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## Multiplying *Barakah* to *Waliullah*: The Quranic Manifestation in a Sociological Context within the *Tarekat* Community in East Java, Indonesia

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p><b>Article history:</b> Received: 30 April 2024 Received in revised form Accepted: 15 October 2024 Available online: 22 June 2025</p> <p><b>Keywords:</b></p> <p><i>Barakah ; Capitals; Field; Habitus; Waliullah.</i></p>	<p>This research aims to analyze how the meaning and function of <i>Barakah</i> are constructed within a Sufi community in Mojokerto. In Mojokerto East Java, Indonesia, the Sufi community known as SL, under the leadership of Kiai M, venerates him as a holy <i>Waliullah</i>. The community strategically employs Surah Yunus [10]: 62 to reinforce Kiai M's esteemed reputation, with this Surah serving as a <i>Doxa</i> that shapes the beliefs of both long-standing and new adherents. Utilizing Bourdieu's social practice theory, this study examines the dynamics within the SL community, including the Field, collective Habitus, and various forms of agency Capital. The research reveals that Kiai M emerges as a pivotal figure, engendering collective fervor as members actively seek his blessings and contribute to the enrichment of his symbolic capital. The study highlights how the SL community's recruitment strategies and the enduring influence of Kiai M's symbolic capital underscore the need for research on spiritual leadership, recruitment impacts, the evolution of Habitus, and effective legacy management in sustaining communal practices and traditions.</p>

### 1. INTRODUCTION

*Barakah*, deeply embedded in Islamic philosophy, has been the subject of extensive scholarly examination. Fazlur Rahman's seminal work provides a foundational understanding of Islamic philosophy, introducing key concepts such as *Barakah* and their significance within the Islamic worldview (Fazrul, 1984). Additionally, the theological dimensions of *Barakah* are explored in-depth in Khaled Abou El Fadl's work, where the author delves into the ethical and moral implications of *Barakah* in the context of Islamic law and social norms (M. Abou El Fadl, 2014). Moreover, the sociocultural aspects of *Barakah* are explored by Ebrahim Moosa in "Ghazali and the Poetics of Imagination". Moosa's work not only delves into the spiritual dimensions of *Barakah* but also explores its implications for creativity and the imaginative faculties within Islamic thought (Moosa, 2005). In

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other words, Denffer contends that the notion of *Barakah* has historically been present since the early stages of Islam's development. He defines *Barakah* as a divine blessing (Denffer, 1976). This assertion is supported by Wellhausen's assertion that *Barakah* did not exist before the advent of Islam (Wellhausen, 1985). Conversely, Edmonds' study delves into the phenomenon of social piety observed in the practice of Salawatan Habib Syekh, which he sees as an embodiment of the pursuit of *Barakah*. According to Edmonds, engaging in the quest for *Barakah* through *salawatan* has the potential to unite moderate and reformist Salafi Islamic factions within the political landscape of Indonesia (Edmonds, 2019). Edmonds' research, while vastly different in scope, resembles the current researcher's study. While Edmonds focuses on the *Barakah* associated with Habib Syekh, which serves to bridge disparate groups. In conclusion, the concept of *Barakah* holds significant importance within Islamic philosophy and theology, as explored by scholars such as Fazlur Rahman, Khaled Abou El Fadl, and Ebrahim Moosa. Additionally, historical and sociocultural perspectives on *Barakah* shed light on its multifaceted nature, as evidenced by the works of Denffer, Wellhausen, and Edmonds. These scholarly contributions deepen the understanding of the concept's relevance in various aspects of Islamic life and thought.

Furthermore, the concept of *Waliullah* is apparent in Surah Yunus [10]: 62. Al-Razi elucidates that the allies of Allah (*Waliullah*) do not feel fear or anxiety in the worldly realm. According to al-Zuhaili, these allies of Allah are devout believers who refrain from sinful behavior, thus consistently receiving divine assistance, guidance, and blessings (Zuhaili, 2016). This perspective closely aligns with that of al-Alusi, who regards the allies of Allah as devoted servants in intimate proximity to Him, hence incapable of experiencing sorrow due to the purity of their hearts (Alusi, n.d., p. 123). In Al-Ghazali such as "Ihya Ulum al-Din" and Ibn Taymiyyah's "Al-Wasiyyah al-Kubra." (Ghazali, 2023; Ibn Taimiya, 2013). These foundational texts provide insights into the ethical and spiritual dimensions associated with the concept of *Waliullah*, offering a historical perspective on its development within Islamic thought. In a contemporary context, Scott Kugle's "Homosexuality in Islam" explores the ethical considerations within Islamic thought, shedding light on how concepts like *Waliullah* intersect with broader ethical discussions (Rahemtulla, 2011). Furthermore, William C. Chittick's "The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination" provides a profound exploration of Sufi perspectives, contributing to a deeper understanding of the spiritual dimensions associated with *Waliullah* (Morris et al., 1991). By engaging with these diverse sources, scholars can construct a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of *Waliullah*, exploring its historical roots, contemporary applications, and intersections with broader ethical and spiritual discourses within Islam.

