

Public Perception of The Terms of Santri, Priyayi and Abangan in Indonesia (Meta Analysis Study of The Terms Santri, Priyayi and Abangan)

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Abstract

The terms santri, priyayi and abangan in Indonesia are the result of research conducted by Geertz. Initially the three terms were intended to differentiate one Muslim from another in Java. These three terms seem to cause various perceptions among scientists and the wider community. The author conducted research using the meta-analysis method to explore public perceptions of the terms santri, priyayi, and abangan. The results of the study revealed that the three terms were no longer used. The community is aware that Islamic teachings never discriminate between human degrees. The differences in customs among Muslims in Indonesia are influenced by customs and traditions in their respective regions. Therefore, the terms santri, priyayi, and abangan are no longer used to distinguish social statuses. The term santri is used for religious students who are studying at Islamic boarding schools, the term priyayi has changed to kyai and is used as a reference for teachers or caretakers at Islamic boarding schools and the term abangan has never been used because abangan were no longer abangan anymore, and abangan habits also carried out by the students and priyayi.

Keywords: Community Perception; Santri; Priyayi; Abangan; Indonesia.

Abstrak

Istilah santri, priyayi, dan abangan di Indonesia merupakan hasil penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Geertz. Awalnya ketiga istilah tersebut ditujukan untuk membedakan satu umat Islam dengan umat Islam lainnya di Jawa. Ketiga istilah tersebut tampaknya menimbulkan berbagai persepsi di kalangan ilmuwan dan masyarakat luas. Penulis melakukan penelitian dengan metode meta-analisis untuk menggali persepsi masyarakat terhadap istilah santri, priyayi, dan abangan. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa ketiga istilah tersebut sudah tidak digunakan lagi. Masyarakat menyadari bahwa ajaran Islam tidak pernah membeda-bedakan derajat manusia. Perbedaan adat istiadat di kalangan umat Islam di Indonesia dipengaruhi oleh adat istiadat dan tradisi di daerah masing-masing. Oleh karena itu, istilah santri, priyayi, dan abangan tidak lagi digunakan untuk membedakan status sosial. Istilah santri digunakan untuk santri yang sedang belajar di pondok pesantren, istilah priyayi berubah menjadi kyai dan digunakan sebagai sebutan bagi guru atau pengasuh di pondok pesantren dan istilah abangan tidak pernah digunakan lagi karena abangan sudah tidak lagi dianggap abangan, dan kebiasaan abangan juga dilakukan oleh para santri dan priyayi.

Kata Kunci: Persepsi Masyarakat; Santri; Priyayi; Abangan; Indonesia.

A. INTRODUCTION

Santri and abangan are two cultural terminologies which have been customary known by Java society since Islam had entered in this island. The expression to each of them is point toward to different meaning, santri is term to express the Java Muslim that is faithful to the Islamic religion commands and abangan is term to express the Jawa Muslim that not obey them. The latest terminology really expresses the stereotype and negative cultural values.¹ They have established

¹ Miftahul Hasanudin dan Muhammad Ma'shum, "Pendidikan Kebangsaan di Pesantren; Study di Pesantren Al-islamiyah Mayan Mojo Kediri," t.t.

boundaries in social and cultural discourse, particularly in their political movements from the rise of nationalism in 1908 to the general elections in 1955. Their social behaviors and cultural characters have made a dichotomy between themselves. This convergence has been witnessed by Javanese, especially, since the absorption between Islamic society and New Orde government so that convergence can be reason to end the santri and abangan dichotomy. These sociological categories have been used by both Javanese themselves and scholars, and they seem to limit the social associations that different in Javanese society. Clifford Geertz, a prominent scholar, has extensively studied the typology of religion in Indonesia, with a particular focus on its manifestation in Java. Geertz's work has made a significant contribution to understanding the typology of Javanese society.² However, his work has also faced controversy and criticism. One of the debates occurred regarding the imbalance of the ideas he conveyed, especially the universalization of religious concepts based on the representation of only one village.

Recent studies have emerged exploring similar themes on the interface between Islam and local culture in specific regions such as Yogyakarta, Buton, Lombok, and others.³ In his research, Geertz compared the socio-religious life of the Muslim community in Morocco with that of the Javanese Muslim community. Geertz argues that Javanese Islam, or Indonesian Islam as a whole, is considered peripheral or impure when compared to Middle Eastern Islam, which is viewed as central and pure.

