

THE SOCIAL CAPITAL OF *PESANTREN RAKYAT* COMMUNITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the use of social capital that already exists in the community in the form of local wisdom. The local wisdom in question is potential localistic values such as; ethnicity, customs and values (norms), beliefs and also the networks contained in it that function as a development approach in overcoming various social problems. Social capital in the framework of community empowerment as an effort to overcome various problems in line with the implementation of the development paradigm at this time which focuses on human development. While the pesantren which has a dual function at the same time that is the function of education and society has been proven to be able to involve itself in building the community through the empowerments that have been carried out. Qualitative approaches are used intentionally in order to find a theory based on data that has been collected in the field or often referred to as grounded theory.

Keywords: Social capital, pesantren, empowerment, development

INTRODUCTION

As it has been recognized that the oldest Islamic education institution called *pesantren* has its own characteristics compared to other educational institutions. It is because through *pesantren*, a view of life can be shaped and directed (Kurniawan, 2018: 64). So it is no exaggeration if the existence of *pesantren* in the midst of society is considered to have a very strategic role. Abdurrahman Wahid said the *pesantren* had a dual function, the first and foremost as the second temporary Islamic education institution and additional as a means of information. This second function (read: additional) basically becomes an inseparable part of *pesantren*'s function as an Islamic educational institution. In other words, the two functions of the *pesantren* are integrated (Wahid, 2001: 157). Both *pesantren* functions as mentioned by Gus Dur (read: Abdurrahman Wahid) actually want to emphasize that reading boarding schools can be done from two perspectives, namely the educational function and social function. Related to that, Moh. Slamet Untung saw a clear picture had been obtained to identify the peculiarities of *pesantren* in relation to the roles of their subcultures. In addition to completeness of value, the *pesantren* also has a social building and its own goals so that it becomes a separate world that is different from the world outside but still integrated and in tune with the reality of the surrounding community.

We know that the wealth of Natural Resources (SDA) in Indonesia has made this developing country the center of the world's attention. However, this wealth has not been fully in line with the social conditions of the people (read: the people) of Indonesia. In general, the problem in question is not a natural condition such as scarcity of natural resources, war, disaster, etc. but such as acute poverty, unemployment, disparity in the level of welfare, corruption, etc. which is a portrait of Indonesia's current blur. Why is that? The answer is partly due to structural policies that have not been able to take sides in solving problems strategically, systematically and based on the potential of the community. Therefore, a new

breakthrough in development is needed which gives the community the opportunity to participate in solving their own problems actively. The concept of development that involves the community to unravel the problem itself is popularly called the development model based on empowerment society.

The implementation of the community empowerment model is an option that is felt to be very appropriate as to provide a new policy boost in solving problems in Indonesia. The community already has a lot of potential socio-cultural and natural resources (SDA), only a touch of motivation is needed so that new awareness emerges by being accompanied, facilitated, etc. so that the community has the opportunity to act as the subject of development itself. The community has been involved from the beginning and given space as the initiator of activities or programs that eventually can foster a sense of belonging. Thus, the programs that are run are truly the property of the community and can be sustainable. That is, involving the community in the development process is an effort to empower social capital that has long existed in the community. But on the contrary, when the program of handling poverty is only prioritized in empowering the economic sector, it is often only patterned by providing assistance or working capital loans or micro-businesses, or even the aid of goods that are endless / charity.

As stated by Abdullah Sam (Interview Tuesday, May 20, 2017 at 4:00 p.m.), one of the key figures in Sumberpucung Village, Malang Regency, said that the reason for the depletion of social capital was because the community experienced a pragmatic and not optimal and directed learning process, primarily through in the form of development programs from government policies. For example the implementation of government programs such as IDT and JPS PDM-DKE that enter and introduce labor-intensive systems but the community is mobilized for community service but their involvement is calculated with Daily People Work and this is denominated with money. As a result, people feel spoiled as a form of exchange from the service they do. As a result, community service as a form of social capital is no longer seen as a manifestation of collective solidarity and a sense of mutual affection in society, but begins to shift as an activity that earns a sum of money, and sometimes even when there are certain meetings; there is always a transport fee.

While on the one hand we realize that in the midst of society there has been the use of social capital in the form of local wisdom. The local wisdom in question is potential localistic values such as ethnicity, customs and values (norms), beliefs and also the networks contained in them which function as a development approach in overcoming various existing social problems. Social capital in the framework of community empowerment as an effort to overcome various problems in line with the implementation of the development paradigm at this time which focuses on human development. While *pesantren* as part of an entity that has a dual function at the same time that is the function of education and society has been proven to be able to involve itself in building the community through the empowerment that has been done.

