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The Koloman Tradition as a Medium for Reconstructing Religiosity and Social Solidarity Among the Madura People

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Koloman; Religiosity; Social Solidarity; Community-Based Da'wah; Living Islam.

Abstract

This study examines the koloman tradition (selawatan, sarwah, and sabellesen) as a medium for reconstructing religiosity and social solidarity in Pancor Village, Sampang, Madura. Rural Madura communities are generally depicted as highly religious; however, before koloman developed, some villagers were thought not to perform obligatory worship consistently and were involved in deviant behaviors. This qualitative research, using an instrumental case study design, collected data through participatory observation, in-depth interviews with 15 informants (including kiai, active and regular congregation members, community leaders, dissenting informants, and village officials), and documentation of the village monograph, and then analyzed it using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña. Based on informants' testimonies and qualitative estimates, the findings indicate that koloman is organized into three levels with different functions: repeated rituals, guidance by kiai, and sabellesen rotating fund incentives appear to play a role in increasing worship practices, while solidarity is reflected through visits to the sick, condolences, economic assistance, and informal conflict mediation. Dissenting groups criticize the approach for its time demands and its limited contribution to individual awareness. This study offers a tiered, community-based da'wah framework for living Islam studies. Because the evidence is mainly drawn from informant testimonies and qualitative assessments, the magnitude and sustainability of changes cannot yet be ascertained; claims of causal relationships need to be tested through longitudinal and mixed-methods research.

Kata kunci:
Koloman; Religiusitas; Solidaritas Sosial; Dakwah Berbasis Komunitas.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menelaah tradisi koloman (selawatan, sarwah, dan sabellesen) sebagai sarana yang dipautkan dengan rekonstruksi religiusitas dan solidaritas sosial di Desa Pancor, Sampang, Madura. Masyarakat pedesaan Madura umumnya digambarkan sangat religius, namun sebelum koloman berkembang, sebagian warga desa tersebut diperkirakan belum menjalankan ibadah wajib secara konsisten serta terlibat dalam perilaku yang menyimpang. Penelitian kualitatif dengan rancangan studi kasus instrumental ini memperoleh data melalui observasi partisipatif, wawancara mendalam terhadap 15 informan (kiai, jamaah aktif dan teratur, tokoh masyarakat, informan penolak, serta aparat desa), dan dokumentasi monografi desa, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan model interaktif Miles, Huberman, dan Saldaña. Berdasarkan kesaksian informan dan perkiraan kualitatif, temuan penelitian mengindikasikan bahwa koloman tersusun dalam tiga tingkatan dengan fungsi yang berbeda: ritual yang berulang, bimbingan kiai, serta insentif arisan sabellesen tampak berperan dalam meningkatkan praktik ibadah; sedangkan solidaritas terlihat melalui kunjungan kepada orang sakit, takziah, bantuan ekonomi, dan mediasi konflik secara informal. Kritik dari kelompok penolak berkenaan dengan efisiensi waktu dan kontribusi kesadaran individu. Penelitian ini menawarkan kerangka dakwah bertingkat yang berlandaskan komunitas untuk kajian living Islam. Karena bukti terutama bersumber dari kesaksian informan dan perkiraan

kualitatif, besaran serta keberlanjutan perubahan belum dapat dipastikan; klaim hubungan kausal perlu diuji melalui penelitian longitudinal dan mixed-methods.

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Introduction

Rural Madura society is generally associated with a high degree of religiosity, manifested in the diligent observance of religious duties, deep respect for kiai (Islamic scholars/leaders), and strong ties to pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) (Shohib & Mahsun, 2021). This image stems from a historical construction that links Islamic identity with Madura ethnicity, in which Islam has become integrated into local cultural values and is continuously reproduced through the community's socio-political relations (Siddiq et al., 2018). In the Madura context, this integration is reinforced by the prominence of pesantren, which serve as hubs for education and social life, and by the moral authority of ulama/kiai, who exert significant influence over the community's religious, social, and cultural dimensions. Yet, beneath this image, empirical reality reveals a more heterogeneous form of religiosity, particularly in villages located beyond the reach of formal religious institutions.

Pancor Village, located in the Ketapang District of Sampang Regency, illustrates the tension between such religious stereotypes and the reality on the ground. According to estimates from key informants, including kiai (Islamic religious leaders) and community figures, approximately 45–55% of the population, before 2024, did not consistently fulfill mandatory religious obligations, such as the five daily prayers, full observance of the Ramadan fast, and the payment of zakat fitrah (obligatory alms). Some residents were also reportedly involved in serious deviant behaviors, including gambling, cockfighting, contract killing, and drug trafficking. This situation can be understood through the concept of "anomie" (Durkheim, 1897), a state in which social norms lose their binding power, leaving individuals without a moral compass. The broader context further exacerbates the situation: Sampang Regency has a low Human Development Index and a high poverty rate within East Java (Sampang, 2024), a state in which social norms lose their binding power, leaving individuals without a moral compass. The broader context further exacerbates the situation: Sampang Regency has a low Human Development Index and a high poverty rate within East Java

In response to this situation, local kiai (Islamic scholars) and community leaders initiated the koloman tradition a collective religious ritual rooted in Madura culture that integrates the recitation of Yasin (a chapter of the Quran), tahlil (prayers of remembrance), and shalawat (invocations of blessings upon the Prophet), alongside religious sermons (tausiyah) and, in

some instances, a rotating savings-and-loan scheme (arisan). Koloman is not a new phenomenon; it is part of the vernacular religious traditions of the Indonesian archipelago, with roots that predate the modernization of Islam (van Bruinessen, 1994). The uniqueness of the koloman in Pancor Village lies in its three-tiered structure: selawatan (held three times a week, with approximately 50 participants), sarwah (held once a week, with around 200 participants drawn from various villages), and sabellesen (held once a month, with 300–350 participants and an arisan component). Each level serves a distinct social function and operates through a specific mechanism of transformation.