Muslim community in Indonesia has certain differences compared to other Muslims, especially in terms of culture. Therefore, in the results of other studies on Islam, an understanding of Islam as culture or Islam as culture often emerges.⁴ Santri, priyayi, and abangan are sociological terms that are widely recognized in Javanese society as representing different religious orientations. These terms were introduced by Geertz, who extensively studied Javanese culture and its religious dynamics will clearly have implications for the cultural assessment of Javanese society.⁵ Social and cultural categories are always changing and subject to change, allowing for various possibilities for convergence or complementarity between the three terms. Individuals who were previously considered abangan may one day become santri. Likewise, those who previously were wong cilik (commoners) could move up the social ladder and become aristocrats, and so on. Recently there have been many social and cultural changes in Muslim societies which indicate a convergence between abangan, priyayi and santri. This social phenomenon raises the question, is the trichotomy between santri, priyayi, and abangan still relevant and what is the perception of the Indonesian people towards this term?

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Santri Priyayi and Abangan are three social groups that were first introduced by Clifford Geertz in his book *The Religion of Java* in 1960. These three groups reflect the complexity of Javanese society in religious, cultural, and social aspects. Santri is a group that strictly follows Islamic teachings, often related to Islamic boarding schools and religious education.⁶ Priyayi are an aristocratic group or government officials who have an important role in the Javanese bureaucratic

² Clifford Geertz, *The religion of Java* (University of Chicago Press, 1976), https://books.google.com/books?hl=id&lr=&id=-SYM4PW-YAgC&oi=fnd&pg=PR11&dq=Clifford+Geertz+in+his+book+The+Religion+of+Java+in+1960&ots=MU01WJlfB5&sig=LWRerNXIYkKsnc0v7mTHgc_mh6g.

³ Athoillah Islamy, "Pendidikan Islam Multikultural Dalam Indikator Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Analisa Pemikiran Insaan Cendikia* 5, no. 1 (2022): 48–61; Islamy.

⁴ Ismail Raji Al Faruqi, "Meta-Religion," *American Journal of Islam and Society* 3, no. 1 (1986), <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v3i1.2902>.

⁵ Robert W. Hefner, "Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 3 (1987): 533–54, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-asian-studies/article/islamizing-java-religion-and-politics-in-rural-east-java/BD949F221AF4AD02CFADFBB391E32CCF>.

⁶ Geertz, *The religion of Java*.

structure, and Abangan are groups that are more likely to follow Javanese traditions that are synchronous and not too strict in carrying out Islamic teachings.

The public's perception of these terms has evolved over time. Research shows that even though these categories come from a specific historical context, they still have relevance in modern Indonesia.⁷ In the political context, political parties often exploit these distinctions by tailoring their campaigns and policies to resonate with specific groups, thereby securing their support. Research by Syafiq Hasyim shows how identity politics plays an important role in elections in Indonesia, where the support of Santri, Priyayi, and Abangan can determine the outcome of the election.

In cultural studies, the change in identity among these three groups also reflects broader social dynamics. Mahisah Ummami in her research revealed that there is significant accommodation and cultural adaptation among these three groups. For example, modern Santri may not always be involved in pesantren education, but still maintain Islamic values in daily life. Conversely, Abangan may incorporate specific Santri religious practices, such as attending Islamic prayer gatherings or celebrating Islamic holidays, into their rituals while maintaining traditional Javanese customs like shadow puppet performances or ancestral rituals.⁸ Criticism of the relevance of this category also appears in modern studies. Some researchers argue that the categories of Santri, Priyayi, and Abangan are too simplistic to describe the complexity of the identity of Javanese society today. However, these categories remain useful in social and political analysis to understand how group identities interact and evolve.

Meta-analysis of various studies shows that the terms Santri, Priyayi, and Abangan are still a useful framework for understanding social dynamics in Indonesia. While there have been transformations in the identities and practices of individual groups, these categories help uncover how history and culture influence social and political interactions in Javanese society.

C. METHOD

In this study, the authors use the method Meta-analysis is a research method used to collect and analyze data from several previous studies.⁹ The objectives of using meta-analysis are to generate more accurate estimates of effect by synthesizing data from multiple studies, identify emerging patterns or trends across diverse findings, and draw conclusions that are more reliable and comprehensive than those derived from individual studies. Meta-analyses can also be used to answer more general research questions by gathering evidence from many different studies. By using the meta-analysis method, researchers can combine and analyze findings from several previous studies, thus providing a more complete and in-depth understanding of a research topic . Article selection uses the publish or perish application using bibliometric analysis, vos, data from the 2010-2022 GS.