Al Amin *Pesantren* Sumberpucung Malang Regency which was founded in 2008 is the example of its development which focuses on social capital-based community empowerment. While its mission is to provide free education services but still quality. As M. Anwas reported that the main target of the *pesantren* was street children, children from underprivileged families, including former *lokalisasi* families, as well as communities around the *pesantren* (Anwas, 2015: 211). Whereas the learning that is developed is based on knowledge and skills that are carried out flexibly, freely, cheaply, and based on the principles of togetherness and or help to help among others. Sumberpucung Village residents, as students of the *bats* as well as the base of the presence of *pesantren*, who have the knowledge and skills about animal

husbandry, agriculture, crafts, arts, religion, etc. are required to teach it to other citizens in need. *Pesantren Rakyat* also develops a pattern of shared learning. There is a jointly agreed provision that anyone who should be able to teach those who cannot, and those who are overweight to help those in need (Jumain, 2015: 268).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research was carried out using qualitative research methods in order to find a theory based on data that has been collected in the field or often referred to as grounded theory (J.W. Creswell, 2013). This qualitative research process involves important efforts such as submitting questions and procedures, collecting specific data, analyzing data inductively from themes that are specific to general themes, and interpreting the meaning of data. Therefore the research on the social capital of the *pesantren* community in development, especially in the context of the study of the strengthening of social capital in community empowerment, the behavior, background descriptions, complex interactions, and exploration of phenomena in the community of *pesantren* community become the basis for understanding the meaning of this research (Faisal, 1990: 22). While in its implementation, researchers try to understand the meaning of events and their relationship with ordinary people or institutions that play a role in strengthening social capital, by trying to enter into the conceptual world of subjects who are being studied in such a way in the community of the *Pesantren Rakyat* in Sumberpucung, Malang Regency. That is why it can be understood what and how an understanding developed by the community of *pesantren* community regarding events in daily life at the research location. Because the most fundamental in a study of social capital in development is the behavior and interaction of humans and institutions seen in each interaction. Finding the meaning behind certain appropriate events is very important in a social interaction (Muhajir, 1990). This can be seen from the reality in the community related to the communication model that runs in various activities that are running.

The data sources in this study are symptoms in the form of words, behavior, and opinions and views of the community (Nasution, 2003). While data collection techniques include in-depth interviews, observation, documentation. Data analysis and processing techniques use content analysis as suggested by Klaus Krippendorff with the following components and steps: unitizing data that can be selected as a research source, sampling of various information and data sources; reducing, inferring (Bakker, 1992: 44), analyzing, and narrating or describing and presenting data that has been analyzed and assessed for later also narrated as a conclusion and research results (Krippendorff, 1993: 85).

FINDING & DISCUSSION

Solidarity and Social Capital

In simple terms, solidarity is interpreted as the result of the interaction between one individual and another. The intended interaction relationship is based on the same equality or interest. In the study of sociology, the term solidarity was formulated by Emil Durkheim (1859-1917). Starting from Durkheim's interest in seeing the division of labor which has enormous implications for changes in the structure of society. The change in question is the way in which social solidarity begins to form where people can survive and see each other as a whole. This kind of bond arises because of the activity, the type of work and the same responsibilities that each individual has (Ritzer & Goodman, 2013). Durkheim's review of this concept was written in a book entitled *The Division of Labor in Society*. What's interesting about this book is that it is not only the first work. More than that because this book - instead - became the central concept of Durkheim in the development of sociological theories. As what Robert K. Merton (1934) revealed,

“Durkheim was most interested in the changes way in which social solidarity is produced, in other words, the changed way in which society is held together and how its members see themselves as a part of a whole (Merton, 1934)”.

Furthermore, in this book Durkheim submits keywords (keywords) in seeing and understanding society. These keywords are mechanical and organic social solidarity. Both of these terminologies need to be understood in terms of Durkheim's theories of society.

For Durkheim, a lot of solidarity is influenced by social facts that show the existence of various ways and human endeavors to build a community, or what he calls society. While solidarity itself, by Durkheim in Pip Jones (Jones, 2009), is meant as solidarity which refers to a state of relationships between individuals and or groups based on moral feelings and shared beliefs reinforced by shared emotional experiences. In another sense, in the view of Durkheim, solidarity emphasizes the state of relations between individuals and groups and underlies a shared attachment in life supported by moral values and beliefs that live in society. A tangible manifestation of mutual relations will give birth to an emotional experience, thus strengthening the relationship between them.

As for the development of society, Durkheim saw that the entity called the community had undergone a development from a simple entity to a modern entity. One of the main components of society that has become the focus of Durkheim's attention to community development is his form of social solidarity. Therefore, he proposed two typologies of social solidarity that exist in the community, both in the category of simple society and modern society. Simple society develops a form of mechanical solidarity, while modern society develops a form of organic solidarity.

Durkheim uses the term mechanical solidarity to analyze society as a whole. It refers to a situation where the relationship between individuals or groups is based on moral feelings and shared beliefs that are reinforced by shared emotional experiences (Abdullah & Leeden, 1986). Mechanical solidarity is characterized by: low division of labor, strong collective awareness, repressive dominant law, low individualism, consensus on normative patterns that are important, community involvement in punishing deviant people, relative interdependence is low, and is primitive or rural (Johnson, 1994).