Research on local religious traditions within the framework of living Islam and living Hadith has expanded significantly. (Nawa et al., 2026) define the living Hadith approach as one that treats socio-cultural practices as a valid subject of inquiry, while (Mahmud & Mohamad, 2024) demonstrate that tahlilan (commemorative prayer gatherings) and routine religious study sessions (pengajian) serve as social capital that strengthens community cohesion. Other studies highlight shalawatan (recitation of prayers for the Prophet) and the culture of pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) as means for fostering religious character (Shohib & Mahsun, 2021). However, most of these studies tend to examine individual rituals in isolat,ion, focusing primarily on their role in fostering cohesion. They ofte,n fail to explain how a collection of rituals structured in a tiered manner, with varying levels of intensity, participant scope, and activity content can work cumulatively to shape religiosity and solidarity.

The literature on the authority of kiai (Islamic scholars/leaders) in Madura tends to emphasize cultural-historical dimensions. (Suryanto et al., 2024) and (Sari et al., 2025), for instance, discuss the kiai as guardians of tradition and authoritative figures within the pesantren (Islamic boarding school) community, while (Siddiq et al., 2018) highlight the relationship between religion and ethnicity in Madura. However, these studies do not specifically explain how the authority of the kiai functions as a pedagogical-spiritual mechanism within collective rituals particularly when addressing individuals living in a state of anomie. In other words, there is a theoretical gap: how do the authority of the kiai, collective rituals, and economic incentives interconnect within a single architecture of community-based dakwah (Islamic outreach), and how might the interaction among these three elements explain shifts in religious behavior?

Another gap is the scarcity of studies that integrate ritual and economic dimensions within a single analytical framework. Research on arisan (rotating savings and credit associations) typically frames them as mechanisms for microfinance or socio-economic capital. At the same time, studies on religious rituals rarely account for economic incentives as drivers of behavioral change. In the practice of koloman, however, arisan is not merely an economic activity running parallel to ritual; rather, it is embedded within the very structure of the ritual itself. A theoretical question that remains unanswered is whether and how such an economic-spiritual integration contributes to the formation of religiosity and solidarity, and how the kiai (Islamic religious leader) manages the tension between material incentives and the substance of religious worship.

Based on this gap, this study aims to address three questions: (1) what are the construction and typology of the koloman tradition in Pancor Village; (2) what is the

mechanism by which koloman reconstructs the religiosity of the community; and (3) how does koloman strengthen social solidarity (ukhuwah Islamiyah)? Unlike previous studies that focused on a single ritual, this research examines koloman as a multi-layered ritual architecture that integrates ritual habituation, kiai led scaffolding, and the incentives of a rotating savings-and-credit association (arisan). This study's novelty lies in explaining how these three elements interact to shift religious behavior and reinforce social solidarity, rather than focusing solely on the uniqueness of the location. Theoretically, this research enriches the study of "living Islam" and community-based da'wah (Islamic outreach) by proposing a multi-layered, community-based framework for da'wah.

Living Islam examines how Muslim communities understand, practice, and live out Islamic teachings within their local cultural contexts (Zuhri, 2018). Unlike normative studies that focus primarily on texts, this approach establishes lived practice as a valid subject for academic analysis. From the perspective of living hadith, religious traditions such as tahlil (commemorative prayers), yasinan (recitation of Surah Yasin), and maulidan (celebrations of the Prophet's birthday) can be understood as forms of reception and the internalization of values, emerging from the community's socio-cultural interaction with religious texts. In other words, what is living is not merely the text of a hadith or teaching itself, but rather how that text is received through local ritual practices: the selection of specific recitations, the structuring of events, the relationships among participants, and the recurring nature of these activities over time. Within this framework, traditions such as tahlil, yasinan, and maulidan serve as a medium for the collective transmission of religious values facilitated, for instance, through tadarus (Quranic recitation) or practical study sessions, the offering of prayers, and the reinforcement of the participants' spiritual orientation. Consequently, Quranic values and the orientation of the Sunnah become internalized within the religious habitus of the community (Febrianto & Munawir, 2023). In the context of Madura, such traditions are particularly significant, as the local population has historically been more responsive to the authority of kiai (Islamic scholars/leaders) and the pesantren (Islamic boarding school) tradition than to bureaucratic directives (Sari et al., 2025).

