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## Charisma, Symbols, and *Pesantren* Nationalism: Mbah Liem and NKRI *Harga Mati*

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**Abstract**

*Pesantren* play a vital role in shaping social morality, religious authority, and civic orientation in Indonesia, particularly as religious values and nationalism continue to be negotiated in public life. This study aims to analyze how Mbah Liem's religious authority and nationalist vision were constructed, remembered, and institutionalized through Pondok *Pesantren* Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti and its social practices. This study employs a systematic qualitative review approach. Data were collected through literature searches on Google Scholar, Garuda, and DOAJ, complemented by backward and forward citation tracking of key sources. The data were analyzed using thematic synthesis through initial coding, thematic grouping, cross study comparison, and the formulation of social mechanisms linking actors, symbols, practices, and social effects. The findings show that *pesantren* nationalism in the case of Mbah Liem was not produced merely through political slogans, but through charismatic authority, institutional discipline, symbolic production, religious national boundary work, and social networks. The slogan "*NKRI Harga Mati*" gained its force because it was attached to Mbah Liem's reputation, repeated within *pesantren* practices, and validated through wider public encounters. The implication of this study is that the sociology of religion needs to pay closer attention to how charisma, symbols, and institutional practices in *pesantren* produce civic belonging in Indonesian Muslim society.

**Keywords:** *Pesantren*; Mbah Liem; Nationalism; Religious Authority; Prophetic Sociology

*Pesantren* memiliki peran penting dalam membentuk moralitas sosial, otoritas keagamaan, dan orientasi kewargaan di Indonesia, terutama ketika nilai agama dan nasionalisme terus dinegosiasikan dalam kehidupan publik. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis bagaimana otoritas keagamaan dan visi kebangsaan Mbah Liem dikonstruksi, diingat, dan dilembagakan melalui Pondok *Pesantren* Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti serta praktik sosialnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan tinjauan kualitatif sistematis. Data dikumpulkan melalui penelusuran literatur pada Google Scholar, Garuda, dan DOAJ, serta dilengkapi dengan backward dan forward citation tracking terhadap sumber kunci. Data dianalisis menggunakan sintesis tematik melalui coding awal, pengelompokan tema, perbandingan lintas studi, dan perumusan mekanisme sosial yang menghubungkan aktor, simbol, praktik, dan efek sosial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa nasionalisme *pesantren* dalam kasus Mbah Liem tidak hanya dibentuk melalui slogan politik, tetapi melalui otoritas karismatik, disiplin institusional, produksi simbol, kerja batas religius-kebangsaan, dan jejaring sosial. Slogan "*NKRI Harga Mati*" memperoleh kekuatan karena dilekatkan pada reputasi Mbah Liem, diulang dalam praktik *pesantren*, dan divalidasi melalui perjumpaan publik yang lebih luas. Implikasi penelitian ini menegaskan pentingnya sosiologi agama dalam memahami bagaimana karisma, simbol, dan praktik kelembagaan *pesantren* memproduksi keterikatan kewargaan dalam masyarakat Muslim Indonesia.

## A. INTRODUCTION

*Pesantren* occupy a central position in Indonesian Muslim society because they function not only as institutions of Islamic learning, but also as spaces for moral formation, social reproduction, cultural transmission, and community leadership. In many regions, *pesantren* have historically shaped the relationship between religious knowledge, local culture, and social authority through the figure of the kiai and the everyday discipline of *santri* life. Recent studies also show that *pesantren* continue to adapt to social change, including educational modernization, digital transformation, social mobility, and the demand for religious moderation in a plural society (Assa'idi 2021; Hanafi et al. 2021; Latif and Hafid 2021). This adaptive capacity makes *pesantren* important not only as educational institutions, but also as sociological arenas where Islam, tradition, nationalism, and community life are continuously negotiated.