Furthermore, according to Johnson, this type of solidarity is based on a high level of homogeneity in beliefs, sentiments and so on. This model of solidarity is commonly found in primitive societies or simple traditional societies. In a society like this the division of labor almost does not occur. All life is centered on the figure of the chief. Management of the interests of social life is personal. Social attachment occurs because of adherence to traditional values held by the community. Likewise the leadership system that was carried out went on for generations. This mechanical solidarity occurs in a society that has a characteristic uniformity of patterns of social relations, has the same work background and the position of all members. If the cultural values underlying their relationship can unite them thoroughly. Then it will bring up a strong social bond and marked by the emergence of a strong social identity. Individuals unite themselves in togetherness, so that no aspect of life is not uniformed by the same social relations. Individuals involve themselves fully in community together. Therefore, it is inconceivable that their lives can still take place if one aspect of life is separated from togetherness.

Unlike mechanical solidarity, organic solidarity arises because the division of labor continues to grow. This type of solidarity is based on a high level of interdependence as a result of increasing specialization in the division of labor, which allows and also promotes increasing

differences among individuals (Johnson, 1994). Organic solidarity develops in complex societies but is closely related to the similarities of each part.

Although coming from differences in individuals does not mean there is no social solidarity. Conversely, individuals and community groups increasingly depend on other parties with different jobs and specializations with them. Regarding the view above, Ritzer called a common bond built on the basis of differences. With these differences they can actually withstand the differences that exist because of the fact that everyone has different jobs and responsibilities (Ritzer & Goodman, 2013).

Characteristics of organic solidarity include: high division of labor, weak collective awareness, dominant restitute law, high individuality, consensus on abstract and general values that are important, social control bodies that punish deviant people, high dependency and urban industry (Johnson, 1994). To understand the concept map of the two types of social solidarity referred to above, can be seen in table 1 and table 2.

Table 1. Typology of Social Solidarity According to Durkheim

No	Factors	Mechanical Solidarity	Organic Solidarity
1.	Behaviour	Dominated by tradition	Improve the individualistic specialization.
2.	Moral law and social control	Suppressing law	Division of work that causes individualism, emphasis on applicable law.
3.	Political Structure	Public meeting	Contract relationships between government and contractual relations and private property of monotheism, selfishness, and anomicism (Kinloch, 2005).
4.	Economy	Community wealth cooperation	
5.	Religion	Local idols, tribes, and patriarchists	

Sources: processed by the researcher

Table 2. Characteristics of Mechanical and Organic Solidarity According to Durkheim

No	Characteristics	Mechanical Solidarity	Organic Solidarity
1.	Characteristic of the main social unity activity	Similar to the uniformity of moral and religious consensus	Highly differentiated, interdependent and complementary
2.	Individual Position	Collectivism, emphasizing on groups, communities	Individualism, emphasizing individual autonomy
3.	Economic structure	The isolated groups, the autarchy, meet their needs	Work division of interdependence and inter-group exchanges
4.	Social control	Oppressive law (criminal law)	The law is recovery, maintains contracts (civil law)

Sources: processed by the researcher

As for social capital (social capital), as a concept, it is very popular in development discourses. Hasbullah (2006) called this popularity mainly since the emergence of valuable studies from Putnam (1993, 1995, and 2002), Fukuyama (1999 and 2002), Coleman (1990 and 1998), Bullen (2000 and 2002), Cox (1995), Cohen and Prusak (2001). Called popular

because before studies have emerged, the term social capital (social capital) has not been sufficiently defined and conceptualized. Economists, social and political experts come up with different definitions.

As a concept, social capital was first introduced by a French sociologist named Pierre Bourdieu in the early 1980s. Bourdieu stressed that social capital formed by a network of relationships does not naturally exist naturally, but must be endeavored. Social capital must be endeavored because social capital is the result of investing in strategies both from individual and collective actions in a momentary or sustainable time that aims to stabilize or produce social relations that are directly useful, both in the short and long term (Winter, 2000) Bourdieu also stated that in order to understand the structure and the way it functions, the social world needs to also discuss capital (capital) in all its forms, not enough to just discuss capital as it is known in economic theory. It is also important to know the forms of transactions which in economic theory are considered non-economic because they cannot directly maximize material profits. In fact, in every economic capital transaction is always accompanied by immaterial capital in the form of cultural capital and social capital. This is where Bourdieu resolves the differences between economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, and illustrates how the three can be distinguished from each other in terms of their ease of conversion (Sahra, 2003). Economic capital, according to Bourdieu, can easily be converted into money, and can be institutionalized in the form of ownership rights. But in certain conditions cultural capital can also be converted into capital that has economic value, and can be institutionalized, such as educational qualifications. Likewise social capital under certain conditions can be converted into economic capital and can even be institutionalized in the form of a degree. Even though they are obtained through the same tertiary institutions and within the same period of education, each degree with a different field of expertise has a different "economic selling value". Even a bachelor's degree in the same field but obtained from a different college will contain different economic values. A college graduate who has a high accreditation value will generally find it easier to get a job with a higher income compared to a graduate of a tertiary institution, both state and private which has low accreditation value.

