

## The Persistence of *Shalawat Ngelik* in Kampung Mlangi, Yogyakarta: Habitus, Capital, and Regeneration

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### Abstract

This study examines the persistence of *Shalawat Ngelik*, a traditional form of religious musical performance practiced in Kampung Mlangi, Yogyakarta. Although earlier studies have documented the historical background and cultural characteristics of this tradition, the social mechanisms that enable its continuity across generations remain insufficiently explored. This research analyzes *Shalawat Ngelik* as a social practice using Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual framework of habitus, capital, and field. The study employs a qualitative case study design. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with community members and performers, field observations during religious gatherings and practice sessions, and supporting documentation related to the activities of the *Shalawat Ngelik* group. The findings show that the persistence of *Shalawat Ngelik* is sustained through the interaction of several forms of capital embedded in the religious life of the community. Social capital emerges through networks associated with *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) and communal religious activities. Cultural capital appears in the musical competence required to perform the repertoire and distinctive vocal techniques of *Shalawat Ngelik*. These competencies gradually develop into symbolic capital as skilled performers gain recognition within community events. Economic capital operates collectively through practices such as *berkat*, which support communal performances without turning the tradition into a commercial activity. The study also finds that the regeneration of *Shalawat Ngelik* occurs through the reproduction of religious and cultural habitus rooted in everyday participation rather than through formal institutional training. This study shows that the continuity of *Shalawat Ngelik* is maintained through the interaction of social networks, cultural competence, symbolic recognition, and communal support embedded in local religious life. The findings contribute to discussions on the persistence of local religious traditions and the role of social practice in sustaining cultural expressions within contemporary Muslim communities.

**Keywords:** *Shalawat Ngelik, Religious Music, Habitus, Social Capital, Cultural Tradition*

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## A. Introduction

*Shalawat* is a devotional expression through which Muslims praise Allah and send blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad. In Islamic practice, it carries meanings of prayer, reverence, and the hope for divine mercy and blessing (Arsyi 2024; Faizal 2024). In Indonesia, *shalawat* has long been embedded in everyday religious life, appearing in both personal devotion and collective gatherings across a wide range of social and ceremonial settings (Abidsyah 2020; Mahfudin 2020). Its continued presence in public and communal life shows that *shalawat* functions as more than a liturgical formula. It also serves as a social practice that reinforces religious attachment, shared feeling, and community ties.

In many settings, *shalawat* is performed collectively and accompanied by musical elements that vary across regions and traditions (Diana 2020). It is commonly associated with the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday during the month of Rabi al-Awwal, although in many communities it is also performed regularly outside annual religious celebrations (Pratama 2021). Through these repeated performances, *shalawat* contributes to both devotional life and social cohesion, especially in communities where religious gatherings remain central to local forms of association (Atmaja 2020).

Recent developments in religious music have changed the way *shalawat* is produced, performed, and consumed. Contemporary forms increasingly adopt popular genres such as pop, hip-hop, and EDM, often supported by digital media circulation and aesthetic packaging aimed at younger audiences, especially those shaped by internet culture and social media (Dalimunthe and Soiman 2024). This shift is part of a broader process of social change marked by changing values, cultural preferences, and patterns of public expression (Irawan 2022; Prasetya, Nurdin, and Gunawan 2021). As religious expression enters new media environments, traditional forms of *shalawat* face growing pressure to adapt, compete, or gradually lose visibility.

Yet this shift has not erased older forms of religious art. In some local settings, traditional *shalawat* continues to survive through practices that remain closely tied to communal life and inherited cultural forms. One such case is *Shalawat Ngelik* in Kampung Mlangi, Yogyakarta. Mlangi is a well-known *santri* village in Nogotirto, Gamping, Sleman, where religious authority, *pesantren* life, and local cultural memory continue to shape everyday social relations. The village is associated with the historical legacy of the Pathok Negero network and is widely recognized for its dense concentration of *pesantren* and religious activities (Rokhim et al. 2020). Within this environment, *Shalawat Ngelik* remains a living practice performed in religious gatherings, communal events, and local cultural forums.

*Shalawat Ngelik* has a distinctive musical and performative character. It is marked by high-pitched vocal delivery, varied tempo, and rhythmic clapping,

while the Arabic text is chanted in a style strongly shaped by Javanese melodic sensibilities (Rokhim et al. 2020). Its vocal pattern differs from formal Arabic recitation and instead resembles Javanese *tembang* with a local courtly accent. This feature gives *Shalawat Ngelik* a recognizable identity and sets it apart from other *shalawat* traditions. Its persistence is therefore sociologically significant, especially at a time when standardized and commercially packaged forms of religious music have become increasingly prominent.