⁷ Clifford Geertz, "Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual; Selected Studies on Indonesia, Vol. 5" (JSTOR, 1961), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27860337>.

⁸ Endang Supriadi, *Islam Nelayan; Rekonstruksi Ritual Keislaman dalam Bingkai Islam dan Budaya Lokal Masyarakat Nelayan Cirebon* (Penerbit Lawwana, 2023).

⁹ Muhammad Ishtiaq, "Book Review Creswell, JW (2014). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches . Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage," *English Language Teaching* 12, no. 5 (2019): 40.

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D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

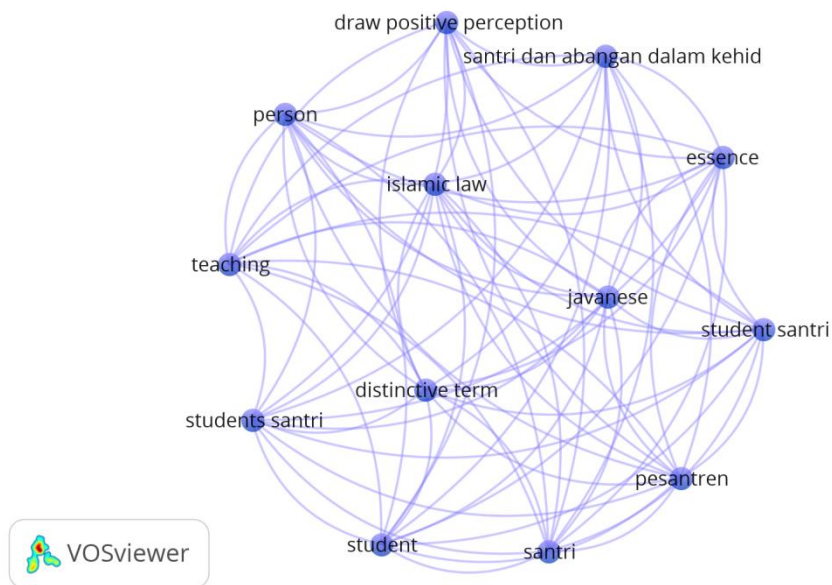


Figure 1 TOD network display

The concepts developed in the TOD theme are explained through visual representations. TOD-related articles, identified through a keyword search on Google Scholar ($n = 999$), were analyzed using content analysis to identify thematic patterns, were analyzed. Research data shows that over a 10-year period from 2010 to 2020, the total number of citations for journal articles is 70. Using Harzing's publish and perish data, the average citation rate per year is 1.

The use of keyword analysis and database indexation can made an important contribution in identifying themes and trends in various areas. VOSviewer, a visualization tool, is used to describe the level of density then it can be analyzed using keywords collectively in the database. The findings of the articles, analyzed using VOSviewer, resulted in the formation of clusters representing the identified concepts. Cluster density level visualization provides a way to identify and prioritize significant concepts within each cluster.

The color code assigned to each cluster helps identify themes that are frequently discussed in scientific journal publications, as well as potential research directions. In order to identify themes related to TOD (Transit-Oriented Development), keyword analysis was carried out on titles, abstracts, and publication content contained in the database. In this process, only items related to the TOD theme were included in the analysis, while irrelevant themes were excluded.

The distance between the nodes and the thickness of the line connecting them reflect the strength of the relationship between the keywords. The colors assigned to the nodes represent clusters of related keywords, indicating the research topics explored in the studies. The network display in the figure shows existing keywords, such as draw positive perception, person, teaching, student santri, student, santri, pesantren, distinctive term, Javanese, Islamic law, essence, santri, and abangan in life, which often appear and are widely used in research on TOD.