Starting from this mindset, Bourdieu defines social capital as an overall resource both actual and potential related to ownership of a network of institutional relationships that are based on mutual recognition and mutual recognition. In other words, being a member of a group of people will get support from collectively owned capital. Furthermore, he said that the magnitude of social capital that a member has in a group depends on how much the quantity and quality of the network of relationships he can create, and how much the volume of economic, cultural and social capital possessed by everyone in the network of relations (Bourdieu, 1986, in Sahra, 2003: 249).

In subsequent developments, this term began to be widely known when James Coleman published his work entitled *Social Capital in The Creation of Human Capital*. Coleman himself is an American sociologist. He describes social capital from a sociological and economic point of view. The economic point of view is certainly because Coleman was quite close to the economists of his time. According to Coleman, social capital must be defined based on its function and defined not from one particular entity or trait but from a variety of different entities that have the same two characteristics. These characteristics are (1) consisting of several aspects of the social structure, and (2) facilitating certain actions of the actors or people or companies in the structure. Furthermore, Coleman gives his view that social capital is the ability of people to work together for the general goals of groups and organizations (Coleman, 1998 in Bjornskov & Svendsen, 2000).

Actually, besides Coleman, there is the name of an educator in the United States named Lyda Judson Hanifan who lived in the early 20th century and also introduced the term social capital. It's just that, as explained by Rusydi Sahra (2003), Hanifan got his inspiration from the idea that community members could not individually overcome various problems faced. There is a need for togetherness and good cooperation from all members of the community who have an interest in overcoming the problem. Hanifan then wrote his views on *The Rural School Community Center* (1916). Hanifan said that social capital is not capital in the usual sense such as wealth or money, but rather has a figurative meaning, but is an important asset or real capital in community life. According to Hanifan, in social capital including good will, feeling of friendship, mutual sympathy, and close social relations and cooperation between individuals and families that form a social group (Sahra, 2003). Nevertheless, Sahra also agreed that although Hanifan had used the term social capital almost a century ago, the term had only begun to be known in the academic world since the late 1980s thanks to Pierre Bourdieu and later developed by Coleman.

In Winter's working paper, it is stated that Coleman defines social capital from the point of view of the function of social capital itself, which is not emphasized on social relations such as the definition given by Bourdieu but emphasized on social structure. Identifiable functions of social capital are the values of aspects of the social structure which refers to a set of obligations and expectations, information networks, effective norms and sanctions that can force or encourage someone to behave in order to continue to exist in maintaining relationship with other people. If Bourdieu is interested in developing the concept of social capital as a resource for one's economic capital (economic capital), Coleman is more interested in developing how social capital is in the family and community network as a resource for human capital. Meanwhile, other social capital figures such as Robert Putnam define social capital as trust, norms, and networks that facilitate collaboration to achieve mutual benefits. Putnam said that aspects of social capital that can differentiate the results of economic and political development at the regional and national levels, are the norms of reciprocity based on social trust (Winter, 2000). For Coleman, social capital is attached to the structure of the relationship between the actor and between actors, because organizational goals can become actors (corporate actors). Social capital is in line with the concept of financial capital, physical capital and human capital. There are three forms of social model concepts, namely obligations and expectations, depend on social environmental beliefs, capability of information flow from social structures, and norms accompanied by sanctions.

While Francis Fukuyama (1995) provides an understanding of social capital as a set of informal values or norms that are shared among members of a group that allows the establishment of cooperation between them, (Fukuyama, 1995). If community members believe that other members can be trusted and honest, then they will trust each other. Trust is like a lubricant that can make a community or organization run more efficiently. Norms that produce social capital are built from honesty values, fulfill obligations, and take place reciprocally. To provide an illustration of the conceptual building of social capital proposed by Fukuyama, consider the following table.

Whereas Cox (1995) defines, social capital as a series of processes of human relations that are supported by social networks, norms, and beliefs that enable efficient and effective coordination and cooperation for mutual benefits and virtues. In line with Fukuyama and Cox, Partha and Ismail S. (1999) defines, social capital as the relationships created and norms that shape the quality and quantity of social relations in society in a broad spectrum, namely as social glue who keep group members together. On the same path Solow (1999) defines, social capital as a set of values or norms that are manifested in behavior that can encourage

the ability and capability to cooperate and coordinate to produce a major contribution to the sustainability of productivity (Nugroho & Setyawan, 2015).

Al Amin Pesantren and Social Capital in the Development

Al-Amin *Pesantren Rakyat* was established in 2008 by Ustadz Abdullah Sam. A religious teacher who completed his undergraduate degree at the Faculty of Psychology at UIN Malang (now Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang State University) and a master's degree in the Postgraduate Program of Muhammadiyah University Malang. The *pesantren* that was founded by Cak Dul, the nickname of Ustadz Abdullah Sam, was in Sumberpucung village, Malang Regency. The location of this boarding school is in the south about 300 meters Sumberpucung Railway Station Malang Regency (Anwas, 2015: 211).