Previous studies on *Shalawat Ngelik* in Mlangi have largely focused on its historical development, ritual practice, and the cultural encounter between Islam and Javanese tradition (Izuddin 2021; Rokhim et al. 2020; Sasadara and Badrun 2022). These studies are important in documenting the tradition and explaining its cultural background. Even so, they leave a central question insufficiently explored: how does this practice continue to endure, reproduce itself, and attract participation across generations under contemporary social change? The issue is not simply whether *Shalawat Ngelik* survives, but what social mechanisms make that survival possible in the first place.

This article addresses that question by examining *Shalawat Ngelik* as a social practice situated within a specific religious field. To do so, it uses Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual triad of habitus, capital, and field. In Bourdieu's account, practices emerge through the relation between embodied dispositions, available resources, and the structured space in which actions gain value and legitimacy (Bourdieu 1984, 1998). This framework is useful for explaining how a local religious art form can remain durable without relying on formal institutionalization or explicit cultural policy. It also helps clarify how continuity is sustained through routine participation, recognized competence, social ties, and locally grounded forms of legitimacy (Hisyam et al. 2024; Rahmawati and Harianto 2020).

In this study, habitus refers to the durable dispositions formed through repeated involvement in the religious and cultural life of Mlangi. These dispositions shape how participants perceive *Shalawat Ngelik*, how they assign value to it, and why they continue to engage in it across time (Bourdieu 1984, 1998; Hisyam et al. 2024). Capital is examined in four interconnected forms: social capital in the form of networks and communal trust, cultural capital in the form of musical competence and practical knowledge, symbolic capital in the form of recognition and prestige, and economic capital in the form of material support that helps sustain performances (Jamila and Sabri 2025; Muslimin and Lismalinda 2024; Rahmawati and Harianto 2020). Field refers to the local religious arena in which this practice is performed, judged, and authorized through relations among senior performers, religious leaders, youth participants, *pesantran* networks, and community audiences (Bourdieu 1998).

The contribution of this article lies in showing that the continuity of *Shalawat Ngelik* is sustained through an organic process of social reproduction rooted in everyday communal life. Its endurance does not depend on formal cadre formation or direct institutional control. It is maintained through the circulation of competence, the recognition attached to skilled performance, the support of *Nahdliyin* religious networks, and the repeated insertion of the practice into local religious and social events. By tracing these mechanisms, this article offers an empirically grounded reading of how a local religious art form remains socially meaningful and collectively sustained in the midst of ongoing cultural change. Based on that focus, this study asks how the persistence of *Shalawat Ngelik* is shaped through the formation and reproduction of religious and cultural habitus, how different forms of capital support the community's continuity, and how intergenerational regeneration takes place within the religious life of Kampung Mlangi.

## **B. Methods**

This study uses a qualitative case study design to examine the persistence of *Shalawat Ngelik*, a form of religious musical performance practiced in Kampung Mlangi, Yogyakarta. Qualitative research is appropriate for exploring social practices embedded in everyday interaction, shared meanings, and local cultural contexts. A case study allows a phenomenon to be examined within its real-life setting while paying attention to the relationships among actors, practices, and community structures that sustain it (Creswell 2010). The research was conducted in Kampung Mlangi, a well-known *kampung santri* (a settlement characterized by strong Islamic learning traditions and the presence of multiple *pesantren*, or Islamic boarding schools). This environment provides the social and religious context in which *Shalawat Ngelik* continues to be practiced and transmitted across generations.

Informants were selected through purposive sampling based on their involvement in the practice of *Shalawat Ngelik*. Six key informants participated in the study, including two senior religious figures who actively perform the tradition, one religious figure who frequently participates as an observer of *shalawat* gatherings, one youth leader involved in the younger generation of performers, one young performer, and one community member familiar with the activities of the group. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews and field observations. Interviews explored participants' experiences, their understanding of the meaning of *Shalawat Ngelik*, and their perspectives on how the practice continues within the community. Observations were conducted during religious gatherings and routine practice sessions to document performance arrangements, interaction among participants, and the social atmosphere surrounding the activity. Supporting materials such as photographs

and video recordings of performances were also used to complement the field data.