In the context of the Sufi community in East Java Province, Indonesia, there exists a Sufi order abbreviated as SL. This community is centered in a city in East Java Province, namely Mojokerto. Within this community, it is believed that *Barakah* (divine blessings) is possessed by the leader of this Sufi order, referred to by the researcher as Kiai M. The process of attributing *Barakah* to Kiai M does not emerge from a vacuum. Through repeated narrative messages, the Quranic verse Surah Yunus [10]: 62 is utilized as evidence to solidify the concept of *Waliullah* (saintly figure). In essence, Kiai M is perceived as a *Waliullah* endowed with *Barakah*. Consequently, many members of the Sufi order vie to attain his blessings. Any directive or command issued by Kiai M is unquestioningly obeyed by his followers, without any protest. Moreover, within the belief system of this Sufi community, Kiai M as the spiritual guide is revered even more than one's parents. This is because the *guru* (the teacher) is seen as guiding both the physical and spiritual aspects of the disciples, whereas parents are only responsible for the physical well-being of their children. This aspect intrigued the researcher to delve deeper into the persona of Kiai M, revered as a *Waliullah* endowed with abundant *Barakah*. In shaping the image of *Waliullah*, the researcher found that the Quranic verse Surah Yunus [10]: 62 played a significant role in forming Kiai M's reputation as a revered figure within the Sufi order.

Hence, considering the elucidations, the primary focus of this study revolves around examining the manifestation of Surah Yunus [10]: 62 within the SL community, particularly its role in shaping the perception of the *Waliullah* endowed with *Barakah* (I. A. Akbar, 2019; I. A. Akbar, Izzuddin, et al.,

2023; I. A. Akbar, Zainuddin, et al., 2023; I. Akbar & Roibin, 2024). Why this community? Mojokerto, situated in one of the provinces of East Java, is widely regarded by Sufi practitioners as a pivotal center within Java. This belief stems from historical ties, as Mojokerto was once the epicenter of the Majapahit Kingdom. In their belief system, Mojokerto's land, linked to the Majapahit legacy, is deemed sacred and enveloped in mysticism, thus fostering the proliferation of Sufi groups. Furthermore, this community exhibits distinctive and intriguing social customs ripe for exploration.

The researchers will utilize Bourdieu's theory of social practice to discern the presence of *Barakah* within this community. This methodology is indispensable as it necessitates the consideration of three key variables within Bourdieu's framework: Habitus, Capitals, and Field, essential for comprehending the phenomenon. By employing these variables, the researcher can trace the genesis of a particular practice or disposition, exemplified by the emergence of the quest for *Barakah* within the SL community in Mojokerto, East Java. In conclusion, by employing Bourdieu's theory of social practice, this study aims to elucidate the presence of *Barakah* within the SL community in Mojokerto, East Java. Through an analysis of Habitus, Capitals, and Field, the research seeks to trace the origins of the quest for *Barakah* and understand how interpretations of the Quranic verse regarding the *Waliullah* manifest in everyday life.

## 2. LITERATURE

### 2.1. *Barakah* and *Waliullah*

The term *Barakah* is derived from the Arabic root "b-r-k," which connotes blessings, abundance, and continuity (Ibn Manzur, n.d.). Linguistic analyses emphasize the multifaceted nature of this concept, often depicted in the Quran and Hadith as a form of divine grace that encompasses material and spiritual dimensions (Alusi, n.d.). The concept of *Barakah*, understood within the Quranic framework as divine blessing or grace, plays a critical role in shaping the social dynamics of the Sufi community in East Java, Indonesia. This concept is central to the communal practices and rituals that underscore Sufi traditions in the region, fostering a strong sense of unity and collective purpose among community members (Tasmuji et al., 2024). The manifestation of *Barakah* in everyday activities and spiritual gatherings not only enhances social cohesion but also promotes a collective identity that binds the community together (Azis et al., 2024). This shared spiritual framework fortifies internal bonds and serves as a bridge to other faith communities, encouraging interfaith dialogue and cooperative community building (Ayub Wahyudin et al., 2024). Academic research indicates that the Sufi emphasis on *Barakah* fosters an atmosphere of inclusivity, where diverse religious perspectives are acknowledged and respected, thus contributing to enhanced social harmony within and beyond the community (Mukhtar & Triana, 2023). However, the concept of *Barakah* is subject to varying interpretations, which can sometimes lead to intra-community tensions or misunderstandings with other religious groups. Despite these challenges, the embodiment of *Barakah* acts as a critical catalyst for internal solidarity and external engagement, cultivating a culture of dialogue and cooperation among various faiths in the region.

The term *Waliullah* stems from the Arabic words "*wali*," which means "friend" or "protector," and "Allah," referring to God (Sirhan, 2014). This concept is mentioned in the Quran and Hadith, indicating a special relationship between God and certain individuals who embody spiritual excellence and piety (M. Q. Shihab, 2000). The Quran references *Waliullah* in several verses, notably Surah Yunus [10]: 62, which states: "Indeed, the allies of Allah have no fear, nor do they grieve." Scholars such as al-Razi and al-Alusi have extensively commented on these verses, emphasizing the qualities of devotion, piety, and reliance on God as characteristics of the *Awliya'a-llah* (Alusi, n.d.; Razi, 2004). In the Sufi community of East Java, the figure of the *Waliullah* (saint) holds a significant position, functioning as both a spiritual guide and an authoritative interpreter of Islamic teachings. These individuals are revered for their deep spiritual insight and their ability to connect the divine with the everyday lives of their followers. The influence of *Waliullah* extends into the realm of Quranic interpretation, where