Within this broader landscape, K.H. Moeslim Rifa'i Imampuro, widely known as Mbah Liem, holds a significant place because his religious authority was closely tied to *pesantren*, nationalism, and interreligious harmony. As the founder of Pondok Pesantren Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti in Klaten, Mbah Liem is remembered not merely as a *pesantren* leader, but also as a charismatic religious figure who connected Islamic preaching with loyalty to Pancasila and the Republic of Indonesia. His *pesantren* developed from a social-religious movement into an educational institution that emphasized both religious knowledge and national consciousness (Muhammad and Hidayati 2023). The values associated with Mbah Liem, especially tolerance, brotherhood, and the idea that Islam should benefit the nation, became part of the moral identity of Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti and shaped its public role in local society (Sukari 2023).

Previous studies have discussed *pesantren* from several important angles. Classical and contemporary literature generally views *pesantren* as centers of Islamic education, kiai authority, moral discipline, and cultural

continuity in Indonesian Islam. More specific studies on Mbah Liem and Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti have examined his biography, educational thought, *pesantren* management, leadership dynamics, character education, and the *pesantren's* institutional development. (Husna 2020; Muhammad and Hidayati 2023; Sukari 2023). Recent studies further enrich this discussion by showing that *pesantren* contribute to social mobility, educational leadership, multicultural attitudes, religious moderation, and local political authority (Assa'idi 2021; Hanafi et al. 2021; Latif and Hafid 2021; Azizah, Nkwede, and Armoyu 2021; Faisal et al. 2022). Taken together, these studies confirm that *pesantren* are not static religious institutions, but dynamic social actors that shape public morality, authority, and collective identity.

However, existing research has not sufficiently examined Mbah Liem as a sociological figure whose religious charisma, nationalist commitment, and *pesantren* based authority were formed and remembered through everyday social practices. Studies on Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti tend to focus on institutional management, educational development, biography, or character formation. In contrast, broader *pesantren* studies often discuss kiai authority and moderation without giving close attention to the specific symbolic legacy of Mbah Liem. As a result, the relationship between religious authority, national ideology, social memory, and local harmony in the case of Mbah Liem remains underexplored. This gap is important because Mbah Liem's legacy offers a concrete example of how *pesantren* authority can operate beyond formal education and become a moral resource for sustaining nationalism, tolerance, and socio religious cohesion.

Based on this gap, this study aims to analyze how Mbah Liem's religious authority and nationalist vision were constructed, remembered, and institutionalized through Pondok Pesantren Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti and its social practices. The importance of this study lies in its effort to show that *pesantren* can become a living space where Islamic devotion,

national commitment, and social harmony are mutually reinforced. The implication of this research for sociology is that religious authority in Indonesia should be understood not only through doctrine or institutional hierarchy, but also through charisma, memory, everyday practice, and the social capacity of *pesantren* to produce collective belonging.

## B. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a systematic literature review with thematic synthesis to formulate themes and social mechanisms concerning *pesantren* nationalism, with particular emphasis on the role of Mbah Liem and the slogan “*NKRI Harga Mati*.” The sources used include journal articles, academic books, theses, dissertations, and conference proceedings that present conceptual arguments or empirical descriptions of *pesantren*, nationalism, civil society, *kiai* authority, and the institutionalization of symbols. The analysis focuses on the production of meaning and legitimacy, the formation of habitus through institutional discipline, the construction of religious and national boundaries, and diffusion through social networks.

The literature search was conducted through Google Scholar, Garuda, and DOAJ, supplemented by backward and forward citation tracking from key sources. The publication period was set from 2000 to 2025 in order to capture the dynamics of *pesantren* after the Reformasi era and the shifting arena of authority in the digital age. The documents were examined in both Indonesian and English. The search used the following combinations of keywords: “Mbah Liem” OR “KH Muslim Rifai” OR “Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti”; “*NKRI Harga Mati*” OR nationalism OR national identity; *pesantren* OR “Islamic boarding school”; and “civil society” OR “*masyarakat madani*” OR “charismatic authority” OR “prophetic sociology.”