Data analysis followed the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, which involves data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Interview transcripts and field notes were reviewed to identify themes related to habitus formation, social networks, cultural competence, and community recognition associated with the practice. These themes were then interpreted in relation to the conceptual framework of habitus, capital, and field. To strengthen the credibility of the findings, this study applied source triangulation by comparing information from informants with different roles in the community and methodological triangulation by combining interviews, observations, and documentation.

### **C. Results and Discussion**

The findings are presented in three thematic sections that correspond to the analytical framework of habitus, capital, and field. The discussion first examines the role of different forms of capital in sustaining *Shalawat Ngelik*, then explores the reproduction of habitus and community regeneration, and finally discusses the religious and cultural meanings embedded in the lyrical tradition.

#### **1. Social, Cultural, Symbolic, and Economic Capital in Sustaining *Shalawat Ngelik***

*Shalawat Ngelik* is a religious musical practice that has been maintained for generations in Kampung Mlangi. Local narratives trace its emergence to the period of Kyai Nur Iman, a religious figure associated with the early development of Islamic institutions in the area (Izuddin 2021). The social environment of Mlangi, which is strongly shaped by the presence of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) and everyday religious activities, provides a setting in which such practices can continue through repeated participation and shared communal experience. In this context, the persistence of *Shalawat Ngelik* can be understood through the interaction of several forms of capital that structure social relations within the community.

Social capital plays a central role in sustaining the practice. The community of Kampung Mlangi is closely connected through networks associated with *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), a major Islamic organization that has historically shaped religious life in many Javanese communities. Within this network, religious leaders, *santri* (students of Islamic boarding schools), and residents are connected through routine religious gatherings and communal events. These connections create a social environment that supports the continued performance of traditional religious practices (Caesaranto et al. 2024; Habibah and Sholikhah 2018). In addition to formal spaces such as *pesantren*, mosques, and *majelis taklim* (Islamic study circles), social relations are also

reinforced through everyday interaction and participation in local religious activities (Alfiansyah 2023). Through these networks, *Shalawat Ngelik* remains present in various communal occasions, including religious celebrations and social ceremonies.

Within these social relations, cultural capital emerges through the transmission of musical competence and practical knowledge related to the performance of *Shalawat Ngelik*. The performance requires familiarity with the text of *Maulid Al-Barzanji*, a devotional text that narrates the life of the Prophet Muhammad and is widely recited in many Muslim communities. In Mlangi, this text is performed using a distinctive Javanese melodic style that requires specific vocal techniques and familiarity with a structured repertoire. Performers must understand the sequence of songs and coordinate roles during the performance, particularly the distinction between the *dalang* (lead chanter who initiates the melody) and the *panjak* (responding chanters who sustain the rhythm and vocal structure). Mastery of these elements reflects forms of embodied knowledge acquired through repeated participation in the community's religious life (Jamila and Sabri 2025; Rokhim et al. 2020).

Competence in performing *Shalawat Ngelik* does not function solely as a technical skill. Within the community, such competence often becomes a source of symbolic capital. Performers who are recognized for their ability to deliver the *ngelik* vocal style frequently receive social recognition and respect. Their expertise is associated with religious commitment and cultural knowledge, which enhances their standing within community gatherings (Rahmawati and Harianto 2020). This recognition is reinforced by the presence of respected religious figures among the performers, which further strengthens the legitimacy of the practice in the eyes of the community (Sihombing 2022). As a result, the capacity to perform *Shalawat Ngelik* can shape social relations by positioning skilled performers as respected participants in communal religious events.

Field observations and interview data indicate that performers who are considered highly skilled are often invited to participate in religious ceremonies such as weddings and circumcision celebrations. In these settings, invitations are not always limited to close relatives or neighbors. Skilled performers may be invited specifically because of their reputation in performing *Shalawat Ngelik*. One young performer described this pattern during an interview:

“The idea is somewhat similar to an exchange of gifts, but it is closer to *sedekah* (religious charity). The best *berkat* (food packages distributed during religious gatherings) are usually given first to the *kyai* (religious leader), then to respected elders, and after that to the *dalang* of the shalawat performance. People try to prepare the best *berkat* they can according to their ability. No one is forced to do it, but there is a recognized order so that the distribution is considered proper and brings blessing.” (MA, young performer, 33 years)

The statement refers to the practice of *berkat* (food packages prepared collectively and distributed during religious gatherings). In this context, material contributions are not interpreted as commercial payment but as part of communal religious giving. Resources provided through *berkat* function as a form of economic support that sustains the performance of *Shalawat Ngelik*. At the same time, the distribution of *berkat* often follows a socially recognized hierarchy in which religious leaders and senior performers receive symbolic acknowledgment through their position in the ceremony.