Based on information from the hamlet head, regarding the living conditions of the Sumberpucung and surrounding villages before the *pesantren* was established relatively heterogeneous, ranging from work, educational background, religion, culture, and also daily habits. There are also many social problems, such as gambling, unemployment, even prostitution and various other forms of breaking God's command (Anwas, 2015: 211). This condition eventually prompted Ustadz Abdullah Sam to establish a boarding school called Al Amin People's Islamic Boarding School.

The main objective of establishing the *Pesantren Rakyat* is to "realize the propaganda of the Islamic teachings and aqeedah in the style of *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* especially for marginalized people so that their lives can improve and prosper". The *pesantren* people's mission is to provide free but quality education services with the main targets of street children, children from underprivileged families, including families of former workers in prostitute area, as well as communities around the *pesantren*. Furthermore, Cak Dul asserted that educational institutions under the auspices of the Al Amin Sumberpucung *Pesantren Rakyat* did not collect fees from students. In a sense, all students who are willing to study at this *pesantren* are free even though the educational operational costs that must be incurred by the institution every month are around seven to ten million rupiah.

Initially, as conveyed by Cak Dul, the required operational costs were obtained from the honorarium (bisyaroh) that Cak Dul received after giving lectures or being given by the community. In its development several parties that are not binding, voluntary donations. Each contribution is recorded, including records of expenditure so that the use of the donation funds can be accounted for.

Ustadz Abdullah is known as a versatile young figure. He was able to give lectures in an attractive style, preach through leather puppet, play various traditional musical instruments such as "*Jagong Maton*", provide religious consultations and various social activities, and actively conduct various activities of community empowerment and poverty alleviation. Ustadz Abdullah was increasingly recognized by the people around Malang and East Java after establishing a community empowerment institution called the *Posdaya Keluarga* (Posdaya) Al-Amin. This *Posdaya* was established as a communication and empowerment forum for the community around the *pesantren*. This *Posdaya* also received guidance from the Institute of Research and Community Service (LPPM) of the State Islamic University (UIN) Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang and the Damandiri Jakarta Foundation. The achievements of *Posdaya Al Amin*, in 2014 won the first place in the National *Posdaya* Competition, beating around 40 thousand *Posdaya* in Indonesia. Students who study (boarding) in the *Pesantren Rakyat* generally come from middle to lower class families. The *santri* group can be classified into several categories, namely students of Early Childhood Education (PAUD), *Santri Inti*, *Santri Kalong*, and *Santri Pendukung*. There are 38 students

of PAUD. They learn with the PAUD system. This PAUD education achieves achievement as the best PAUD in its area.

The advantages include maintaining traditional values, traditional games, nature-based education, exemplary teachers, and learning in ICT. The level of education for PAUD educators all have qualified qualifications, some even hold master's degrees. Infrastructure, PAUD is still relatively limited and uses more natural educational games available around the *pesantren*. *Santri* are the students who stay overnight at the *pesantren* and there are 15 students.

Santri Mukim are from various regions around East Java. *Santri Santong* is a *santri* whose house is around the *pesantren*. They come to the *pesantren* generally when learning time arrives. The number of Kalong *Santri* is 50 people, while the *Santri Pendukung* are the people who live around the *pesantren*.

This community actively supports various *pesantren* activities. The activities followed by the community included attending recitation, attending Jagong Maton events (community discussion forums which were packaged in Javanese gamelan music and wayang), as well as people who were active in community empowerment activities contained in the *Posdaya Al-Amin* led by Ustadz Abdullah. All categories of *santri* support each other and promote the education process at Al-Amin *Pesantren Rakyat*.

There is the aim of the *Pesantren Rakyat* Al Amin, namely:

- a. make human beings who are devoted to Allah SWT, Kareemah morally, have insight into Islam, are independent, have knowledge of knowledge, have technological skills and have social awareness that is useful for religion, nation and State;
- b. provide a forum for Islamic education for all levels of society, especially people who do not have access to public education.
- c. spreading da'wah with the core of improving morals and *aqeedah* for the general public;
- d. develop people's economy by changing people's mindset that a person can change for the better as long as they are willing to move and try to examine the changes;
- e. Replication of the *Pesantren Rakyat* model.
- f. Economic changes in society through the implementation of the Islamic economy with the ease of collateral-free capital for small communities.
- g. Dissemination of access to cheap quality education with advanced science and technology skills for the wider community with a solid religious frame.

Whereas the vision of *Pesantren Rakyat* Al Amin is the realization of ASWAJA's social Islamic institutions compared to non-school education that is capable of delivering generations of social communities that are useful for religion, nation and State. While the mission includes: (1) organizing Islamic education outside of school; (2) conducting da'wah and social religious activities; (3) advocate for neglected children, dropouts and marginal communities; (4) arouse the social spirit of the wider community; (5) building an independent people's economy in the style of *santri*; (6) increasing the professionalism and effectiveness of the *santri*; (7) improving human resources capable of competing with the era of globalization; and (7) building a society that humanizes human beings.