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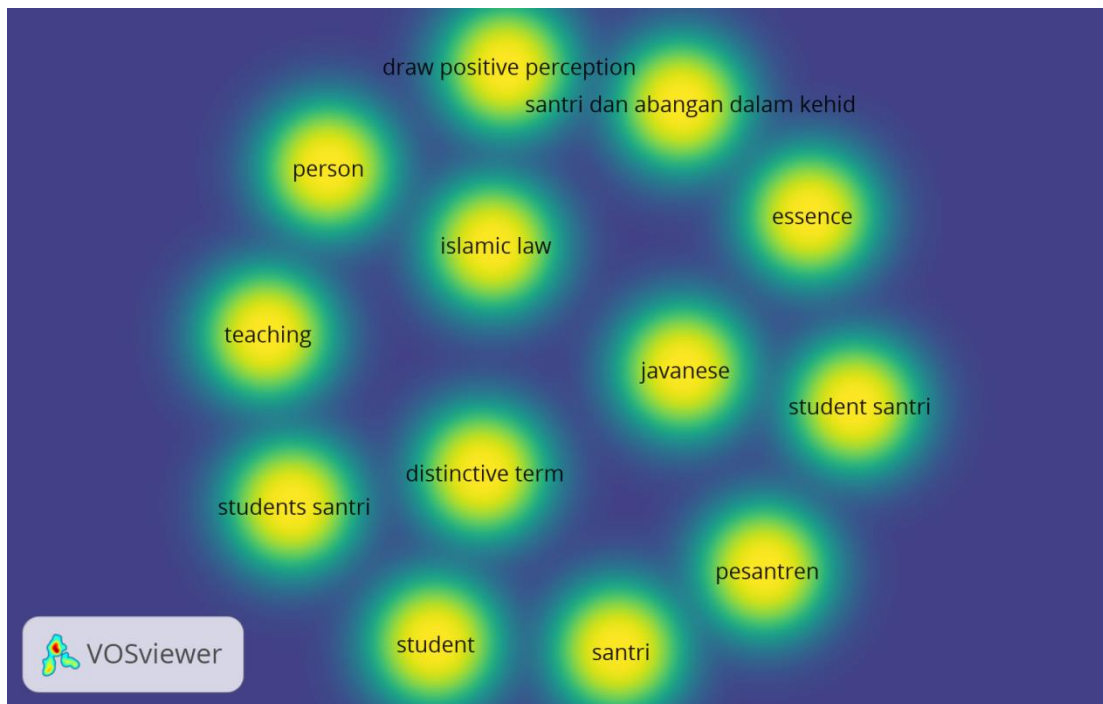


Figure 2. TOD density visualization

The node density visualization depicts the distribution of items, with colors reflecting density levels. Color gradients, ranging from blue, green, to yellow, indicate an increase in density. Higher item counts and weights tend to be yellow, while lower item counts and weights tend to be blue. Figure 3 presents a balanced density visualization across all topics, highlighting the number and weight of significant items in the visualization. By using VOSviewer, visualization technology, research distribution and knowledge base can be revealed. The yellow nodes represent themes that have often been explored in previous journal publications. Therefore, when choosing a TOD-related research topic, it is advisable to choose a theme with a lower visualization density. Topic mapping in this form can assist researchers in starting research according to current needs. To find interesting topics, researchers can read articles related to the desired subject and utilize the identification developed in this study. The clusters formed collectively represent a unified explanation of concepts related to *santri*, *priyayi*, and *abangan*.

The Meaning of the Terms Santri, Priyayi and Abangan

Clifford Geertz, an American anthropologist, presents a synthesis or typology of Javanese society. According to Geertz, the classification of the population based on religious beliefs, ethnic preferences, political ideology, and social tendencies produces three main types of culture that reflect the moral values in Javanese culture in Modjokuto, namely *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*.¹⁰ This concept involves the behavior of farmers, laborers, craftsmen, traders, and officials from various walks of Javanese society. In Java, three dominant social structures are observed: Market, Village,

¹⁰ Maulana Maulana, "The SLAMETAN in a JAVANESE SOCIETY: A comparative study of Clifford Geertz's The Religion of Java (1960) and Andrew Beatty's Varieties of Javanese Religion (1999)," *Nusantara: Journal for Southeast Asian Islamic Studies* 14, no. 1: 57–65, diakses 16 Desember 2024, <http://ejournal.uin-suska.ac.id/index.php/nusantara/article/view/7138>.

and State Bureaucracy. Geertz joins compare between Santri Islam and Abangan. In detail, abangan, santri and priyayi Muslims in Indonesia are interpreted by Geertz as follows:¹¹

1. *Abangan group*

Geertz describes this group as people who like to hold slametans, believe in the existence of spirits, and use spells and magic as a method of treatment. This group represents a strong focus on the animistic and syncretistic aspects of Javanese culture. Abangan follow indigenous Javanese religious beliefs, and in general, they are associated with farming communities.