To explain the conditions before the koloman (a specific social or cultural phenomenon), this study employs the concept of anomie (Durkheim, 1897), a situation in which norms lose their authority, leaving individuals susceptible to disorientation and deviant behavior. In rural Muslim Indonesia, anomie can arise when economic modernization erodes traditional institutions without replacing them with an adequate normative structure (Mardiyaningsih, 2012). Meanwhile, changes in behavior are analyzed using the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991), which posits that behavioral intention is determined by one's attitude toward the behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control.

The concepts of habituation and scaffolding explain repetition and guidance. Aristotle posited that virtue is acquired through repeated practice a notion further developed by (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) into the concept of habitus: behavioral dispositions embedded through the repetition of social practices. Meanwhile, the idea of scaffolding within the framework of the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1978), is applied here by analogy to understand the role of the kiai (Islamic scholar/teacher) as the more knowledgeable other in providing spiritual guidance to adult members of the congregation.

The dimension of solidarity is interpreted through the lens of social capital. (Putnam, 2000) distinguishes between bonding social capital (trust within homogeneous groups) and bridging social capital (networks that connect different groups), while (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000) emphasize economic networks embedded within social relations. This framework is integrated with Durkheim's (1893/1984) distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity to assess the extent to which koloman fosters more inclusive forms of solidarity.

Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach with an instrumental case study design (Stake, 1995). This design was chosen because the research objective is to understand the koloman within its specific socio-cultural context, rather than to achieve statistical generalization. Pancor Village serves as a lens for understanding a broader phenomenon: social transformation rooted in local religious traditions. The research was conducted in Pancor Village, Ketapang District, Sampang Regency, Madura, from September 2025 to January 2026. The location was selected purposively because it possesses a three-tiered koloman tradition that has not yet been documented, as well as a community profile that exhibits significant behavioral changes thereby meeting the criteria for an information-rich case according to (Patton, 2015).

Informants were selected using purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques. A total of 15 informants participated, consisting of: (1) one kiai (Islamic scholar/leader) who initiated the koloman and serves as a spiritual leader (T-1); (2) four active congregants who have undergone notable behavioral changes (T-2, T-3, T-4, and T-5); (3) five regular congregants; (4) two village community leaders; (5) two informants who oppose the koloman (P-1 and P-2); and (6) one village official (A-1), who provided demographic and monographic data. Including individuals who oppose the practice helps to balance perspectives and mitigate confirmation bias. Given the sensitive backgrounds of some informants, their identities have been concealed using codes (Table 1). Access to transformative informants was initially facilitated by the kiai (Islamic scholar) who initiated the koloman (a specific religious study/support group), which introduced a selection risk namely, a tendency to feature only those participants perceived as having achieved the most successful transformations. This risk was managed by including informants who rejected or resisted the koloman individuals situated outside the kiai's inner circle and by treating accounts of behavioral change as claims requiring verification (see the subsection on Retrospective Data Verification and Bias Control), rather than as self-evident facts.

Table 1
Research Informant Profile

No.	Code	Age	Role In The Koloman	Category	Reason for Selection
1	T-1	the 60s	Initiator and leader of the koloman	Key figure	Founder and supreme authority of the Koloman
2	T-2	the 50s	Active congregants	Transformative	Past involvement in gambling and alcohol consumption; now prays regularly

No.	Code	Age	Role In The Koloman	Category	Reason for Selection
3	T-3	the 30s	Active congregants	Transformative	A past involving paid violence; now actively devoted to religious practice
4	T-4	the 30s	Active congregants	Transformative	Past involvement in the narcotics trade; now completely ceased
5	T-5	the 40s	Active congregants	Transformative	Past involvement in animal gambling; now left behind
6–10	TR-1 s.d. TR-5	the 30-60s	Regular koloman contributor	Regular	Representation of the general congregation, including those with limited capacity for change
11–12	TM-1, TM-2	the 40-50s	Informal village leader	Public figure	A broader community perspective
13	P-1	the 40s	Non-congregation	Repellent	Critique of time efficiency
14	P-2	the 50s	Non-congregation	Repellent	Critique of the effectiveness of the change
15	A-1	the 30s	Village officials	Administrative	Demographic and monographic data

Source: Primary data, 2025–2026

Data were collected using three techniques. First, participant observation: the researcher directly took part in selawatan (three sessions), sarwah (two sessions), and sabellesen (one session) to gather data on ritual dynamics, social interactions, and the mechanisms of the arisan (rotating savings and credit association). Second, I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 15 informants, each lasting between 45 and 120 minutes. Third, the team gathered documentation, including photographs of the activities, the 2025 village monograph, and field notes. The interviews were conducted in both Madura and Indonesian; Madura excerpts are presented alongside their translations to preserve the authenticity of the data. Interviews with transformative informants (T-2, T-3, T-4, and T-5) were conducted one to two times to ensure data depth and to clarify (cross-check) information provided previously. All informants consented to audio recording. The interviews took place in locations chosen by the informants to ensure their privacy.