In addition, there are 3 types that are the target group of education in the *Pesantren Rakyat*, namely the core students, the students of the bats, and the supporting students. The core *santri* are students who live, eat, drink, sleep and study at the *pesantren*, there are 20 people.

The core students study at *madrrasah diniyah*. Bats are students who come to study/ recite at the *pesantren* together with the core students, then after the *mutholaah* which sometimes until late at night or before dawn the students return to their homes. While the supporting students are *santri* consisting of local people who only take part in one program.

Tabel 3. Kind of *Santri*

Kind of <i>Santri</i>	Number of <i>Santri</i>	Material
<i>Santri Inti</i>	20 students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Worship ▪ General ▪ Yellow book of Islam
<i>Santri Kalong</i>	25 students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Umum ▪ General ▪ Yellow book of Islam
<i>Santri Pendukung</i>	500 students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Economics ▪ Agriculture ▪ Social ▪ Crafts ▪ Household ▪ Aqeedah

Resources: Profile of *Pesantren Rakyat* 2017

While the achievements that have been carried out at the *Pesantren Rakyat* can be seen from the history of the *pesantren's* journey. That is, since its establishment in 2008, the *pesantren* folk have achieved various achievements including: community recognition of the existence of the *Pesantren Rakyat*. This is indicated by the increasing number of *santri*. *Santri* who has continued their education, generally become donors to help the *pesantren* activities. A lot of prostituted women and workers in prostitution place have left the world immoral and turned to halal businesses such as opening stalls or becoming motorcycle taxi drivers. Economic development also shows the progress of sharing aspects such as the growth of cooperatives, the increase in the number of members of cooperatives, the development of business capital, marketing, and also cooperation with banks.

The da'wah field, especially to the communication of prostitute women, the *pesantren* folk officially become the KUA envoy to talk routinely, the model of the *Pesantren Rakyat* has begun to be replicated by various parties that have spread in 14 points in the surrounding villages / sub-districts.

Some achievements in various fields can be seen in the following list:

a. Strengthening of youth mentality

- 1) Nugraha Chandra Pratama (has a Javanese belief from his grandmother, then he entered the Al-Mubarak hut in Malang City and went to school in MAN 1 of Malang City, now a Bachelor of English in UIN Malang).
- 2) Dhimas Nanda Yusus (has a syncretic belief from his grandfather, now studying at UIN MALIKI MALANG and staying at Sabilurrosyad Gasek).
- 3) Sri Hasanah (destitute children, lodged in An Nur 1 Bululawang, now, she is the caretaker of the Soeryo Alam Ngajum Islamic boarding school).

- 4) Moch. Nasir (dare to parents, use drugs, drop out of grade 2 junior high school and fight against friends, now, he has a high school diploma and becomes an employee of PLN and his wife is an Ustadzah Hidayatul Fitriyah)
- 5) Purnomo (children of *tahu lontong* seller, student champion in East Java and Malang Regency and now at Taruna Magelang High School).
- 6) M. Arifin (drop out of school, no hope, dare to parents, for 9 months at the *Pesantren Rakyat*, now has a high school diploma and work in Kalimantan).
- 7) Haris Abdullah (from a poor family, drop out of school, now having a high school diploma and being a student at STAI Raden Rahmat Kepanjen and chairman of the IPNU PAC Sumber Pucung).
- 8) Adi Anggara (drop out of school, now, he has a high school certificate and work independently).
- 9) Ghofur Yajalali (he does not want to go to college, losing confidence, now he is studying at STAI Raden Rahmat Kepanjen majoring in Islamic Education).
- 10) Wahyudi (drunk, drop out of school, now he wants *istighosah* and has a high school diploma).
- 11) Chika and Nanda (drop out of school and no fees at all, then go to school again at SDP 06 Sumberpucung in Malang Regency).
- 12) Sami'ani Ngajum (a son from an ordinary farmer, now a student majoring in English Language and Literature at Maliki Malang State Islamic University-UIN Malang).
- 13) Bahruddin Sambigede (Initially the ordinary seller, now an IT student at the State University of Malang).
- 14) Siami (destitute children, graduated from Senior High School LOKA and living independently).

There are many facts about the emergence and development of the *Pesantren Rakyat* community, namely; this region is a dark region. That is the area of society that is the center of gambling, drinking, prostitution, the poor, low education and many children drop out of school, unemployment, etc. This is the fact that raises various kinds of initiatives from small groups of people in them to make changes into a better area / condition.

The small group initiative was eventually born into a community called "*Pesantren Rakyat*" in Sumberpucung Village, Malang Regency. As for what drives this community, it was motivated by Mr. Abdullah Sam and several other members of the community.