2. *Student group*

According to Geertz, Santri are a group of people who obey the rules of Islamic teachings, including in matters of faith in God, carry out mandatory rituals, and stay away from prohibitions such as drinking alcohol. Santri are very concerned with the politeness aspects contained in the religious teachings they believe in.

3. *Priyayi group*

Priyayi are groups of people who undergo religious rituals such as Abangan. This group is an individual who inherits respectable Javanese culture. The terms "wayang" (Javanese puppet show), Javanese art, literature, and Javanese (kraton-based) bureaucracy are all associated with the aristocracy. Over time, the Priyayi who adopted Western culture had greater opportunities in the world of bureaucracy.

The three terms introduced by Clifford Geertz describe the differences in the traditions and religious practices of the people in Indonesia. In the Islamic context, Abangan Muslim refers to Muslims who tend to engage in slametan, believe in the existence of spirits, and use spells and magic as a treatment.¹² Meanwhile, Muslim Santri describes Muslim communities who are studying religion and obey the rules in Islamic teachings, including in matters of faith, carry out mandatory rituals, and stay away from religious prohibitions. Priyayi Muslims, on the other hand, refer to a group who are heirs to respectable Javanese culture and have active opportunities in the bureaucracy.

Comparative Study of Geertz's Conception

According to Geertz, being an abangan means that it is impossible to be a santri simultaneously. At that time, the individual who was considered an abangan was not a consistently devout Muslim, but rather a formal Muslim. On the other hand, being a santri involves living up to an identity that includes various aspects of kejawen.¹³ Javanese Islam is related to various thoughts chosen by individuals and forms a hybrid identity within the Javanese Muslim community. Clifford James Geertz, a well-known anthropologist from America, became increasingly famous through his researches in Indonesia and Morocco.

His research covers areas such as religion, economic development, traditional political structures, village life and family life. This research was carried out mainly in the 1950s, Geertz and his team conducted research on the island of Java, to be precise in a city he called vaguely as 'Mojokuto'.

¹¹ Masdar Hilmy, "Towards a religiously hybrid identity; the changing face of Javanese Islam," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 12, no. 1 (2018): 45–68, <http://repository.uinsa.ac.id/id/eprint/176/>.

¹² Ferry Y Mamahit, "Abangan Muslims, Javanese Worldview, and Muslim–Christian Relations in Indonesia," *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies* 38, no. 1 (Januari 2021): 31–45, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265378820965602>.

¹³ Yusnia I'anatur Rofiqoh dkk., "Islam and Syncretism in Java: Reflections on the Thought of Geertz and Woodward," *MUHARRIK: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial* 4, no. 01 (2021): 47–61, <https://www.ejournal.insuriponorogo.ac.id/index.php/muharrik/article/view/634>.

Geertz observes the social structure, cultural structure, Islamic religious behavior, the economic wheel, the formation of power, and the daily behavior of the Javanese people. Woodward stated that Geertz was influenced by the views of the Islamic school of thought which adopted the modernist shari'ah school. Geertz tends to associate Islam only with modern schools of thought and views all local traditions as having Hindu-Buddhist origins. In the view of modernist informants, Geertz considers all forms of alliance to be incompatible with Islam. Furthermore, Woodward conducted research on the relationship between the truth of Islam which is based on norms and spiritual aspects in the beliefs that exist in the Yogyakarta palace, as well as the relationship between beliefs in the palace and people's religion.

In looking at the diversity of Javanese people or Javanese society, Clifford Geertz sees it in three variants: *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi*. Meanwhile, according to Geertz, *priyayi* is a refined version of *abangan*.¹⁴ The social structure is that of the royal or *priyayi* elite. Its diversity is much articulated with artistic symbols, *wayang*, *gamelan*, and so on. *slametan*, from the matter of birth, death, etc. has something in common with an *abangan*. The only difference is the ethics and social structure.

Meanwhile, Mark R Woodward sees Javanese religiousness in two variants: mystical Islam and normative Islam. *Abangan* and *priyayi* are condensed into mystical Islam. According to him, the *slametans* and their traditions are actually another kind of interpretation of Islam. Mystical Islam is different from normative Islam. The latter adhere strictly to Islamic practices. In a certain context, this is the same as the *santri* in the typology made by Geertz.