The analysis follows an interactive model (Miles et al., 2014) consisting of four iterative stages. The first stage is data preparation. The researcher transcribes recordings verbatim in their original language; translates Madura portions into Indonesian; and has a native Madura speaker from the local village verify translations of excerpts used in the article to ensure the original meaning is preserved. The transcripts, along with field notes and reflective notes, are read repeatedly before the coding process begins. The second stage involves a two-cycle coding process (Saldaña, 2021). In the first cycle, the researcher applies open coding to units of meaning consisting of sentences or sequences of sentences by integrating descriptive codes, process codes, and in vivo codes (terms used by the informants themselves). All codes are

documented in a codebook that includes the code name, definition, illustrative excerpts, and parameters for use. In the second cycle, related codes are grouped through pattern coding into categories, which are then linked to the research questions. Concepts such as habituation, scaffolding, and economic incentives are treated as sensitizing concepts to aid in interpreting the data, rather than as predetermined categories. The researcher codes the data manually using an analysis matrix. The third stage involves tracing behavioral changes. For each transformative informant, the researcher constructs a chronological matrix with four phases (pre-turning point, turning point, gradual engagement, and current status), along with behavioral indicators for each phase, information sources, and the level of data support. Changes are assessed based on specific, identifiable behaviors rather than general claims that an individual has changed. A negative case analysis identifies data that do not align with the primary pattern; these data are then incorporated into the discussion. The fourth stage is the drawing of conclusions and verification. Each finding receives a level-of-support indicator: confirmed if supported by at least two independent sources; partially supported if supported by only one other source; and "informant claim" if it comes from a single informant.

Data concerning conditions before the koloman (a period of abstinence or restraint) are retrospective and susceptible to both recall bias and social desirability bias (Nederhof, 1985). We implemented mitigation strategies across three stages. During data collection, recall bias was minimized by anchoring questions to significant marker events (such as Ramadan or major holidays), constructing a timeline with informants, and asking about specific, concrete behaviors. We addressed social desirability bias by building trust through the researcher's participation in activities, conducting interviews in private settings, and maintaining a non-judgmental stance and by asking open-ended questions about the difficulties encountered and temptations to relapse.

We verified this by cross-referencing multiple sources (Carter et al., 2014). Claims regarding behavioral changes among the informants who underwent personal transformations were triangulated against (a) accounts from kiai (Islamic scholars/leaders) and community figures, (b) accounts from regular congregants, and (c) the researcher's own observational notes concerning the informants' attendance and roles in various activities. Admissions regarding serious criminal offenses were not verified through law enforcement records, as doing so would have posed a risk to the informants; consequently, such criminal histories are treated as self-reported accounts and presented as personal testimony rather than established legal fact. In the reporting phase, conclusions use cautious language (appears to be related to rather than causes).

This research involves highly sensitive information, so protecting informants is a primary requirement (Orb et al., 2001). The researchers obtained research authorization from local leaders and the village government. Informants provided verbal consent after receiving an explanation of the research objectives, their right to decline to answer questions, and the limits of confidentiality. This consent was documented. Confidentiality is maintained through several measures. First, we do not use real names; each informant is assigned a code (e.g., T-1, P-1, and A-1) that does not reveal their identity. Second, given the village's small size, identifying details are obscured by presenting ages in ranges and generalizing the specifics of the actions described. Third, no operational details about criminal acts or victims' identities

are recorded or reported. Fourth, recordings and transcripts are stored on password-protected devices accessible only to the researcher. Fifth, before publication, informants can review excerpts about them, and the researcher removes any content deemed potentially harmful.

Data validity is addressed through the criteria of credibility, dependability, and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility is established via source triangulation (comparing accounts from the kiai, congregants, community leaders, and those who opposed the subject), method triangulation (observation, interviews, and documentation), member checking (sharing summaries of findings with the kiai and key informants), peer debriefing with supervisors, and the analysis of negative cases (Birt et al., 2016). Dependability is ensured through an audit trail, consisting of transcripts, codebooks, and analytical notes (Nowell et al., 2017). Transferability is pursued through thick description of the context.

Result and Discussion

Result

This section presents findings that are explicitly divided into three categories. First, observational findings data obtained directly by the researcher through participatory observation of ritual activities and social interactions. Second, retrospective accounts narratives provided by informants regarding past conditions and the behavioural changes they have experienced, which are self-reported. Third, the researcher's interpretations an effort to connect field findings with a theoretical framework. This distinction is important to ensure that readers do not misinterpret the qualitative data as the results of statistical measurement.

Construction and Typology of the Koloman Tradition

The results of participant observation and interviews identify three levels of koloman, each with distinct characteristics, functions, and mechanisms. Koloman does not exist as a single entity but rather as a multi-layered, complementary system, as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2
Typology and Characteristics of the Koloman Tradition in Pancor Village, Sampang

Aspect	Selawatan	Sarwah	Sabellesen
Frequency	3x/week (Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday evenings)	1x/week (Friday evening)	1x/month (on the 11th of the Hijri month)
Participants	±50 people	±200 people	±300–350 people
Geographic scope	One hamlet	Two villages (Pancor and Karang Anyar)	Entire congregation across various villages
Core activities	Recitation of Al-Fatihah, Surah Yasin, tahlil (prayers for the deceased), and supplication (doa)	Recitation of Surah Yasin, religious sermon (tausiyah), tahlil, Q&A, and supplication (doa)	Recitation of Surah Yasin, religious sermon (tausiyah), tahlil, Q&A, supplication (doa), and a rotating savings circle (arisan)
Duration	±1.5 hours	±2 hours	±3 hours
Guidance session	No formal sermon	Includes Q&A and consultation	Includes Q&A and consultation
Economic element	None	None	Rotating savings circle (arisan) (IDR 100,000–1 million/month)