The documents were screened in two stages. The first stage involved reviewing titles and abstracts to ensure their relevance to the social mechanisms of *pesantren* nationalism. The second stage involved reading the full texts to assess the adequacy of analytical information and the traceability of references. The initial search produced 320 documents. After duplicates were removed, 276 documents remained. Title and abstract screening excluded 198 documents, leaving 78 documents for full text reading. At the full text stage, 52 documents were excluded because they did not provide auditable arguments, did not contain relevant social mechanisms, or were not accessible in full text. As a result, the final corpus consisted of 26 studies.

The recorded information included the author and year, context or location, research design or method where available, key sociological concepts, actors and social arenas, forms of national symbols or practices, claimed or observed mechanisms such as framing, charisma, ritual, discipline, and networks, as well as the main findings. Thematic synthesis was conducted through initial coding, grouping codes into analytical themes, cross study comparison to examine coherence, and the formulation of mechanisms that connect conditions, actors, processes, and effects. Traceability was ensured through an audit trail consisting of search notes, a selection matrix, and an extraction matrix. The distinction between literature findings and analytical interpretation was maintained in the discussion section (Fadli 2021). The main limitation lies in the availability of literature and the possibility of publication bias. Therefore, the analysis is directed toward explaining social mechanisms reported or constructed in previous studies, rather than directly measuring empirical impact.

### **C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

National commitment within *pesantren* does not emerge from slogans alone. It is formed through moral authority, everyday discipline, and social networks that connect religious educational spaces with the

public sphere. Within this rhythm, *pesantren* operate as arenas in which religious identity and civic orientation continuously negotiate boundaries, meanings, and obligations.

As intermediary institutions, *pesantren* manage two demands that often pull in different directions. On the one hand, they must preserve religious authority so that it is not dissolved into the fast-moving marketplace of digital discourse. On the other hand, they need to provide a language of citizenship that is acceptable to local publics without compromising religious legitimacy. This intermediary work becomes visible when religious knowledge is produced in the form of advice, rules, and symbols that are easy to internalize, and is then tested through social relations beyond the *pesantren*. Nationalism, therefore, is better understood as the result of continuous moral negotiation rather than as a final agreement that has been settled from the beginning.

The pressures of globalization and digital mediation have expanded the competition over religious authority, including the circulation of transnational ideologies and content that may encourage radicalization (BNPT 2020; Swastiwi 2024). Nationalism then works as a framework of meaning that is institutionalized through everyday practice and circulated through social relations. The framework of civil society helps explain *pesantren* as intermediary institutions that mediate relations between the state and citizens, while Kuntowijoyo's prophetic sociology helps clarify how social action gains ethical and transcendental legitimacy (Kuntowijoyo 2008; Muttaqin 2015).

### **1. *Pesantren as an Intermediary Institution in Civil Society***

*Pesantren* can be understood as intermediary institutions that serve a connecting function between community spaces and the state through three main forms of work. First, they legitimise by producing moral reasons that justify national commitment as a valid obligation. Second, they perform the

work disciplinary work by shaping a nationalist habitus through rules, habituation, and institutional rhythms. Third, they perform networking by connecting *pesantren* communities with religious organizations, state officials, and local publics, so that national messages gain channels of circulation and reinforcement. These three forms of work take place simultaneously and reinforce one another, meaning that nationalism is not produced as mere rhetoric, but as a living and monitored structure of meaning.

In this intermediary role, *pesantren* are neither identical to state institution, nor located outside the political and moral arena. They work through religious language, kiai authority, and everyday practices that shape how *santri* understand themselves, their community, and the state. The national commitment that emerges from *pesantren* is therefore better understood as the outcome of an encounter between religious morality, the need for social order, and the demand for national cohesion (Halim 2019).