The most basic thing that is done by the *Pesantren Rakyat* is to start by networking with various parties, including Universities, Villages, Districts, Provinces, National and National Levels, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), formal good education institutions and non-formal, financial and banking institutions, mass organizations, and others. Starting the network was done by involving the community *pesantren* community with the mosque-based Posdaya program which was carried out by the Malang Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University (UIN Malang). As a result, several community activity initiatives began to emerge.

In its development there were many community groups that took the initiative to form "creative" communities in various sectors such as economics, agricultural and livestock development, education, religious studies, arts and culture. The economic sector raises

various community groups to sell, handicraft, brick making business, and so on. In the agriculture and animal husbandry sector, there is an effort to plant vacant land around the house, beaten by the road, cattle, rabbits, birds, goats, and so on.

In the recitation jama'ah sector raises initiatives for "arisan" rice or basic necessities which will be routinely distributed to poor / disadvantaged groups every week. The center of the activity is concentrated on the places of worship (Musholla) that are around. And there are still many other fields that continue to grow until now and get awards or winners in several competitions at local, regional and national levels.

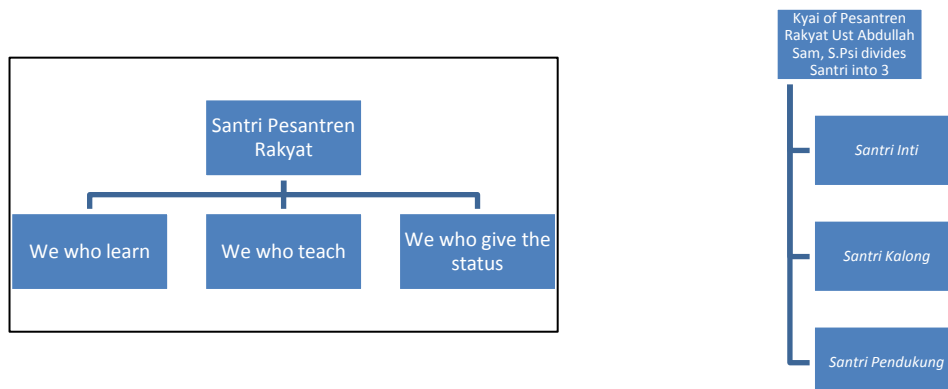
Through creative groups, people can be encouraged to do productive things in each field. With the end of the estuary is increasing the level of welfare, realizing economic independence and quality of life both physical and spiritual. So, efforts to build togetherness among community members is a top priority to develop the potential that exists in the community systemically and sustainably. In addition, like the role of *pesantren* in general, the *pesantren* Rakyat not only provides religious education but also as a good medium of da'wah and role model and empowers the community. What is meant by empowerment by the *Pesantren Rakyat* is to move the community together to work in solving the problems of daily life, for example economic, social, religious, arts, education for their children, and so on.

Before this *pesantren* was founded in 2008 by Ustadz Abdullah Sam, it was mentioned by the Head of the Hamlet Sumber Pucung that the lives of the surrounding communities were relatively heterogeneous, ranging from work, educational background, religion, culture, and also daily habits. Many social problems are also found, such as gambling, unemployment, even prostitution and various other forms of munkering, even though it is not uncommon for people to view this area as an unproductive black area. Therefore, the founder of this *pesantren* has a desire to empower the community around this village. Abdullah Sam called his desire to realize the Islamic preaching and *aqeedah* in the style of Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah, especially for marginalized people so that their lives can improve and prosper. While the mission of this *pesantren* is to provide free education services but still quality. Furthermore, the main target of this *pesantren* is street children, children from underprivileged families, including former lokalisasi families, as well as communities around *pesantren* (Anwas, 2015).

There are several terms that are known among these *pesantren*, as reported by Professor Imam Suprayogo (2016) in his article entitled "A close look at the activities of the *pesantren* folk", namely the core students, students of the bats, and supporting students. What is referred to as "core students" are those who study the Koran to the caregivers of the *pesantren*, Ustadz Abdullah Sam and they live in a *pesantren*. Intimate *santri* are not many, only a few people are all free of charge. While "*santri kalong*" are those who come and study every day at the *pesantren* but they do not live (read: stay).

The "supporting students" are the people in the village who want to learn what knowledge and skills are needed to develop themselves. Learning about the various types of knowledge and skills is done flexibly, freely, cheaply, and based on the principles of togetherness and / or help between people. The people of Sumberpucung village, as the basis of this *pesantren* who have knowledge of animal husbandry, agriculture, crafts, arts, religion, etc. are asked to teach it to other people in need. For the guidance and coordination of the caregivers of the *Pesantren Rakyat*, namely Ustadz Abdullah Sam, the activity was carried out (Suprayogo, 2016). While in other terminology, Mufidah Ch gave an overview of this *pesantren* as a *pesantren* which became the cultural field of the love of the abangan (Mufidah, 2012). In the Geertz concept (1960) of syncretic typology is associated as a group

that has a dividing line with the *santri*. While in this *pesantren* fostered by Ustadz Abdullah Sam, the abangan who live in a full black world of disobedience referred to by Mufidah Ch as a brother and sister can collaborate in a culture of culture that is quite effective with poor peripheral *santri*. Such collaborative cultural fields are based on local wisdom with various approaches as well as the model of propaganda of Sunan Kalijaga when spreading Islam in Java (Suprayogo, 2016).