Economic capital therefore appears in a communal rather than individual form. Contributions from residents are organized collectively and are closely connected with practices of charity and mutual support. Because most residents share relatively similar economic conditions and many families rely on small-scale economic activities, participation in the tradition does not require large financial resources (Miharja, Gojali, and Ushuluddin 2021; Mujarofah and Cholilah 2024). This situation allows *Shalawat Ngelik* to remain accessible to community members and prevents the practice from becoming a commercialized performance.

These different forms of capital operate simultaneously within the religious field of Kampung Mlangi. Social capital provides networks of participation and support. Cultural capital appears in the knowledge and skills required to perform the tradition. Symbolic capital emerges through recognition and respect granted to skilled performers and religious figures. Economic capital supports the material conditions necessary for communal events in which the performance takes place. The interaction among these forms of capital helps explain why *Shalawat Ngelik* continues to be practiced as a meaningful religious and cultural activity within the community.

## **2. Reproduction of Habitus and Community Regeneration in *Shalawat Ngelik***

The continuity of *Shalawat Ngelik* within the community of Kampung Mlangi cannot be explained solely through the availability of social networks or communal resources. Its persistence is closely connected to the reproduction of a shared religious and cultural *habitus* that develops through everyday participation in community life. In Bourdieu's terms, *habitus* refers to a set of durable dispositions that shape how individuals perceive, evaluate, and perform social practices within a particular environment (Bourdieu 1984, 1998). In the context of Kampung Mlangi, these dispositions are formed through long-term exposure to religious gatherings, collective recitations, and routine participation in local devotional activities.

From an early age, many residents of Mlangi become familiar with *shalawat* recitations through community events and religious education associated with nearby *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools). This environment

creates a situation in which participation in *Shalawat Ngelik* appears as a natural and meaningful part of religious life rather than as a formally organized activity. Repeated involvement in these gatherings gradually shapes the dispositions of participants, making the practice recognizable, valued, and worth maintaining within the community. Through this process, *Shalawat Ngelik* becomes embedded in everyday religious experience rather than being treated as a separate cultural performance.

Within the local religious field, senior performers occupy an important position in maintaining the continuity of the practice. These individuals, who are often respected religious figures or long-time participants in the tradition, hold symbolic authority derived from their experience and social recognition. Their presence during performances shapes the structure of participation and provides guidance for younger members who are learning the repertoire and vocal techniques associated with *Shalawat Ngelik* (Martati et al. 2021; Nasyirudin 2025). In many gatherings, senior performers lead the performance as *dalang* (the lead chanter who initiates the melody), while younger participants follow as *panjak* (responding chanters who support the vocal structure). This arrangement allows younger participants to learn through direct involvement while still respecting the authority of senior performers.

Field observations indicate that the community structure of *Shalawat Ngelik* involves participants from several age groups, ranging from young adults to elderly performers. This multi-generational composition plays a significant role in sustaining the tradition. During performances, senior members usually occupy positions at the front of the group, guiding the sequence of chants and maintaining the rhythm of the performance. Younger participants typically follow behind them, gradually becoming familiar with the structure of the repertoire and the techniques required for the distinctive *ngelik* vocal style. Learning therefore occurs through observation, repetition, and participation in communal gatherings rather than through formal instruction.

Regular practice sessions also contribute to this process of social reproduction. Community members organize routine gatherings that rotate among the houses of participants and are often scheduled on particular evenings, such as Thursday night or Monday night, which are locally associated with communal religious activities. These meetings provide opportunities for performers to rehearse the repertoire, maintain social ties, and involve younger members who are interested in learning the practice. Because participation is open and informal, these gatherings function as spaces where new participants can gradually become integrated into the community.

The structure of participation within *Shalawat Ngelik* also reflects broader patterns within the local religious field. Performances are largely dominated by male participants, while women tend to contribute through supporting roles

associated with communal preparation for religious gatherings. In many events, women are responsible for preparing *berkat* (food packages distributed during religious ceremonies) and organizing the logistical needs of the gathering. This division of roles reflects socially accepted patterns of participation rather than explicit restrictions. Within Bourdieu's framework, such arrangements illustrate how symbolic hierarchies may become embedded in everyday practice and reproduced through routine participation (Bourdieu 1998).