The tradition of civil society places associational spaces as foundations of citizenship and as balancing forces in relations between the state and citizens (Ferguson 1980; Seligman 1995; Edwards 2009; Janoski and Compion 2020; DeLue and Dale 2021). Within this framework, intermediary institutions work through associations, norms, and leadership that create social cohesion beyond the state while not positioning themselves against the state. Debates on *Masyarakat Madani* in Indonesia further show that public ethics and openness are often negotiated through religious language and local authority (Suroto 2015; Madjid 2019; Hefner 2019; Rasyid and Sudarsa 2021; Ilma and Alfian 2020). *Pesantren* can thus be read as nodes that transform religious morality into civic orientation embodied in social practice.

Table 1 maps the dimensions that shape *pesantren* as intermediary institutions, moving from moral authority to networks and alliances. This mapping shows how concepts are translated into practical indicators,

allowing the mechanism to be traced as a sequence of processes that produce and stabilize the meaning of nationalism.

Tabel 1.

Operationalization of *Pesantren* as Intermediary Institutions

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Sociological function</b>	<b>Practical indicators</b>	<b>Illustration in the context of Mbah Liem</b>
Moral authority	Establishing moral boundaries that are accepted by the community	The kiai as an ethical reference, exemplary conduct, conflict mediation	Personal authority strengthens the acceptance of national slogans (Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022; Armawan 2020)
Institutional discipline	Shaping habitus and character through routine	Pesantren rules, habituation, collective activities	The habituation of prayers for national prosperity, obedience to rules, and social activities (Shandy 2021)

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Sociological function</b>	<b>Practical indicators</b>	<b>Illustration in the context of Mbah Liem</b>
Symbol production	Condensing values into signs that can be easily circulated	Slogans, rituals, institutional symbols	“NKRI Harga Mati” and the name “Pancasila Sakti” serve as symbols of integration (Armawan 2020; Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022)
Boundary work	Managing the boundary between religious and national legitimacy	Criteria of legitimacy, source verification, moderation, rejection of violence	Defending the Republic of Indonesia is understood as a manifestation of faith and social ethics (Armawan 2020; Kuntowijoyo 2008)
Networks and alliances	Expanding the reach of influence and stabilizing meaning	Relations with mass organizations, state officials, and the wider public	The slogan resonates beyond the pesantren, including through support from Nahdlatul Ulama and the military (Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022)

The table shows that *pesantren* nationalism is sustained through an interconnected set of mechanisms, rather than through a single symbolic statement. Moral authority provides legitimacy, institutional discipline

turns values into habits, and networks enable these meanings to circulate beyond the internal life of the *pesantren*. In the context of Mbah Liem, “NKRI Harga Mati” becomes sociologically significant because it operates not only as a slogan, but also as a symbol that links religious devotion, civic responsibility, and collective belonging.

## **2. Framing Nationalism and Religious National Boundary Work**

Nationalism rooted in *pesantren* tends to appear as a binding form of social morality, not merely as civic knowledge. It is produced through framing that connects love for the homeland with religious ethics, so that loyalty to the state is understood as a collective moral responsibility. When national belonging is linked to the obligation to protect public welfare and social order, national values do not appear as an additional doctrine, but as a form of religiosity oriented toward public life (Asmani 2022; Hasanudin and Ma’shum 2020). This framing works effectively because it moves nationalism from the realm of slogans into the realm of social propriety that is communally monitored and maintained.

Boundary work emerges when *pesantren* draw a line between religiosity considered legitimate and claims that are delegitimized as threats to social cohesion. Such boundaries do not always take the form of explicit prohibition, but are constructed through moral language, knowledge authority, and the evaluation of religious information sources. In the digital arena, boundaries become increasingly important because religious authority can be produced by anyone and circulated without adequate verification (BNPT 2020; Dozan and Hadi 2020). At this point, the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate sources functions as a protective mechanism, as well as a way to preserve the legitimacy of actors and institutions recognized by the community.