they often emphasize mystical and esoteric meanings that align with the local cultural context. *Waliullah* are perceived as mediators between the divine and the community, facilitating a deeper spiritual connection among adherents through their teachings and rituals (Wajdi et al., 2024). Their interpretations frequently reflect a synthesis of traditional Islamic thought and local cultural beliefs, resulting in diverse understandings of the sacred text (Ayub Wahyudin et al., 2024). This syncretic approach is particularly evident in how *Waliullah* integrates Quranic verses within the broader framework of Sufi philosophy, advocating for a more personal and experiential form of spirituality (Syarif et al., 2022). Although this approach can lead to tensions with more orthodox interpretations of Islam, it highlights the complex and evolving nature of religious practice in the region (Ahmadi, 2021; Nugroho, 2021). Ultimately, the role of *Waliullah* in shaping spiritual practices and Quranic interpretation is integral to the religious and cultural fabric of the Sufi community in East Java, promoting a unique Sufi identity.

## 2.2. Capital, Field and Habitus

Bourdieu identifies several forms of capital that individuals and groups mobilize within fields: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. Economic capital pertains to material wealth and resources, while cultural capital encompasses education, tastes, and intellectual dispositions. Social capital involves networks and relationships, and symbolic capital refers to prestige and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986). The interplay of these capitals determines one's position and influence within a field. Recent studies, such as those by Lareau (2011), underscore the importance of cultural and social capital in educational contexts, illustrating how these forms of capital contribute to social reproduction and mobility.

"Habitus" represents the internalized dispositions and social orientations that guide individuals' thoughts, behaviors, and perceptions. Bourdieu (1977) conceptualizes habitus as a product of one's experiences within various fields, which shapes and is shaped by these fields. Habitus encompasses both individual and collective dimensions, reflecting the cumulative impact of one's social history and position. Research by Swartz (1997) highlights how habitus operates as a bridge between the subjective and objective dimensions of social life, influencing how individuals navigate and interpret their social worlds.

The concept of "field" in Bourdieu's theory refers to a structured social space with its own specific rules, power relations, and capital distributions. Bourdieu (1993) describes fields as arenas of social struggle where agents and institutions vie for resources and influence. Fields are not static but dynamic, subject to ongoing negotiation and conflict. They are autonomous yet interdependent, influencing and being influenced by broader social contexts. Scholars such as Wacquant (1996) have further elaborated on the field's role in shaping social practices, emphasizing its function in the reproduction of social hierarchies.

By integrating these concepts, one can develop a comprehensive analysis of how the *Tarekat* community in Mojokerto functions as a field of social practice. Bourdieu's framework helps to elucidate the interplay between individual dispositions (habitus), social structures (field), and resources (capitals). This approach enables a deeper understanding of how social inequalities are reproduced or challenged within the community, and how various forms of capital are mobilized to navigate and negotiate social roles and statuses.

## 3. METHODOLOGY

This research employs a descriptive qualitative methodology coupled with a case study approach. Descriptive qualitative methodology entails the description and analysis of objective conditions based on specific facts (Bogdan & Biklen, 2009). Data collection is conducted through methods such as observation and participant observation, allowing for a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study. Subsequently, data analysis involves processes such as data reduction, data

display, and conclusions to derive meaningful insights from the collected data. The validation of findings is ensured through the assessment of credibility, transferability, reliability, and confirmability of the research outcomes, thereby enhancing the trustworthiness and robustness of the study's findings.

The focus of this research employs Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, which entails analyzing both the structural dynamics of society and individual agency. Bourdieu's theory posits that social practices emerge from the interaction of habitus, capitals, and the field (Bourdieu, 2016). These elements will be utilized to examine the following:

- An investigation into the Habitus of the SL *tarekat* community, characterized by persistent dispositions intertwined with the agency within the field. This includes an exploration of the community's underlying thought patterns and subconscious nature.
- An examination of the field as the non-physical space where cultural production occurs, involving a symbolic exchange of dominance among agencies. This entails understanding the nature of the field within the SL community.
- An analysis of the capitals of agencies within the field, encompassing various forms such as cultural, economic, political, and symbolic capitals. This involves scrutinizing the symbolic struggles among agencies and the resultant dominance within the field.

In conclusion, this study will analyze social practices within the SL community, emphasizing that these practices are not random but rather structured processes influenced by symbolic conflicts among agencies within the field. The primary goal of this research is to offer a thorough comprehension of how social practices evolve within the SL community in Mojokerto, East Java, while also contributing to interpretations of the concept of *Barakah* within the framework of Islamic teachings.

As a scholarly consideration, it is imperative to underscore that all personal identities pertinent to the subjects of this research endeavor have been deliberately obscured. This measure is implemented in strict observance of ethical principles governing privacy protection and with due regard for the volition of the involved parties.