Despite these patterns, the continuation of *Shalawat Ngelik* does not depend on formal recruitment or institutional programs. Interviews with community members suggest that involvement often begins through friendship networks, neighborhood participation, and shared experiences in religious gatherings. Younger participants may initially attend events as listeners or observers before gradually taking part in performances. Over time, regular participation can lead to the acquisition of vocal techniques and familiarity with the repertoire, which allows new members to become active performers.

Another important feature of the local religious field is the coexistence of different forms of devotional music. In Kampung Mlangi, contemporary religious music styles such as pop or EDM occasionally appear during festive occasions like *takbiran* (collective chanting celebrating the end of Ramadan). However, they are rarely performed in everyday devotional gatherings. Instead, practices closely associated with *pesantren* traditions, such as *hadroh* (a form of devotional percussion music), are more frequently encountered. Even in this context, *Shalawat Ngelik* continues to occupy its own space within community events. In some cases, *pesantren* institutions invite the *Shalawat Ngelik* group to perform during religious celebrations, which creates a relationship of coexistence rather than competition between different devotional forms.

These observations suggest that the regeneration of *Shalawat Ngelik* is not driven by a structured training system but by the ongoing reproduction of social practices within the community. Participation in performances strengthens social ties, reinforces religious identity, and provides recognition for those who develop the skills associated with the tradition. Through these processes, the practice remains integrated into everyday community life and continues to be transmitted across generations.

### **3. Religious and Cultural Meaning in the Lyrics of *Shalawat Ngelik***

The lyrics performed in *Shalawat Ngelik* carry both religious and cultural meanings that shape how the tradition is understood within the community of Kampung Mlangi. For participants, the chanting of *shalawat* is not perceived merely as a musical activity but as a devotional act that expresses reverence for the Prophet Muhammad. In everyday practice, reciting *shalawat* is widely associated with spiritual merit and emotional attachment to the Prophet, which encourages believers to repeat the recitation in collective gatherings (Putri and

Firda Saffana 2024). Within the community, this understanding frames *Shalawat Ngelik* as part of religious practice rather than as a form of artistic entertainment.

The textual basis of the chants largely derives from *Maulid Al-Barzanji*, a devotional text that narrates the life and virtues of the Prophet Muhammad and is widely recited in many Muslim communities. The recitation of *Al-Barzanji* has long served as a medium through which admiration for the Prophet is expressed and transmitted within communal religious life (Mukti et al. 2024). In many settings, the recitation also functions as a cultural practice that reinforces religious learning and collective memory through repeated performance (Fitria, Hamid, and Maghfiroh 2023). In Kampung Mlangi, these texts are not performed in a purely recitative form but are adapted into a melodic structure that follows Javanese musical patterns.

This combination of Arabic devotional text and Javanese melodic style is widely recognized by participants as a distinctive feature of *Shalawat Ngelik*. One informant described the relationship between the textual source and the musical form as follows:

“*Ngelik* actually comes from the Arabic text of *Al-Barzanji*. The shalawat are taken from that book, but they are pronounced using a Javanese melodic style.” (MU, religious figure and observer of shalawat practice, 51 years)

Another senior performer emphasized that the adaptation of the text into a Javanese vocal style was closely related to the historical development of Islam in the region:

“Shalawat is clearly encouraged in Islam, and many hadith mention its importance. In the past, during the period of Islamic rule in Mataram, Kyai Nur Iman adapted the recitation so that it would fit the cultural environment of Yogyakarta. In Javanese music there are usually vocal performers like *sinden* (female vocalists in traditional Javanese music), but in *Shalawat Ngelik* the vocal part is replaced by shalawat. The melody follows Javanese musical patterns, while the text still comes from *Maulid Al-Barzanji*. The performers are men because in this community public religious performances are usually carried out by men.” (I, senior performer, 55 years)

These statements illustrate how community members interpret *Shalawat Ngelik* as a practice that connects Islamic devotion with local cultural expression. The Arabic text preserves the religious message, while the Javanese melodic structure provides a cultural medium through which the text becomes familiar and emotionally resonant for local audiences. Through this adaptation, the practice becomes both a religious expression and a cultural tradition that reflects the historical encounter between Islam and Javanese society.

