

Zamakhsyari Dhofier,³ Imam Suprayago,⁴ Ali Maskhan Moses,⁵ Nur Syam,⁶ Martin Van Bruinessen,⁷ Abdul Munir Malkhan,⁸ and Moh. Syaeful Bahar.⁹ The phenomena do not merely occur

function can also be played to fortify vulnerable points in the connection the local system and the overall system in a broad scheme.

³ This research based book of Zamakshari Dhofir rejects the theory proposed by Geertz. According Dofir, Geertz's propositions such as that the religious life of *pesantren* is only about "grave and reward" and that life of *pesantren* is "old-fashioned" need to be corrected. Dhofir also denotes the role of *kiyais*. He mass base of the *kiyai* and *santri* community relies on *pesantren* the rural areas wherein the *kiyais* occupy a central position in the social livelihood. This position also makes leadership of *kiyais* upon *santris* and the community culturally rooted. For Dhofir, *kiyais* are in fact a group of elite culturally, socially, politically, and economically. They are a religious teachers and preachers who normally own huge properties of land. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, (New York: LP3ES, 1982).

⁴ Imam Soeprayogo in his dissertation, *Kiai dan Politik di Pedesaan (suatu kajian tentang Variasi dan bentuk Keterlibatan Politik Kiai)*, a Doctoral Dissertation at Airlangga University in 1997, sees that *kiyais'* role and responsibilities upon religion, the state and society all together often cause a conflict of interest which puts the *kiyais* in a difficult position. This difficult position occurs when the government and the society are in a position of opposing each other. If *kiyais* fail to place themselves as part of the society and as defenders of the public interest, it is very likely that they would be avoided by the community and the *santris*. This means that they will lose their source of authority and their legitimacy as *kiyais*

⁵ See Ali Maschan Moses, *Nasionalisme Kiai, Konstruksi Sosial Berbasis Agama*, (Jogjakarta, LKiS, 2007).

⁶ See Nur Syam, *Pembangkangan kaum Tarekat*, (Surabaya, LEPKISS, 2004)

⁷ See Martin Van Bruinessen. *NU Tradisi Relasi-Relasi Kuasa ; Pencarian Wacana Baru* . (New York: LKIS, 1994).

⁸ Ses Abdul Munir Malkhan, *Runtuhnya Mitos Politik santri* , (London: Rinneka SIPRESS, 1992)

⁹ The research conducted by Moh. Syaeful Bahar in Bondowoso and Situbondo examines the political conflict of *kiyais* and its implications on the social integration of the community. Kiyais' political conflict in a massive scale brings about tensions