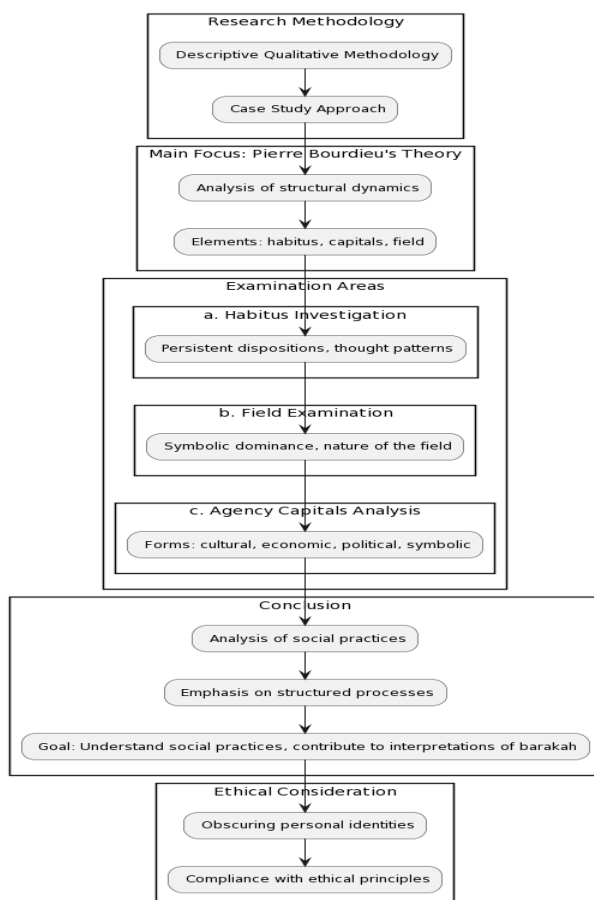


Figure 1: Methodology Framework

## 4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1. SL Community as a Field: A Description

The SL community is a branch of the NKA *tarekat* group (a school of Islamic mysticism) originating from the city of Malang, East Java Indonesia. The NKA *tarekat* has a significant following spread across Indonesia, including regions like Mojokerto East Java, known to have a large congregation of NKA *tarekat* followers. It is in Mojokerto that Kiai M, the founder of the SL community, was born and resides. Essentially, the SL community in Mojokerto comprises members affiliated with the NKA *tarekat* in Malang. The SL community can be considered a regional association of NKA *tarekat* followers. Interestingly, although the SL community is centered in Mojokerto, many of its members hail from regions outside Mojokerto, such as Central Java, West Java, and even Sumatra.

Upon investigation, it was found that Kiai M was initially a senior member of the NKA *tarekat* in Malang. Due to his seniority, Kiai M was perceived as fully knowledgeable and proficient in all aspects of the NKA *tarekat* teachings. One day, Kiai M received inspiration indicating that his mentor (the leader of the NKA *tarekat* in Malang) would soon depart from this world. Concerned that his mentor's spiritual lineage would be lost, as his mentor was considered the leader of the saints (*wali qutb*), Kiai M felt obliged to safeguard the continuity of the *tarekat's* teachings. To achieve this, he decided to establish a collective. However, he couldn't accomplish this mission alone.

To fulfill his mission, Kiai M instructed one of his loyal followers, named F, to undertake two missions. F, a junior follower of Kiai M in the NKA *tarekat* Malang, was deeply loyal to Kiai M due to Kiai M's royal lineage traced back to the Majapahit kings. Moreover, Kiai M's grandfather, Mbah MT, was believed to possess extraordinary spiritual power. F was extremely devoted to Kiai M and regarded him as his primary spiritual guide. According to F, Kiai M was the ultimate spiritual leader.

F's first mission was to infiltrate as a student at the Malang Health Polytechnic from 2007 to 2011. His second mission was to infiltrate as a student at UIN Yogyakarta and as a student at Munawwir Islamic Boarding School Yogyakarta, from year 2012 to 2014. These missions aimed to recruit students and Islamic boarding school students to join the NKA *tarekat* Malang. Each recruit subsequently enlisted their friends, and the process continued until a total of 98 individuals were gathered. In 2015, the SL *tarekat* community was formed in Mojokerto, with Kiai M's residence serving as its headquarters. Since then, the SL community has been actively organizing various routine activities, including regular *tirakatan* gatherings every Friday evening, collective contemplation sessions, and rituals believed to have healing properties. Additionally, the community holds annual events such as competitions and social services as part of the celebrations for the memorial (*haul*) of Mbah MT and other prominent figures of the NKA *tarekat* Malang. Every year, the membership of the SL community continues to grow, with nearly 1,000 members to date, evident from the crowded attendance at the *haul* celebration.

Kiai M is considered the highest authority within this collective. Certain members of the SL community, including F, who have demonstrated exceptional dedication in promoting the SL community's ethos, are bestowed with the title 'Abah' (the father). The title 'Abah' signifies that the individual has mastered the teachings of the NKA *tarekat*. For other members, those labeled 'Abah' are regarded as Kiai M's right-hand individuals, possessing high spiritual knowledge, and having attained a connection with the Divine. Effective recruitment efforts are driven by the promise of joining the SL community and practicing the teachings of the NKA *tarekat* Malang, which purportedly guarantees freedom from life's challenges. As the membership increases, so does the potential for more members to be granted the title 'Abah'. Based on the researcher's findings, 15 members currently hold the title 'Abah', with approximately 8 other members being potential candidates for the title. The determination of who receives the title is contingent on their loyalty and commitment to the SL

community, as the community motto emphasizes the importance of being spiritually enlightened to overcome life's challenges.