The meaning of the lyrics is also reflected in the way performers interpret particular songs within the repertoire. One commonly mentioned example is the

song *Dasar Bagus*, which performers understand as a form of praise directed toward the Prophet Muhammad. According to one senior performer:

“*Dasar Bagus* is basically a song that praises the Prophet. Its purpose is to express *mahabbah* (love and devotion) for the Prophet.” (SJ, senior performer, 73 years)

Through repeated performance, these lyrics function as a symbolic medium that reinforces religious sentiment among participants. The act of chanting the text collectively strengthens emotional attachment to the Prophet and helps maintain a shared religious atmosphere during community gatherings. In this sense, the lyrics operate not only as verbal expressions but also as social symbols that shape the emotional experience of the participants.

Alongside its religious meaning, *Shalawat Ngelik* also reflects cultural values rooted in local community life. The practice is performed in a wide range of social and religious events, including *aqiqah* (ritual celebration of a newborn child), circumcision ceremonies, weddings, the commemoration of the Prophet’s birthday, and routine gatherings held on particular evenings of the week. The performance may also appear in public cultural events such as the Mlangi Festival, where the tradition is presented as part of the village’s cultural identity. Through these different settings, *Shalawat Ngelik* functions not only as a devotional act but also as a cultural expression that reinforces the community’s collective identity (Arsyi 2024).

The repertoire used in the performance consists of several songs that are known internally within the community. The names of these songs often follow the opening words of the chant, such as *Ela* (derived from *La ilaha illallah*), *Moha* (derived from *Muhammad*), and *Shalawa*. Other songs have locally recognized names such as *Dasar Bagus*, *Khaslahas*, *Nur*, and *Nizan*. Knowledge of these songs is transmitted informally through participation in performances rather than through written manuals or formal instruction. Performers learn the sequence and context of the songs by repeatedly observing and joining communal gatherings.

The use of different songs in various social contexts also reflects the relationship between the performance and the structure of community life. In more formal ceremonies, such as weddings, participation tends to involve performers who are considered experienced and socially respected. In routine gatherings or rehearsal sessions, participation is more open and provides opportunities for younger members to learn the repertoire. This arrangement allows the tradition to maintain both its ceremonial dignity and its openness to new participants.

Through these processes, the lyrics of *Shalawat Ngelik* become part of a broader system of meaning that connects religious devotion, cultural expression, and social interaction. The combination of Arabic devotional text and Javanese

melodic style allows the practice to remain relevant within the religious life of the community while also preserving its distinctive cultural character. As a result, the tradition continues to function as a medium through which religious values and local cultural identity are expressed and reproduced in the everyday life of Kampung Mlangi.

#### **D. Conclusion**

This study examined the persistence of *Shalawat Ngelik* in Kampung Mlangi through the analytical framework of habitus, capital, and field proposed by Pierre Bourdieu. The findings show that the continuity of this religious musical tradition is closely related to the interaction of several forms of capital embedded in the social life of the community. Social capital emerges through networks associated with *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), local religious gatherings, and everyday interaction among community members. Cultural capital appears in the musical competence required to perform the repertoire and vocal techniques of *Shalawat Ngelik*. These competencies gradually develop into symbolic capital, as performers who master the distinctive *ngelik* style gain recognition and respect within community events. Economic capital operates collectively through practices such as *berkat* and other forms of communal support that enable performances to take place without transforming the tradition into a commercial activity.

The study also shows that the regeneration of *Shalawat Ngelik* occurs through the reproduction of religious and cultural habitus rooted in everyday participation. Community members become familiar with the practice through repeated involvement in religious gatherings, routine performances, and interactions with senior performers. Through these processes, younger participants gradually acquire the dispositions and skills associated with the tradition. The continuation of *Shalawat Ngelik* therefore does not depend on formal institutional training but on the ongoing reproduction of social practices within the religious life of the community.

Finally, the study highlights how the lyrics and performance of *Shalawat Ngelik* connect Islamic devotional texts with local cultural expression. The adaptation of *Maulid Al-Barzanji* into a Javanese melodic structure allows the practice to function simultaneously as a form of religious devotion and as a cultural tradition rooted in local history. Through this combination, *Shalawat Ngelik* remains meaningful within the religious life of Kampung Mlangi while also preserving its distinctive cultural character.

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