1. *Santri model* and pattern of relationships that are built (Jumain, 2015)

Pesantren Rakyat also develops a pattern of shared learning. There is a jointly agreed provision that anyone who should be able to teach those who cannot, and those who are overweight to help those in need (Jumain, 2015).

The *Pesantren Rakyat* Community also often gets visits from various government and non-government agencies, ranging from the local community at the local level of Malang, East Java to West Java, and several State and Private Universities in Java. The illustration above provides an overview for researchers to continue to explore and develop development studies and community empowerment at the local level, especially in strengthening social capital that exists in the midst of society. These things that must be maintained and maintained are social capital and cultural capital that is there regarding the emotions of togetherness among community members. Maintenance as a strategy to strengthen human factors in social engineering and human factors social engineering. This at the same time makes encouragement in development by using participation-based community empowerment.

Dzawil Qurba: Prioritize the Imminent

The educational background of Ustadz Abdullah Sam as a person who had studied for a long time in Islamic educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools and State Islamic University (UIN) became his own provision and strength, supported by a pattern of approaches to the community which he considered very effective as well. starting from the nearest (dzawil qurba) both relatives and neighbors.

Awareness of one sentence in the verse of the Qur'an about the obligation to give precedence to all pious charity activities. What was done by Ustadz Abdullah Sam (Sam, 2017) in the *Pesantren Rakyat* Sumberpucung he believed to be a form of pious charity he did. He said "anyone who wants to study at the *Pesantren Rakyat*, is welcome. Moreover, the people in this area (read: Sumberpucung Village) are known as black areas (sinful). "

Activities that were first carried out by Ustadz Abdullah Sam in the *Pesantren Rakyat*, in the form of recitation of kiai or clerics attended by students, were also in the form of other activities attended by all residents of the community around his house who were interested, especially those who still had kinship. Thus, he believes it can involve more people (community groups) in realizing these ideals.

The approach model is implemented by inviting to do goodness such as learning to read Al-Qur'an (BTQ), courses on certain subjects, and other religious activities such as istighotsah, takziyah and others. In addition, what is learned is not limited to religious material but also the various types of knowledge and skills needed. Community members who need skills in farming, raising livestock, trading, art, etc. are all served by the *pesantren* folk. This is what distinguishes *Pesantren Rakyat* Sumberpucung from *pesantren* in general. Therefore, through the model of the *Pesantren Rakyat* which he developed, it was successful in driving the people of his village, especially those around the RT area around Abdullah Sam's house. For example, he began his activities by establishing a small prayer room for daily worship activities of residents around his house who at that time were not yet a *pesantren*. In fact, in the RT area there were 4 (four) mushollas which later on the fourth day the musholla was integrated with activities in the mosque, Ustadz Abdullah Sam.

He claimed to initially start the activity by opening a free course for children around his area. In fact, according to Ustadz Abdullah Sam, the children who took the course paid for it by following the Koran.

"Such an agreement exists with the children of the course participants that participating in learning activities in the *pesantren* is permissible and free of charge provided they are willing to recite" (Interview with Ustadz Abdullah Sam, Tuesday, May 30, 2017, at 2:00 p.m.)

As well as being acknowledged by Mr. Antok, capturing the community to be involved in activities at the *pesantren* in the early days is by inviting children to learn. This course was originally only intended for children around the house (RT / RW level) but gradually expanded more broadly. Pak Antok also mentioned that the approach to the community was carried out by opening free courses for children around the *Pesantren* on condition that the child must take part in reciting the Qur'an in the *pesantren*. According to him, in such a way it is impossible for parents not to follow their parents who have been able to take a free course by just joining "Koran" with the Qur'an.

"The invitation was applied by opening certain courses. Pay for using the recital in the evening. In this way too, what actually wants to be embraced is that the parents of the students will be reluctant if they don't participate in the activities held by the *pesantren*." (Interview with Mr. Antok on December, 2 2017 at 15.00 WIB).

How to invite him is also quite unique. Because he invited his close relatives to join the course. Mr. Tarmun claimed to be involved in the *Pesantren Rakyat* at first by inviting his family to simple activities such as the Jamaah, and others.

Then, he established an educational institution in the form of Early Childhood Education (*PAUD*). This *PAUD* is actually not the only one in Sumberpucung Village. Remarkably again just beginning to stand, there are already 60 students who register even more than the number of students in other *PAUD*. Abdullah Sam claimed that he could do so because he released all students from the collection of fees in the sense that everything was free because it had been borne by Ustadz Abdullah Sam as the caregiver of the *pesantren*. Whereas, there are seven *PAUD* teachers, each of whom has approached Malang Regency Minimum Wage.

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