Considering the SL community serves as a field where various agencies compete for dominance. Four types of agencies are identified within the SL community arena: Kiai M as the founder and highest spiritual guide; individuals holding the title 'Abah', including F; potential 'Abah' titleholders; and other members, both longstanding and newly recruited. Notably, in this contest for dominance within the SL community, Kiai M emerges as the victor, given his esteemed position as the highest authority. No one dares to challenge his directives, even those who hold the title 'Abah'. Furthermore, F, regarded as the second most authoritative figure in the community, is never at odds with Kiai M's commands, except for one instance when Kiai M arranged a marriage for F. Allegedly, after F's refusal, he experienced significant turmoil in his life. Despite being second in command, F is perceived as equally authoritative as Kiai M, even in the presence of other 'Abah' titleholders.

An intriguing aspect is the competition among both longstanding and new members to attain the 'Abah' title. They engage in rigorous rituals such as fasting, spiritual seclusion, meditation, and other spiritual practices to attain higher levels of spiritual knowledge, thus earning recognition from Kiai M. Those deemed to have achieved spiritual connection are granted greater access to Kiai M, making meetings more accessible and receiving privileges beyond those of other members. In summary, this approach represents the sole means for members to access blessings more readily, thereby improving their lives.

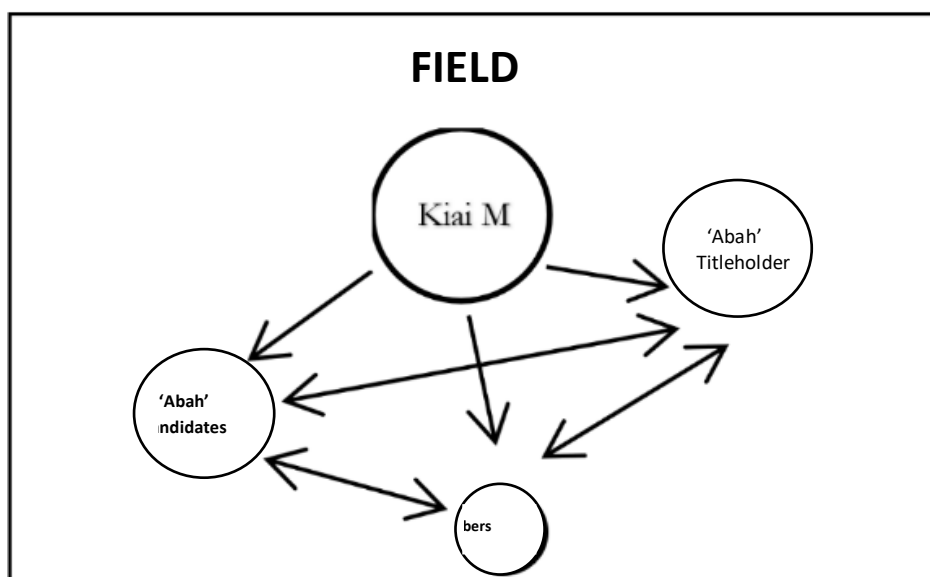


Figure 2: Agencies Contestation in SL Community

#### 4.2. The Habitus Framework in the SL Community

Habitus denotes a system of enduring and adaptable dispositions, serving as the fundamental underpinning for objectively structured and integrated practices (Huang, 2019). Termed as dispositions due to their role in the process, the formation of habitus necessitates subconscious structuring, eventually manifesting as conscious awareness and perceived truth by the individual. Its enduring nature stems from the protracted nature of the structuring process, facilitated by solid and cohesive objective structures (Bergson, 2014). Consequently, while habitus resides within the consciousness of agencies, the field extends beyond their cognitive sphere. Furthermore, habitus is both engendered and sustained by social interactions, emerging through habitual practices. As an internalized construct, habitus exercises control over cognitive processes and decision-making. In summation, habitus functions as a mechanism for social structuration while being structured itself, underscoring its distinction from innate traits inherent to individuals or societies.

*Barakah* possesses an inherent ability to traverse various channels. The Book of the Quran, for instance, serves as a medium through which one can attain *Barakah*. This divine blessing can also be associated with other mediums, whether they are inanimate objects or living entities. Within the context of Islamic communities in Java, the concept of *Waliullah* stands out as a significant conduit for *Barakah*. The term "*wali*" itself, rooted in the Quran, carries connotations of assistance, leadership, protection, and intimate companionship. It can be found in Surah Ali 'Imran [3]: 122, Surah al-Maidah [5]: 55, Surah al-Taubah [9]: 2 (assistance); Surah Ali 'Imran [3]: 28, Surah al-Nisa' [4]: 139, Surah al-A'raf [7]: 3 (leadership); Surah Fussilat [41]: 31, Surah Al-Baqarah [2]: 107 (protection); and in Surah Al-Maidah [5]: 51, Surah Al-An'am [6]: 121, Surah Al-Nisa' [4]: 76 (intimate companionship) (Q. Shihab, 2005). According to Ibn 'Arabi, a *Waliullah* is someone deeply immersed in the knowledge of Divine Reality, their heart consumed solely by thoughts of Allah (Qurthubî & Al-Khazrajî, 1993). Consequently, a *Waliullah* remains unafraid of the trials of the afterlife and unaffected by worldly tribulations, having embraced the divine light of Allah and forsaken all else (Razi, 2004). Over time, the understanding of the term *Waliullah* has evolved among classical Muslim scholars, particularly within the context of Javanese Islamic society.