Boundary work also structures the community’s economy of trust. When religious references are abundant, the contestation is not only about

the content of religious teachings, but also about who has the right to interpret them and who is considered safe to follow. *Pesantren* provide instruments of selection, ranging from the authority of the *kiai* and the emphasis on chains of knowledge transmission to the habit of examining the origins of circulating information. This practice of verification also creates a subtle form of social sanction. References considered not credible lose space, while recognized references are strengthened through religious study sessions, discussions, and friendship networks among *santri* (Syafrial 2023; Dozan and Hadi 2020).

The framing of threats to the nation also works as a tool of consolidation. Transnational ideologies, extreme content, and patterns of radicalization on social media provide a context for *pesantren* to reaffirm nationalism as part of the moral resilience of the community (BNPT 2020; Nasution 2023; Swastiwi 2024). The crucial aspect is not merely the naming of threats, but how those threats are translated into agendas of discipline, literacy, and internal social control. *Pesantren* are positioned as spaces capable of filtering meaning not only through teaching, but also through the regulation of daily rhythms and repeated habituation. The term “fortress” therefore refers to the ability to organize the flow of meaning, not simply to reject certain ideas.

Religious national boundary work is also visible in the way *pesantren* connect Pancasila, unity, and religious ethics without placing them as two opposing poles that negate one another. In several studies, this connection is developed through character education, moderation, and the rejection of violence as a deviation from public ethics (Mustofa and Syah 2019; Marzuki, Miftahuddin, and Murdiono 2020; Huda 2024). At the level of mechanism, this boundary produces a hierarchy of propriety, namely who is considered to practise religion properly while also being a responsible citizen. This hierarchy is then institutionalized through routines, collective narratives, and communal supervision that attaches social sanctions to deviation.

A prophetic lens helps explain that boundary work is not merely a political strategy, but also a project of social ethics. Humanization places the formation of moral subjects as a prerequisite for citizenship. Liberation operates as a rejection of claims understood to damage dignity and social cohesion. Transcendence confers spiritual legitimacy to social action aimed at preserving a shared order (Kuntowijoyo 2008; Muttaqin 2015). The framing of nationalism and boundary work in *pesantren* therefore produces a form of legitimacy that binds faith, social order, and citizenship within a relatively stable regime of meaning.

### **3. Charisma, Symbols, and the Legitimacy of National Commitment**

In the figure of Mbah Liem, charismatic authority operates as symbolic capital, lending force to messages of nationalism. Charisma allows national appeals to rely not only on rational persuasion, but also on personal credibility, a reputation for struggle, and social closeness with the community. In this context, “*NKRI Harga Mati*” can be read as a performative act that transforms an abstract value into a commitment that feels urgent, memorable, and easy to repeat in public conversation (Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022; Armawan 2020). The binding power of such a symbol endures when it is supported by social capital and communal reputation produced through the institutional work of *pesantren*, so that national appeals gradually become collective norms that are repeated and socially validated (Isbah 2016; Assa’idi 2021).

Symbols work like social compressors. They condense various experiences, tensions, and collective hopes into a simple sign, allowing people to express their position without having to present a long argument. When a slogan is uttered in a public event, it also produces an audience. Those present do not only listen, but also reaffirm agreement through responses, repetition, and circulation. This process explains why charisma should not be understood merely as a personal trait, but as a relation

shaped by the social stage, reputation, and the community's need for a figure capable of providing moral certainty (Armawan 2020; Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022).

The wider resonance of the slogan shows that the legitimacy of national commitment does not stop within the *pesantren* space, but moves through networks and encounters across different social arenas. The event in which “*NKRI Harga Mati*” was shouted before General Benny Moerdani, and its acceptance by various groups, demonstrates how a national symbol gains strength when it meets authorities outside the *pesantren*, including institutions that possess the coercive power of the state (Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022). Digital mediation expands the channels of diffusion while also intensifying discursive competition. For this reason, the networking work of *pesantren* must be read alongside the transformation of online da'wah and the growing need for religious digital literacy (Dozan and Hadi 2020; Syafrial 2023; BNPT 2020; Nasution 2023; Khotimah and Sa'i 2020; Muhyiddin 2023; Huda 2024; Awwaliyah 2019).