Aspect	Selawatan	Sarwah	Sabellesen
Primary function	Habituation to fundamental rituals	Cognitive-religious reinforcement	Socio-economic-spiritual integration
Commitment level	Entry level	Intermediate	Advanced

Source: Participatory observation and interviews, 2025–2026

This three-layered architecture reflects a structured and gradual approach to dakwah (Islamic outreach). Selawatan serves as an accessible entry point, taking place within a limited scope a single hamlet and free from the cognitive demands of formal lectures. Sarwah introduces a cognitive dimension through tausiyah (religious counsel) and Q&A sessions, while Sabellesen integrates all these elements, further incorporating an economic dimension. Kiai T-1 explains this design: "Those who are not yet convinced by Koloman can begin with Selawatan. There is no cost involved and no pressure from formal lectures. Over time, they become accustomed to it and progress to Sarwah and subsequently to Sabellesen."

Pre-Koloman Religiosity Profile and Post-Koloman Transformation

Before the koloman movement developed (prior to 2024), the level of religiosity among the people of Pancor Village was described as being at a critical point. This assessment stems from qualitative estimates provided by kiai (Islamic scholars) and community leaders, who suggested that approximately 45–55% of the population were not consistently observing their obligatory religious duties. This figure is not the result of a formal survey but rather reflects the perceptions of key informants regarding the social conditions at that time.

Regarding behavioral change, Table 3 summarizes the retrospective accounts of four key informants who reported undergoing the most significant transformations. These four individuals were selected purposively as "extreme cases" to examine the mechanisms of change, rather than to represent the entire village population.

Table 3

Profile of Behavioral Transformation of Key Informants Before and After Participating in Koloman

No.	Informant (age)	Pre-koloman behavior	Post-koloman changes	Verbatim (Madura language and translation)
1	T-2 (50s)	Cockfighting, gambling, neglecting prayers, drunkenness	Claims to have stopped completely, performs the five daily prayers, has abandoned sinful behavior	*"Tang kalakoan sebelum nurok koloman reah bennyak alakaoh perkarah cube' antaranah nyabung ajem, ajudi tak toman ajeng pejeng."* (Before I joined the *koloman* [prayer/study group], many of my actions were despicable: cockfighting, gambling, and rarely praying.)
2	T-3 (30s)	Paid violence (hired muscle)	Claims to have stopped completely, actively participates in religious observances, does not repeat the behavior	*"Enkok sering e bejer oreng tapeh enkon se la mareh nurok koloman reah pas ambu total."* (I used to get paid [details obscured] quite often, but after joining the column, I stopped completely.)

No.	Informant (age)	Pre-koloman behavior	Post-koloman changes	Verbatim (Madura language and translation)
3	T-4 (30s)	Drug trafficking	Claims to have stopped, acknowledges past wrongdoing, actively participates in religious observances	*"Enkok sappen pernah tettih pengedar tapeh enkok ambu setelah e ajek kaangkui nurok koloman."* (I was once involved in the distribution of narcotics, but I stopped after being invited to join a koloman.)
4	T-5 (40s)	Professional cockfighter, neglectful of religious duties	Claims to have repented, has abandoned cockfighting, actively participates in religious observances	*"Enkok ambu derih kelakoan se tak gennna se atorok syeta, enkok sekarang atopet."* (I have quit a wrongful job that was led by the devil; now, I repent.)

Source: In-depth interviews, 2025–2026

Table 4 summarizes the indicators of shifts in religiosity, along with the types of evidence upon which they are based. The four cases presented in Table 3 consist of subjective accounts from informants cross-verified with statements from kiai (Islamic scholars) and community leaders though they have not been verified through official legal records. Interviews with regular congregants (TR-1 through TR-5) also indicate a trend toward increased religious practice, albeit less dramatic than that observed in the four aforementioned cases.

Regarding the 2025 village monograph, which records a 30% decline in reported criminal incidents compared to the previous two years, it should be noted that this constitutes secondary administrative data. This decrease cannot be claimed as a direct result of koloman; rather, it serves merely as a contextual indicator that the village's security situation improved during the same period.

Table 4
Typology Matrix of Evidence Regarding Changes in Religiosity Indicators in Pancor Village

Religiosity Indicator	Pre-Colonial Conditions (Qualitative Estimate)	Current Conditions (Observations & Testimonies)	Primary Types of Evidence
Performance of the five daily prayers	Some residents are believed to be inconsistent (estimated at 45–55%)	The majority of the congregation actively performs prayers	Testimonies from the kiai (religious leader) and informants
Observance of the full month of Ramadan fasting	Many residents do not yet fast for the entire month	Increasing among the koloman (religious study group) members	Testimonies from the kiai and informants
Payment of zakat fitrah (obligatory alms at the end of Ramadan)	Many have yet to fulfill this obligation	Increasing among the congregation members	Testimony from the kiai

Religiosity Indicator	Pre-Colonial Conditions (Qualitative Estimate)	Current Conditions (Observations & Testimonies)	Primary Types of Evidence
Participation in gotong royong(communal cooperation)	Limited to immediate families	Extending to the entire koloman congregation	Direct observation by the researcher
Involvement in illicit/sinful acts	High (based on criminal reports)	Incident reports have decreased by 30% (monograph data)	Secondary village data (2025)

Source: Interviews, observations, and monograph data for Pancor Village, 2025.
Note: This table is not intended to represent the results of quantitative measurement. The "Qualitative Estimate" column is indicative, based on the perceptions of key informants. The "Type of Evidence" column indicates that the findings are derived from testimonies, observations, and secondary data, rather than standardized survey instruments. The relationship between the columns and the changes in these indicators is associative, not causal.