According to the Javanese view, the term "*priyayi*" does not specifically refer to a particular religious tradition, but rather as a marker of members of a respected social class or nobility. *Priyayi* can only be classified as part of a cultural category if the cultural elements have been formed, so that there are *priyayi* who fall into the category of moderate Muslims (not too fanatical), *priyayi* with *abangan* beliefs, and *priyayi* who fall into the category of pious Muslims or *priyayi santri*.¹⁵ Thus, *priyayi* is not a term that exclusively refers to religious aspects, but rather to social status related to culture and tradition. The basic values of patience, sincerity and *slamet*, as described by Geertz in traditional Javanese society, are actually rooted in Islamic teachings. Contemporary use of these terms among the Javanese is in great harmony with their original religious meaning.

For example, the term "*sabar*" comes from the Arabic word "*shabr*", which is mentioned in the Qur'an; the term "*sincere*" is also of Arabic origin, meaning "devoted to God"; and the term "*slamet*" comes from the Arabic word "*salam*", which means peace or security. These initiatives have involved the active participation of many *abangan* individuals within the organizational framework, including their financial contributions. Apart from that, they also encourage their children to take part

¹⁴ Riwanto Tirtosudarmo, "From Geertz to Ricklef: The Changing Discourse on Javanese Religion and Its Wider Contexts," *Framing Asian Studies: Geopolitics and Institutions*. ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2018, 101–19,

<https://books.google.com/books?hl=id&lr=&id=1tVDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA101&dq=Clifford+Geertz+in+his+book+The+Religion+of+Java+in+1960&ots=OZf8tiwNzd&sig=grISdT4CPpTTmLM-B-fi1hUTWwE>.

¹⁵ M. Arief Wicaksono dan Achmad Fedyani Saifuddin, "Reflecting Clifford Geertz: 'Conflict-Integration' in East Java Local Politics Nowadays," *IUSSPI. Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia*, 2017, 1–18, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Mochammad-Wicaksono/publication/327689620_REFLECTING_CLIFFORD_GEERTZ_CONFLICT-INTEGRATION_IN_EAST_JAVA_LOCAL_POLITICS_NOWADAYS/links/5b9f463b92851ca9ed10de70/REFLECTING-CLIFFORD-GEERTZ-CONFLICT-INTEGRATION-IN-EAST-JAVA-LOCAL-POLITICS-NOWADAYS.pdf.

in events organized by these foundations. As newcomers to Islamic institutions, abangans try to practice their religion holistically and seek their identity in Islam. They often look for a form of religion that is "pure," simple, and firm without considering the situation and conditions.

Many criticisms have been raised by scholars to challenge Geertz and his three-part division. One of the strongest criticisms is related to the inclusion of priyayi in his classification of Javanese religious category, even though it is a different social class. This is the weakest point of Geertz's theory about Javanese society.

Dynamics and the diversity of Indonesian society also affects validity the category of santri and abangan. Students are even more complicated and diverse. It's not just limited to the old traditionalist category and modernist, but developed and developed into more than two variants, including liberal and radical santri. Based on the comparison of these scientists, Geertz's study of Muslims in Indonesia is based on the customs or traditions of different Muslim communities and different social statuses of society.

The fact is that Islam does not discriminate between social status and does not discriminate between the teachings that are propagated. Rich people or poor people, officials or people all get the same rights, obligations and laws. The differences in customs among Muslims in Indonesia are influenced by customs and traditions in their respective regions. Local culture is a phenomenon that involves the process of acculturation according to its conditions and development. Therefore, the relationship between Islam and local culture is not contradictory, but can coexist and be compatible.

Community Perceptions of Santri, Priyayi and Abangan in Indonesia

Islam was introduced to the Indonesian archipelago by Arabs, not by the Gujaratis or Bengalis. Arabs played an important role in the process of spreading Islam in the region. They function as traders and preachers (preacher). Islam was accepted easily because this religion does not differentiate between races or social classes, but rather helps strengthen social unity. Political factors also played an important role in the spread of Islam, as many rulers embraced this religion and were followed by their subjects.