Under these conditions, *pesantren* operate as intermediary institutions, serving as nodes that connect moral and religious authority with civic relations within a relatively compatible framework. The naming of the *pesantren* as “*Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti*” also functions as an institutional symbol that binds religious and national identities into a single sign. This symbol serves as a device of internalization because it is present in the everyday life of the institution and shapes how the community understands its position toward the state. At the same time, it provides a stable language for expressing the integration of religion and nationalism (Armawan 2020).

#### ***4. The Institutionalization of Values through Everyday Practice***

Sustained nationalism cannot be supported merely by speeches or temporary symbols. At *Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti*, national values are

institutionalized through everyday practices, such as the habituation of prayers for the prosperity of the nation, discipline in following *pesantren* rules, and *santri* participation in social activities (Shandy 2021). Routines, exemplary conduct, and internal social control provide channels for character education and the internalization of civic ethics. As a result, discipline does not stop as institutional obedience, but forms a broader orientation of action when *santri* return to society (Yusuf 2021; Nasution 2024; Maskuri, Ma'arif, and Fanan 2020). These practices shape a nationalist habitus because national values appear as repeated experiences supported by communal supervision, not merely as normative knowledge.

The affective dimension of discipline is also important. Repeated habituation creates a sense of security, belonging, and communal pride, making national commitment feel like part of everyday identity. When prayers for national prosperity or social activities are carried out collectively, nationalism appears as a shared experience that unites bodies, time, and space. In sociological terms, a nationalist habitus is formed not through instruction alone, but through continuous social training. This enables civic orientation to become embedded in the way *santri* perceive public issues and respond to them when they return to society (Shandy 2021; Yusuf 2021).

Institutionalization also develops through an inclusive model of da'wah, namely the ability to accommodate local traditions and build relatively harmonious social relations with surrounding communities. In this configuration, social cohesion is maintained by expanding social acceptance, so that national messages are not understood as coercion, but as part of a shared order of life (Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022; Marzuki, Miftahuddin, and Murdiono 2020). The integration of religious teachings and national insight in *pesantren* is therefore better understood as a lived curriculum. It is present in structures of authority, everyday rhythms, and

social practices that bind santri to the value of unity (Asmani 2022; Marzuki, Miftahuddin, and Murdiono 2020).

### **5. Networks, Diffusion, and Prophetic Orientation**

The circulation of national slogans and values depends on channels of diffusion and social support that enable them to be repeated, recognized, and maintained. In the context of Mbah Liem, the spread of “NKRI Harga Mati” extended beyond the pesantren and gained resonance among religious organizations and state institutions. As a result, the national message moved from a communal space into a broader public discourse (Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022). Diffusion also took place through public religious gatherings, national forums, and social actions that connected pesantren communities with local publics. In this way, national commitment did not remain confined to the santri community, but became part of the broader work of social cohesion (Assa’idi 2021).

The establishment of Kesatuan Aksi Waliyullah Indonesia, or KAWI, demonstrates the movement’s dimension connecting moral and religious agendas with the effort to maintain social order amid political tensions in a particular historical context (Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022). At the level of mechanism, this kind of organization functions as an instrument of mobilization and solidarity-building, while *pesantren* provide moral legitimacy, a cadre base, and institutional rhythms that strengthen the message. In the context of digital mediation, this networking work needs to be read alongside the transformation of online religious authority. The diffusion of values can strengthen moderate narratives, but it can also become an arena of competing claims. For this reason, religious digital literacy and internal social control become part of the effort to maintain cohesion (Dozan and Hadi 2020; Syafrial 2023; BNPT 2020; Nasution 2023).