Initially, *Waliullah* was commonly associated with the presence of the *Walisongo* (the nine saints), revered figures known for spreading Islam in Java Island (Ashif Fuadi, 2021). The *Walisongo* were believed to possess extraordinary sanctity, leading to numerous pilgrims visiting their tombs in hopes of receiving blessings. This understanding has persisted over time, with Javanese society regarding *Waliullah* as pious individuals well-versed in religious knowledge and spiritual truths, often attributed with certain sanctity. Due to this perceived sanctity, many people seek out these figures, even after their passing, bringing various life issues in the hope of receiving blessings. By visiting individuals recognized as *Waliullah*, they believe they will attain blessings and resolve their problems swiftly. Additionally, various practices aimed at obtaining blessings exist in Javanese society, including tomb pilgrimages, drinking blessed water, kissing the hand of a religious leader, and serving individuals believed to possess sanctity.

In addition to the perspective mentioned above, *Waliullah* is also commonly associated with being the leader of a *Sufi* order (*Mursyid*). *Sufi* orders, within the context of Java Island, began to emerge concurrently with the introduction of Islam to the archipelago. Some scholars suggest that the first *Sufi* orders began to flourish around the 16<sup>th</sup> century AD (Zainurofieq, 2021). Several notable *Sufi* orders include the Qadiriyyah, Syathariyyah, Naqsyabandiyyah, Khalwatiyyah, Samaniyah, and Alawiyyah orders. The earliest evidence of this can be found in the poetry of Hamzah Fansuri from Aceh. It is suspected that these records date back to the period between 1550-1605. Fansuri was a *Sufi* poet and adherent of the Qadiriyyah order (Faslah & Yanti, 2022). In the present era, *Sufi* orders are overseen by the officially recognized *Sufi* organization (JATMAN), founded by prominent figures within the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) on October 10, 1957 (Rosyid, 2018). There are currently 45 recognized (*mu'tabarah*) *Sufi* orders, each with its unique knowledge curriculum. Essentially, the role of the JATMAN organization is to offer validation or accreditation to the diverse *Sufi* orders present in Indonesia. Upon satisfactory recognition, they attain the status of *mu'tabarah* (Ensiklopedia NU, 2019).

In the context of the NKA *Sufi* order, it is recognized by JATMAN organization. It is why it has a significant number of followers spread across various regions in Indonesia. Among the largest groups of followers are from Mojokerto. Hence, Kiai M, a seasoned disciple within the NKA *Sufi* order, established the SL community as a fresh platform. Remarkably, the SL community boasts a substantial membership spread across both Java and Sumatra. As the community expanded, it began hosting its distinct events, separate from its parent body, the NKA *Sufi* order. Typically, religious gatherings are held at Kiai M's residence, serving as the central focal point of the community. Kiai M, renowned for his charismatic leadership, commands unwavering obedience, is believed to be imbued with the blessings of a *Waliullah*, capable of resolving all tribulations. Kiai M's unwavering dominance remains unchallenged, with his authority absolute and impervious, even in the face of others holding esteemed



titles like Abah. Consequently, this deeply ingrains the perception of his sanctity within the subconscious of his followers. Continuously extolled as a sacred figure by the SL community members, this gradually molds the collective understanding. This underscores the reciprocal nature of habitus, wherein micro-elements influence macro-contexts, and vice versa. Whether it's the subconscious shaping communal perceptions or the community's beliefs shaping the subconscious of its constituents, Kiai M is revered as a holy figure, reinforcing the entrenched belief in his sanctity within the SL community.

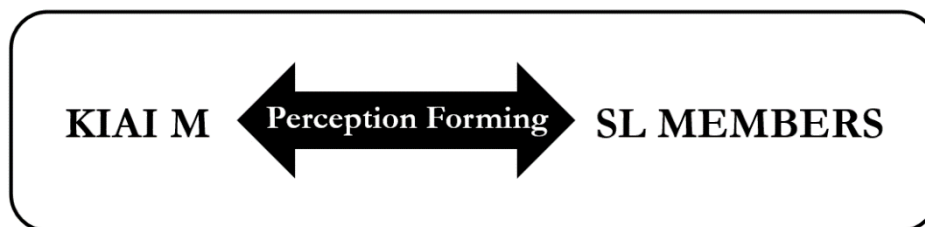


Figure 3: Kiai M's reputation formed within SL community

#### 4.3. Surah Yunus [10]: 62 as Doxa Shaping Habitus

Bourdieu's concept of doxa is rooted in a collection of unspoken assumptions and accepted beliefs within specific societies or cultures (Oliveira & da Silva, 2022). Doxa, essentially, represents the common sense or conventional wisdom that shapes individuals' perceptions and their understanding of the world around them. Bourdieu contends that doxa operates beneath conscious awareness, deeply influencing one's habitus - their inclinations, actions, and behaviors shaped through socialization and experience (Lyons et al., 1980). It's so deeply ingrained that recognizing it can be challenging. Bourdieu emphasizes that doxa profoundly molds human interpretations of social reality and may restrict individuals from seeing beyond the dominant cultural norms (Golub et al., 2021).

