, 1994). So patronage can be mapped in three circumstances. First, significant variations exist in status, material, and power holdings. Second, no institutions guarantee individuals' safety, regardless of social status or income. Third,

family relationships can no longer be relied on for protection and promotion, which is also a consequence of patronage relationships (Putra, 2019).

Meanwhile, the social exchange theory built by George C. Homans says that social interaction between two or more people can lead to new phenomena due to these interactions. The implementation of the theory can be described by the relationship between two people who consider the economic aspects in it, meaning that the relationship will continue if the person gets what they expect or if it is said in the concept of interpersonal communication, they or both want to develop relationships (Ritzer, 2012).

Thibaut and Kelley, in their book *Introducing Communication Theory*-based social exchange theory on two conceptualizations, namely focusing on the nature of individuals and describing the relationship between two people (interpersonal relationships). This exchange theory is a person's main impetus in conducting interpersonal relationships. In interpersonal communication theory, the development of a relationship pattern can be due to a person maximizing pleasure and minimizing suffering, gaining self-knowledge, getting stimulation, and reducing loneliness (Putra Agustang, 2021).

Social exchange theory is based on the argument that cost is an element of a relationship that has a negative value for a person. For example, feeling depressed and tense. Meanwhile, rewards are elements in a relationship that have positive values. For example, mutual understanding and understanding. Social Exchange theorists argue that everyone judges their relationships by looking at sacrifices and rewards (Suherman, 2020).

Costs and rewards are the two main features of exchange theory. When involved, people always weigh the costs (costs or sacrifices) against the rewards (rewards or benefits) gained from the contact. If the cost does not match the reward, the people who experience a situation like this will become irritated and stop interacting, so social connections fail (Mighfar, 2015).

Homans' social exchange theory is based on basic principles that characterize two people interacting to explain social behavior through rewards and costs. Parsons' structural-functional theory inspired Homans to do so. Homans believes that structural-functional theory is only useful for describing everything, whereas to study human social behavior, a person or at least two individuals must interact with one another (Ritzer & Goodman., 2004).

Levi Strauss also elaborated his view on *khidmah*, that *khidmah* is a social structure formed based on the overall model of the interactions that occur. Strauss also stated that the underlying premise of structural functionalism is that everything has a function; it is because of this function that ens the existence of things.

Perspective Claude Levi Strauss sees *khidmah* as a structure, where the structure itself is a model used to describe and explain various cultural phenomena, even though the social structure generated by these models has no relation to the phenomenon or the actual reality of culture itself (Christopher, 2011).

Levi-Strauss also emphasizes four types of social structure formation. First, a structure provides a system character of elements such as changes. Second, all models are members of the transformation group, each corresponding to a model from the same family in forming the model group. Third, the features shown earlier allow us to anticipate how the model will respond to changes. Fourth, the model must be built so that its function can consider all observed events (Aswar, 2020).

Thus, Strauss's view can be concluded on four factors: system character, transformation, element modification, and variation model. The social structure can then be derived by abstracting orders and regularities in various cultural phenomena and formulating abstract rules (models) behind cultural phenomena (Turama, 2018).

Haul Tradition: As The Logical Consequence of *Khidmah* In *Pesantren*

The relationship between *Kiai* and *santri* that exists in the concept of *khidmah* in *Pesantren* does not only last when they become *santri*, but more than that, the concept of *khidmah* continues to be present in the hearts of alumni and exists among the *Pesantren* community (Akhmad, 2021). For example, the *khidmah* of *santri*, who have become alumni, can be applied to the momentum of the haul of the founders and the community of the *Pesantren*. The haul is a characteristic of *Pesantren* in remembering and praying for someone who is glorified by people such as *Kiai*, teachers, Ustadz, and others. As is the culture of celebrating birthdays which means celebrating someone's birthday, it is different from entities haul, which means celebrating the day of someone's death or death by sending a prayer.

In the haul tradition, especially in traditional *Pesantren*, there is a very strong relationship between *Kiai* and *santri*. This is based on the high sense of *khidmah* of *santri* to the *Kiai*, both when they are still *santri* or alumni. This can be in the form of reverence and respect in the haul assembly as evidenced by a large number of *santri* across generations, both *khodam santri*, *badal*, and *santri* in general, even alumni who all attend the haul event and also pray for the *Kiai* (Al-Bana, 2022). There are at least two implications of the haul tradition in *Pesantren* as a logical consequence of the *khidmah* carried out by *santri* across generations.

First, the haul tradition in the *Pesantren* can indirectly grow the community's economy around the *Pesantren*. This is evidenced by the many booths along the streets of Krapyak, most of which are natives of Krapyak. The presence of visitors or alumni

across generations who were present during the haul unwittingly made the merchandise of the traders crowded with visitors. As stated by Gus Adi, Haul *Kiai* Munawwir brings blessings to all circles, both *santri* and the general public (Akhmad, 2021).

Second, the haul tradition in the *Pesantren* is also a form of the *santri*'s love for the *Kiai*. When preparing for the haul event, many alumni then donated their material, time, energy, and thoughts for the holding of the *Kiai*'s haul event. As in Al-Munawwir, some *santri* still have families and become alumni who always help financially for activities at the *Pesantren*, without any strings attached. According to Ustadz Rifa'i, this was done by *santri* as a form of *khidmah* to their former Kisi (Kusuma, 2022).

Conclusion

Based on data, discussion and findings, the results of this research can be concluded as follows. First, the concept of *khidmah* in the *Pesantren* world philosophically has the meaning of serving, *ngawulo*, serving the *Kiai* which concerns the learning process in *Pesantren*. In the realm of practice, there is a strong relationship pattern between *Kiai* and *santri* which sociologically can be interpreted as a strong power relationship between the two.

Second, the transformation of the concept of *khidmah* at the *Pesantren* Al-Munawwir can be classified into several concepts. 1) The concept of *khidmah santri* towards special *Kiai* (*Kiai* teachers) is identical to being *khodam Kiai* in taking care of the needs of *Kiai* and their families, such as servants of *ndalem*, *badal*, *Kiai* drivers. 2) The concept of *khidmah santri* towards entrepreneurial *Kiai* by becoming *khodam* regarding the *Kiai*'s business operations like employees. 3) The concept of *khidmah santri* towards academic *Kiai* is identical to being a *khodam* to manage *Pesantren*, such as *badal* and *Kiai* advisory councils. 4) the concept of *khidmah santri* towards *Kiai* politicians is identical to being *khodam* part of the *Kiai Pesantren* staff and *Kiai* assistants.

Third, there are at least two implications of the existence of *khidmah* in *Pesantren* which are reflected in the Haul tradition. First, the haul tradition at *Pesantren*, which is generally visited by alumni as proof of their devotion to their previous *Pesantren*, can indirectly grow the economy of the community around the *Pesantren*. Second, the haul tradition in *Pesantren* is a form of the students' love for their teacher even though he has died.

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