Prophetic orientation provides an ethical language for these interconnected mechanisms. National loyalty does not stop as political

allegiance, but appears as an orientation of social action supported by moral and transcendental legitimacy. It connects the formation of moral subjects with the defence of a just social order (Fahmi 2005; Wulansari and Khotimah 2020; Syukri and Islamy 2022; Syihabuddin and Huda 2024; Nurizun 2020; Anwar, Pababbari, and Ibrahim 2023; Labib and Nurhaedi 2023). Kuntowijoyo’s prophetic framework helps explain that nationalism developed in *pesantren* works as an ethical orientation that regulates social action. Humanization appears in character formation and social order, liberation appears in the rejection of claims understood to threaten cohesion, and transcendence appears in the connection between social action and faith (Kuntowijoyo 2008; Muttaqin 2015). In the context of Mbah Liem, these three orientations appear as directions of action embodied in symbols, institutional practices, and networks. “NKRI Harga Mati” condenses them into a sign that is easy to circulate and easy to repeat.

Table 2.

Prophetic Orientation in *Pesantren* National Practice

<b>Orientation</b>	<b>Direction of social action</b>	<b>Forms of practice in pesantren</b>	<b>Illustration in the case of Mbah Liem</b>
Humanization	Character formation and social order	Discipline, exemplary conduct, conflict mediation	The formation of santri with integrity and a mediating role in local social relations (Muhammad and Hidayati 2023)
Liberation	Rejection of ideologies	Framing of threats, collective	KAWI as a response to the threat of

<b>Orientation</b>	<b>Direction of social action</b>	<b>Forms of practice in pesantren</b>	<b>Illustration in the case of Mbah Liem</b>
	that weaken social cohesion	mobilization, strengthening of solidarity	communism and as an effort to strengthen solidarity (Ikhsani and Kusairi 2022)
Transcendence	Faith based ethical legitimacy	Collective prayer, narratives of love for the homeland, integration of religion and nationalism	The defence of the Republic of Indonesia is understood as an expression of faith and social welfare (Kuntowijoyo 2008; Armawan 2020)

Two points are strengthened by the mapping of prophetic orientation in Table 2. First, humanization works as a mechanism for forming subjects through routines and exemplary conduct that condense public ethics into habits that can be communally monitored. Second, liberation and transcendence provide a framework that legitimizes the rejection of claims understood to disrupt cohesion, while also authorizing civic action as part of social piety. Within this sequence, “NKRI Harga Mati” functions as a repeatedly circulated sign, attached to institutional practice, and gains cross arena resonance when organizational networks and public encounters help validate its meaning.

#### D. CONCLUSION

This study shows that *pesantren* nationalism in the case of Mbah Liem and Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti was not produced merely through political slogans, but through a set of social mechanisms that linked religious authority, institutional discipline, symbolic production, boundary work, and social networks. “NKRI Harga Mati” became powerful because it was attached to Mbah Liem’s charismatic authority, repeated through *pesantren* practices, and validated through wider public encounters with religious organizations, local communities, and state institutions. The findings indicate that *pesantren* function as intermediary institutions that transform religious morality into civic orientation, making national commitment part of everyday discipline, collective memory, and socially recognized piety.

These findings reflect the importance of understanding *pesantren* not only as Islamic educational institutions, but also as moral and social arenas where religion and nationalism are continuously negotiated. Mbah Liem’s legacy demonstrates that religious authority can create a language of citizenship that is emotionally resonant, socially binding, and ethically legitimate. Through prophetic orientation, nationalism is not framed as a secular attachment to the state alone, but as a form of social responsibility rooted in humanization, liberation, and transcendence.

The implication of this research is that sociology of religion needs to pay closer attention to how religious charisma, symbols, and everyday institutional practices produce civic belonging in Indonesian Muslim society. The limitation of this study lies in its reliance on existing literature, which means that the analysis explains reported and constructed social mechanisms rather than directly measuring their empirical impact in the field. Future research should conduct ethnographic or interview based studies at Al Muttaqien Pancasila Sakti and related *pesantren* networks to

examine how Mbah Liem's nationalist legacy is remembered, practiced, and reinterpreted by *santri*, alumni, and local communities today.

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