For instance, in communities where individualism prevails, engaging in collective endeavors or valuing communal efforts might prove difficult. Similarly, in societies governed by capitalist economics, exploring alternative economic models prioritizing social equity and collective welfare could face significant barriers (Bourdieu, 2020). Bourdieu also argues that doxa is sometimes shaped by institutions and media that advocate for specific ways of thinking while marginalizing other perspectives (Bourdieu, 2020). This can result in a kind of conformity to certain ways of thinking that then limits acceptance of broader ideas and perspectives. Essentially, Bourdieu's concept of doxa provides a powerful tool for understanding how cultural norms and assumptions shape human perceptions and judgments of the world around them.

In the context of the SL community, Kiai M, as the founder and leader of the community, emerges as one of the winning agencies in the struggle for dominance among other agencies. This subsequently shapes the subconscious of his followers to perceive Kiai M as a sacred figure beyond questioning. This understanding gradually forms a communal agreement that Kiai M is a pristine individual. This dialectical interaction, where beliefs shape the subconscious of followers, and the beliefs of followers shape collective understanding, strengthens Kiai M's position on the highest stage as the victor in dominating other agencies.

In the process described above, Kiai M's influence isn't merely words spoken into thin air. During every gathering or informal meetings within the SL community, Kiai M speaks sparingly. Through a thorough investigation, it's evident that F holds significant responsibility in shaping the deep convictions of SL community members regarding Kiai M. F actively promotes the revered image of Kiai M, alongside other figures like Ust. D and Cak R. Ust. D possesses persuasive oratory skills and consistently recites Surah Yunus [10]:62 during regular activities. According to Ust. D, the heart of a *Waliullah* remains unperturbed by trials and pleasures, maintaining a sense of equanimity.

This conviction is bolstered by stories depicting the saintly nature of Kiai M's ancestors, leading to the belief that Kiai M is inherently exceptional due to his noble lineage and spiritual wisdom.

Alongside the routine recitations, Surah Yunus [10]:62 serves as a constant reminder within the SL community, emphasizing Kiai M's elevated spiritual status. Kiai M's demeanor, characterized by humility and gentleness, further reinforces this perception. Occasionally, Kiai M experiences moments of inspiration, reinforcing the community's belief in his divine connection. These events, perceived as miraculous, solidify the community's faith in Kiai M's spiritual authority. Over time, this belief evolves into the conviction that disobeying Kiai M's directives leads to misfortune, contrasting with the blessings (*Barakah*) associated with obedience. Consequently, Surah Yunus [10]:62 emerges as a foundational belief shaping the subconscious of SL community members, emphasizing unwavering loyalty to Kiai M and the consequences of defiance.

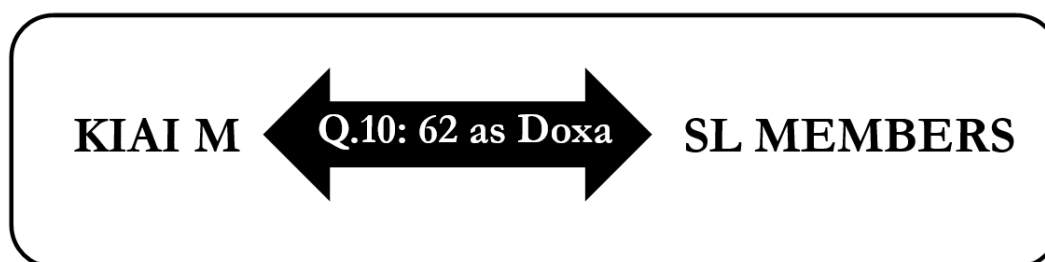


Figure 4: Surah Yunus [10]: 62 shapes the perception of SL members.

#### 4.4. *The Symbolic Capital of Kiai M within the SL Community*

The concept of capital was initially introduced by Bourdieu. Essentially, the concept of capital falls within the domain of economics. However, for Bourdieu, it encompasses characteristics that can elucidate power relations (Bourdieu, 2016, 2018). These characteristics include: firstly, capital is accumulated through investment; secondly, capital can be transferred through inheritance; thirdly, capital can yield advantages commensurate with the opportunities available to its owner to deploy it. Bourdieu further developed the concept of capital, which he defined as a form of power acquired through social relations and interactions. Bourdieu argued that capital arises from various sources, and individuals can accumulate it through their social positions, social connections, and cultural practices (Bourdieu, 2018).

Bourdieu's concept of capital challenges the traditional understanding of economics, which typically construes capital solely as financial assets. Instead, he broadens the definition of capital to include social, cultural, and symbolic capital (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Through these forms, individuals can accumulate and deploy them for personal gain. Regarding economic capital, Bourdieu explains it as financial resources such as money and wealth, which individuals can use to obtain benefits and services. Cultural capital pertains to knowledge, skills, and cultural practices that individuals acquire through social life and education. Examples include language experts, artists, musicians, and literary enthusiasts. Meanwhile, social capital relates to social networks and relationships that individuals have with others. This subsequently aids in accessing resources, information, and opportunities desired by individuals with social capital.

Of the three types of capital mentioned, there's an additional one known as symbolic capital. This type of capital is often linked with the acknowledgment individuals, groups, institutions, or non-institutions bestow. Symbols themselves hold the power to shape reality and sway people to believe in, recognize, and reshape their perceptions of individuals, groups, institutions, or non-institutions. Symbolic capital encompasses the accumulation of prestige, charisma, fame, and recognition, formed through the interplay of knowledge and acknowledgment (Fatmawati, 2020). It's closely tied to symbolic power, enabling individuals to achieve equivalence with what's obtained through physical and economic means, stemming from specific mobilizations (Baños, 2017). Symbolic capital resembles an opulent office space with luxurious amenities, indicating elevated social status, similar to prestigious educational titles listed on a business card.