Strengthening Social Solidarity (Islamic Brotherhood/Ukhuwah Islamiyah)

Before the koloman (a community-based religious study and support group) developed, the people of Pancor Village were characterized by a strong sense of individualism. Social interaction was generally confined to the immediate family, and mutual assistance (gotong royong) among neighbors who were not related by blood was virtually non-existent. After the koloman had been active for over a year, observations and interviews revealed at least four ways in which solidarity was strengthened.

First, visiting the sick. Whenever a member of the group falls ill, the koloman members visit, bring food, and collect donations to help cover medical expenses; this practice has become an institutionalized, unwritten norm within the group. Second, offering condolences and managing funeral rites. The death of a member triggers a collective response: digging the grave, washing and shrouding the body, performing funeral prayers, and contributing food supplies such as rice, eggs, meat, and firewood for the tahlilan (commemorative prayer gatherings). Third, economic support through arisan (rotating savings and credit associations). The sabellesen (local arisan) serves as more than just a savings mechanism; it creates a financial interdependence that reinforces social bonds. Fourth, informal conflict mediation. The presence of a kiai (Islamic scholar/leader) as an authoritative figure within the koloman facilitates the peaceful resolution of conflicts between residents, outside of formal legal channels.

Kiai T-1 asserts: "*Saklek koloman reah, masyarakat la biasah tolong-menolong tak hanya keluarga dekat, tapi semua jamaah. Reah berkah koloman*." Since the inception of the Koloman, the community has grown accustomed to helping one another extending support not only to close family members but also to the entire congregation. Such support is a blessing of the koloman. Observations made by the researcher during the sarwah and sabellesen sessions align with these findings: there is a warm rapport among members from the two villages, spontaneous coordination whenever someone requires assistance, and an atmosphere of closeness that is not typically seen in non-congregational communities.

The Sabellesen Arisan Mechanism as an Economic-Spiritual Bond

The Arisan (rotating savings and credit association) system within Sabellesen is the most distinctive feature of the Koloman in Pancor Village. Each member contributes a monthly payment ranging from IDR 100,000 to IDR 1,000,000, with the distribution presented in Table 5.

Table 5
Distribution of Koloman Sabellesen Arisan (Rotating Savings and Credit Association) Contributions Based on Informant Accounts

Contribution Amount	Pilgrim Group Description	Number of Pilgrims (Estimate)
Rp100,000/month	Majority group; low to lower-middle economic status	±210–228 people
Rp200,000–300,000/month	Middle group; established traders and farmers	±88–105 people
Rp500,000/month	Well-off group; traders and small-scale entrepreneurs	±18–28 people
Rp1,000,000/month	Upper group	±7–10 people

Source: Interviews with kiai (Islamic scholars/leaders) and congregants, 2025–2026. The number of congregants is an estimate based on information provided by informants, not the result of a census.

The collected funds are used for two purposes: to cover the costs of refreshments (coffee, tea, and snacks) and to provide a personal payout to the winner of a lucky draw held at the end of the gathering. The host for the following month's Sabellesen is also determined through a draw. This system creates a multi-layered incentive: participants attend because of the Arisan (rotating savings and credit association), yet in the process, they are repeatedly exposed to religious rituals. This pattern aligns with the concept of da'wah bil-hikmah (proselytising with wisdom), as referenced in Surah An-Nahl.[16]: 125 because it does not disregard the material needs of the community.

Resistance and Criticism: The Voices of Those Who Object

This study intentionally includes the perspectives of those who oppose the subject in order to reduce confirmation bias. Two opposing informants presented arguments that, while different, are both worthy of sociological consideration.

P-1 (in their 40s) highlights the economic-temporal dimension: "*Koloman tak guna, kegiatan reah hanya nggannggu jam istirahat masyarakat. Masyarakat siang kerja penuh, malah koloman sampek malam. Tak ada manfaatnya.*" This argument reflects a utilitarian perspective that gauges the value of activities based on economic productivity. For manual labourers, such as farmers and workers, engaging in long nighttime activities indeed carries a tangible opportunity cost.

As for P-2 (in his/her 50s), he/she touches upon the epistemological dimension of change: "*Koloman sampek berkali-kali seperti itu tak akan berhasil mengubah sifat dan karakter seseorang. Yang bisa merubah seseorang menjadi baik bukan koloman, tapi mulai dari diri sendiri.*" This argument reflects a humanistic perspective that emphasizes self-efficacy and internal awareness (Bandura, 1997). The issue, however, is that for individuals trapped in patterns of destructive behavior, internal initiative alone is often insufficient without external stimulus and support.