From the perspective of historians, the process of Islamization of Javanese society is an ongoing cultural change. After receiving centuries of Hindu influence, the Javanese began to adopt the Islamic religion. However, the process of Islamization in Java did not take place linearly, but was complex and full of surprises during the 600 years since the arrival of Islam, and this process is still continuing today. Since Islam first came to Java in the 14th century, there have been tensions and conflicts between Islam and local Javanese beliefs and culture. However, over time, the Javanese began to see themselves as individuals with a primary identity defined by Islam. Prior to the arrival of Islam, Javanese society already had an established heritage of wisdom. The presence of Islam does not erase this wisdom, instead it enriches it. However, they refused to be "Arabized" vehemently, just as they resisted attempts to "Dutch-ization" or "English-ization" by force. Obtaining hidden and obvious wisdom in Javanese culture is not the main goal, but as a supplement and additional energy to revive the fading religious spirit. This principle involves two things, namely the concept of human existence and place in the universe and its contents, and various activities related to the life cycle. Religious actions carried out in the form of ceremonies aim to achieve a level of security or well-being, namely a state of balance between the elements that exist in a certain container. The term "abangan" used by Geertz is no longer relevant, bearing in mind that the phenomenon of pilgrims and tomb visitors in Imogiri shows that many santri, priyayi, and non-Muslims also participate in abangan

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rituals and ceremonies. This phenomenon rejects Geertz's definition which claims that abangan is only limited to farmer groups and rural communities. In addition, the current groupings between santri, abangan and priyayi are more relative.

Many of the rituals and ceremonies at the Imogiri tomb are related to various categories included in the term abangan which still exist today. The abangan Javanese view of life in the practice of rituals and ceremonies at the Imogiri tomb is an attempt to preserve and maintain the relationship between humans and the non-human world. The class with the highest rank is the aristocratic class. The priyayi are mostly descendants of ancient kings and warriors. The class in the middle is the santri class, while the class at the bottom is called the abangan class. These three classes have always been in conflict in the history of the socio-cultural development of the Javanese. The conflict between priyayi and abangan is clearly reflected in status issues. Priyayi often blame villagers for not knowing their rightful place and for disturbing the social balance of society. They criticized the villagers for being uncivilized and unable to imitate the priyayi lifestyle.

Public perceptions of santri, priyayi and abangan in Indonesia can vary. There are those who see priyayi only as an honorable social class, without linking them to a particular religious tradition. However, there are also those who consider priyayi to be related to certain religious traditions, such as abangan Muslims or santri Muslims. Differences in customs in Muslim communities in Indonesia are influenced by customs and traditions in their respective regions. Islam itself does not distinguish social status or the teachings that are propagated. Islam can be compatible with local culture, and both dynamically influence each other. Today these three terms are no longer relevant, given that the phenomenon of pilgrimages and visitors to graves shows that many santri, priyayi, and non-Muslims also take part in abangan rituals and ceremonies. This phenomenon rejects Geertz's definition which claims that abangan is only limited to farmer groups and rural communities.

The current groupings between santri, abangan and priyayi are more relative. Many of the rituals and ceremonies at the tomb are related to the various categories included in the term abangan which still exist today. The use of the terms abangan, santri, and priyayi to classify Javanese society in a religious context is inappropriate. Because the three groups mentioned have different origins, the classification system of abangan and santri is a classification based on the level of obedience in carrying out Islamic religious worship, while priyayi is a social classification. At present the terms santri, priyayi and abangan are no longer used as differentiating degrees. The term santri is used for religious students studying at Islamic boarding schools. The term abangan has never been used because the former abangans are no longer abangans, and the habits of the abangans are also carried out by the santri and kyayi.

E. CONCLUSION

Santri, priyayi, and abangan are sociological terms that are widely recognized in Javanese society as representing different religious orientations. These terms were introduced by Geertz, an American anthropologist who presents a synthesis or typology of Javanese society. The use of the terms abangan, santri, and priyayi to classify Javanese society in a religious context is inappropriate. The classification of *abangan* and *santri* is based on their level of adherence to Islamic religious practices, whereas *priyayi* represents a distinct social classification rooted in their differing societal origins. These three terms have been used no longer to distinguish the degree of social status. The term *santri* refers to students dedicated to religious studies, typically pursuing their education at Islamic boarding schools. The term priyayi changed to kyai and was used as a reference for teachers or caretakers at Islamic boarding schools. The term abangan has never been used because the abangans

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