In the realm of competition among agencies within the SL community, Kiai M emerges as the victor, followed by F as his close ally, alongside holders of the Abah title, prospective title holders, and both new and longstanding members affiliated with the NKA Malang *tarekat*. Prior qualifications for membership in the SL community entail initiation into the NKA *tarekat*. Kiai M's initiation instructor, known as the *mursyid* (the great leader), is esteemed as the guardian of the Saint (*Wali Qutb*), while Kiai M's grandfather, Mbah MT, holds a revered status for his exceptional sanctity and is considered the teacher of saintly figures. Additionally, Mbah MT, being Kiai M's grandfather, hails from a distinguished lineage tracing back to the Majapahit royalty.

Curiously, Kiai M himself adopts a reserved demeanor within the SL community, often found seated at the rear during community events. Furthermore, he is frequently observed resting on a bamboo bed placed over a water channel, heightening perceptions of his sanctity. The primary agents responsible for shaping awareness within the SL community are Abah F and Ust. D. While Abah F crafts narratives surrounding Kiai M's sanctity through non-majelis channels, Ust. D does so via majelis avenues. Both play pivotal roles in shaping Kiai M's image as the preeminent saint among the living, a perception reinforced by Surah Yunus [10]:62, which becomes entrenched as a belief within the SL community.

Notably, Kiai M's passive demeanor imparts profound philosophical significance to his actions, believed to convey divine messages. For instance, his whispered apologies in barely audible tones while seated evoke profound admiration and reinforce beliefs in his divine connection. His actions are interpreted as imbued with divine intent, akin to the prophetic sunnah, deemed obligatory to follow and sinful to forsake.

In this context, Kiai M emerges as the foremost agent wielding symbolic capital, effortlessly leveraging it to access other forms of capital—economic, cultural, and social. This underscores the notion that agencies possessing symbolic capital can readily acquire other forms of capital. Despite Kiai M's lack of material wealth, specialized skills, and secluded lifestyle in the remote reaches of Mojokerto, his perceived status as the highest living saint evokes awe and reverence from followers, solidifying his position as an agent endowed with symbolic capital and influence.

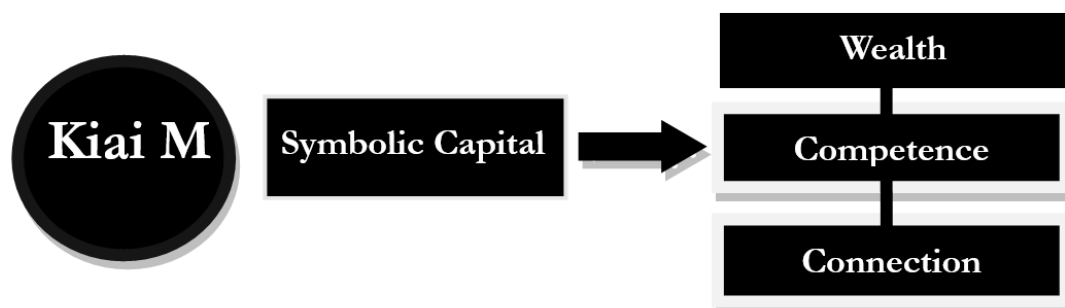


Figure 5: Kiai M's symbolic capital (charisma) dominates other forms of capital

## 4. Conclusions

The research illustrates the conclusions in the aspect of intricate dynamics of seeking blessings, not only pursued individually by community members but also through the communal practice of multiplying blessings within the SL community. This multiplication process is orchestrated by current SL members through vigorous recruitment efforts aimed at bringing in new members. Empowered by symbolic capital accrued through repetitive narratives propagated by those holding the title of Abah and reinforced by Surah Yunus [10]:62, Kiai M's reputation as a *Waliullah* imbued with divine blessings (*Barakah*) solidifies at the zenith of agency dominance. Through his symbolic capital, Kiai M effortlessly taps into other forms of capital such as wealth, connections, and the skills of others.

Over time, this process shapes a deeply ingrained Habitus rooted in the beliefs of every SL community member, regardless of their tenure within the community. Consequently, the tradition of seeking blessings from Kiai M continues unabated, even after his physical passing. This is because, in essence, only his corporeal existence has ceased, while his spiritual legacy lives on eternally.

The findings highlight the central role of recruitment in sustaining the SL community's practices, emphasizing the need to understand how social and symbolic capital are leveraged to maintain and expand influence. This underscores the importance of exploring specific recruitment strategies used by SL members and how these impact community growth. The enduring influence of Kiai M's symbolic capital illustrates how spiritual leaders can create lasting impacts that extend beyond their physical presence, suggesting that future research should investigate the generation and maintenance of symbolic capital in various communities. Additionally, the deeply ingrained Habitus within SL members demonstrates how cultural and spiritual practices become embedded in individuals, pointing to the value of longitudinal studies to examine how Habitus evolves. Finally, the findings indicate a need for frameworks to manage and interpret spiritual legacies, which could aid other communities in preserving traditions and practices following the departure of influential figures.

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