According to Kiai T-1, the criticism regarding time efficiency has been addressed by shortening the opening session and the closing prayer, as well as by starting activities earlier (at 7:30 PM instead of 8:00 PM). He acknowledges the criticism concerning self-efficacy as a challenge but maintains that, in his view, Koloman scaffolding is precisely what is needed for those situated within a demanding Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD).

Discussion

Synthesis of Mechanisms: The Orchestration of Ritual Habituation, Kiai Authority, and Economic Incentives

Literature on living Islam and behavioral change often treats the ritual-spiritual dimension (habituation), authoritative figures (such as kiai), and the material (economic) dimension as separate entities. The findings of this study indicate that, within the koloman tradition, these three elements do not operate in isolation; rather, they are integrated into a multi-layered dakwah (Islamic outreach) ecosystem. Analyzed individually, the frequent selawatan (recitation of shalawat) sessions held three times a week serve as a form of habituation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) while the kiai functions as a scaffolder within the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1978). However, a synthesis of these findings reveals a virtuous cycle a mutually reinforcing process that offers an interpretive explanation for why behavioural change emerges within a community previously assumed to be anomic.

This mechanism can be understood in three stages. First, selawatan (reciting prayers for the Prophet) serves as an accessible entry point; it requires no financial cost and involves no high-pressure sermons. Meanwhile, the arisan sabellesen (a rotating savings and credit association) provides an economic incentive that lowers initial resistance and strengthens the commitment to continue attending (Ajzen, 1991). For individuals who lack an intrinsic motivation for religious practice, the economic incentive the prospect of receiving a payout can serve as an initial reason for participation. Second, regular attendance leads to the habituation of rituals such as the recitation of Yasin and tahlil. At this stage, the rituals are no longer perceived merely as economic transactions; instead, they begin to shape the participants' inner dispositions. Third, at critical junctures such as when members face life challenges like addiction or legal trouble the kiai (religious leader) steps in. He does not act as a bureaucrat, but rather as a scaffolder who offers personal guidance, thereby influencing the members' subjective norms. Thus, a single variable does not determine behavioral change, but rather emerges from the interplay between material appeal (arisan), the binding power of ritual (habituation), and the spiritual impetus provided by the kiai. In this study, this concept is termed "tiered community-based da'wah (Islamic outreach). This sequence represents the researcher’s interpretation based on informant testimonies and observations, rather than the result of causal testing.

The Limits of Solidarity: Strong Bonding, Limited Bridging

The findings regarding the strengthening of solidarity manifested through visits to the sick, expressions of condolence, and economic assistance indicate a shift from individualism toward social cohesion. However, these findings warrant a more critical analysis. Within the framework proposed by (Putnam, 2000), the form of solidarity observed in Pancor Village appears to be predominantly characterised by "bonding social capital" (cohesion within a

homogeneous group) rather than "bridging social capital" (networks that connect different groups).

The basis for this interpretation lies in the boundaries defining who receives the benefits of this solidarity. The forms of assistance identified in the findings such as contributions for medical treatment, the coordination of funeral rites, and communal savings funds (arisan) are reserved exclusively for members of the koloman congregation. Those outside the congregation, such as the informants who declined participation (P-1 and P-2), appear to fall outside this social safety net. One potential exception is the informal conflict mediation provided by a kiai (religious leader), which, according to the findings, takes place among residents; however, the current research data is insufficient to determine whether this mediation also extends to non-members. While the koloman expanded from a single hamlet to encompass two villages (Pancor and Karang Anyar), this expansion was purely geographical rather than a shift toward broader social inclusivity. Individuals from other villages are accepted solely by virtue of their status as congregation members, not because the *koloman* has dismantled wider social barriers.

Therefore, referring to Durkheim's distinction (Durkheim, 1897), the solidarity that has emerged cannot yet be categorised as an inclusive, organic solidarity. Instead, it more closely resembles mechanical solidarity one rooted in a shared identity as members of a ritual group. This distinction is employed here heuristically, given that Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity is fundamentally rooted in functional differentiation and the division of labour. While the koloman appears to foster strong internal cohesion, it also carries the potential to create exclusive boundaries that distance its adherents from those who choose not to join.

Considering Alternative Explanations and the Dialectics of Self-Efficacy

Although the findings indicate a positive link between involvement in koloman and behavioral change as reported by the informants, this study must consider alternative explanations (rival hypotheses) to avoid confirmation bias. First, there is the possibility of a maturation or age-graded desistance effect. Informants T-3 and T-4 (in their 30s) and T-2 (in his 50s) may have experienced behavioral changes not solely because of koloman, but rather due to the demands of their current life stage (such as starting a family, having children, or becoming aware of health risks). In this sense, koloman might merely serve as a catalyst rather than the primary cause.

Second, there is the possibility of a surveillance effect. The cessation of deviant behaviours such as cockfighting or drug trafficking may be driven by a fear of social sanctions or stigma from an increasingly cohesive community, rather than by the deep internalisation of religious values. Third, there is the factor of transactional religiosity. Regular attendance at sabellesen gatherings might be motivated purely by the expectation of financial gain through arisan (rotating savings and credit associations); once the arisan concludes, or should an individual go bankrupt, their commitment to these rituals may well collapse.

This alternative explanation aligns with the critique offered by informant P-2, who emphasised the importance of self-efficacy and individual awareness (Bandura, 1997). Structural-collective explanations (the koloman) and individual-level explanations (self-awareness) need not be mutually exclusive. While the koloman appears to provide a conducive environment facilitating vicarious learning and social support the ultimate decision

to change still requires individual agency. Overstating the role of the koloman while failing to acknowledge individual agency would trap this research in social determinism.

Koloman within the Framework of 'Living Islam' and Theoretical Contributions

From the perspective of living Islam (Nawa et al., 2026), koloman represents the way a Muslim community translates the texts and values of the Quran into practices that are responsive to its specific sociological context. The integration of arisan (rotating savings and credit associations) and rituals, for instance, can be interpreted as an effort to apply the principle of da'wah bil-hikmah (preaching with wisdom Quran, An-Nahl 16:125) by addressing the actual (economic) needs of the community. This situates koloman within the vernacular tradition of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago (Islam Nusantara) a tradition characterized by its flexibility toward local culture (van Bruinessen, 1994).

The theoretical contribution of this research lies in its attempt to synthesise the mechanisms of social change. Rather than viewing rituals, authority figures, and economic factors as independent variables, this study proposes the concept of tiered community-based da'wah (Islamic outreach) as an analytical framework. This framework posits that in societies with low levels of religious observance, shifts in religious behavior are more likely to occur when three layers of intervention operate simultaneously: (1) the provision of material incentives (as an attraction), (2) the practice of repetitive rituals (to shape habitus), and (3) personal guidance provided by kiai (religious authorities) (to steer the direction). While derived from a single case study, this proposition warrants further testing in other contexts. The framework also acknowledges its own limitations: although the model appears robust in fostering internal cohesion (bonding), it may not necessarily be effective in building inclusive "bridges" that extend beyond the boundaries of the community.

Conclusion

The most significant finding of this study is that behavioural change within a community otherwise characterised as anomic appears to be linked to a multi-tiered ritual design. In the village of Pancor, the koloman (ritual gatherings) are structured into three levels (selawatan, sarwah, and sabellesen), which operate through four mechanisms: high-frequency ritual habituation, scaffolding provided by a kiai (religious leader), the use of arisan (rotating savings and credit associations) as an entry point for spiritual engagement, and a gradation of commitment ranging from foundational to advanced levels. It must be emphasized, however, that the relationship between these three forms of koloman and the transformation of participants' behavior has not yet been subjected to rigorous, measurable testing; these findings rely entirely on the interpretation of subjective accounts from informants and participant observation within a single case study.

From a scholarly perspective, this research proposes a tiered community-based da'wah framework as an alternative lens for interpreting the phenomenon of living Islam. It is crucial to emphasise that this framework is an initial conceptual construct derived from a single case study, rather than an established or broadly validated model. Consequently, any recommendations for its application must be strictly circumscribed. This model should only be considered as a reference for interventions within community contexts that share comparable social, cultural, and religious leadership characteristics for instance, rural societies that maintain strong communal traditions, feature authoritative religious leaders (such as

kiai), and face tangible economic challenges. The assertion that this model can be broadly transferred without contextual adjustment is not supported by the evidence presented in this study. Furthermore, critiques from those who oppose the approach regarding time efficiency and the primacy of individual consciousness serve as a reminder that this model is not without its inherent limitations.

This research has several limitations. It is a single-case study focused on one village; the percentages provided are qualitative estimates based on the consensus of key informants rather than the results of standardized measurements; and causality cannot be claimed definitively, as other factors outside of the koloman such as the maturation process or the effects of social control, were not accounted for. Consequently, further research is required, including longitudinal studies (spanning at least 3–5 years), comparative studies between villages with and without koloman, and mixed-methods research utilizing standardized instruments for measuring religiosity alongside official crime data. Such efforts would facilitate a deeper, more comprehensive understanding and inform the development of more appropriate policies.

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Ethical Statement

This study was conducted in accordance with ethical principles for qualitative research involving human participants. Research authorization was obtained from local leaders and the village government. All informants provided documented verbal consent after receiving information about the research objectives, their right to decline questions, and the limits of confidentiality. Participants' identities were protected through anonymized codes, the removal of potentially identifying details, and secure storage of research materials. Particular attention was given to protecting informants who disclosed sensitive personal experiences.

Artificial Intelligence (AI) Use Statement

Artificial intelligence (AI) tools were used solely to assist with language editing, grammatical correction, and improving manuscript readability. AI was not used for data collection, interview transcription, coding, qualitative analysis, interpretation of findings, or formulation of research conclusions. All scholarly arguments, interpretations, references, and substantive content were reviewed and verified by the authors, who assume full responsibility for the accuracy and integrity of the manuscript.

Author Contributions

Abd. Hamid contributed to the conceptualization, research design, field investigation, data collection, qualitative analysis, and preparation of the original manuscript. Muhammad

Fahmi Hidayatullah contributed to methodological development, theoretical framework, data interpretation, analytical validation, and critical manuscript revision. Moh Abdullah contributed to the literature review, interpretation of findings, scholarly discussion, and manuscript review and editing. All authors reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript.

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