Santri Besek alias James Bond: Unveiling communication dynamics in mosque life

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Abstract

Santri Besek or James Bond is the term for the residents of the mosque in Yogyakarta. This research aims first to reveal the background and motivation of Santri Besek or James Bond to become a mosque caretaker. Second, it tries to uncover the intricacies of the sociology of communication that occurs between Santri Besek, also known as James Bond, and the principle of religious values within the community. Third, how the discourse process and dialectics in it. This type of research is descriptive qualitative, with phenomenological method. The theoretical framework used is symbolic interactionism theory. Data collection techniques with in-depth interviews with purposive sampling techniques. The interviewees were the perpetrators of Santri Besek or James Bond, community leaders, and taker administrators, totaling 30 people. Then, the results of documentation and observation data. Various kinds of data were then analyzed using phenomenological methods. The study found that economic problems and a high determination to achieve education became the background for them to become James Bond or Santri Besek. Then, several phrases were seen in social interactions between mosque residents and the community. Such as santri besek or James Bond, ngriwek, boso walikan. Behind these phrases are pejorative sentences. The word santri besek is a mockery to emphasize the status of the mosque caretaker who is poor and becomes a prayer worker.

Introduction

The education problem is especially severe for economically weak people. Approximately 40 million Indonesians will be below the poverty line by 2024. Poverty is measured by spending 1 dollar per day for each person. If measured at 2 dollars, the number could reach 65 million. If the total population of Indonesia is 280 million, then that means that ¼ of Indonesia's population is still poor. (Rachman, 2023). However, in the view of the elite and rulers, it is unimportant because it is just numbers. It becomes important when elections are approaching. Poverty, ignorance, squalor, and the suffering

of the people will always be used as a commodity to gain votes. This party is the most populist because it has the slogan "defending the little people". That party is the most nationalist, or their party is the most religious, and so on.

Educational conditions supported by the economic conditions of society sometimes push some students to the brink of despair due to financial pressures. Several students are pushed to the brink of despair due to economic pressures in living life itself. There are commit suicide because they cannot pay tuition fees. Or suicide because they are ashamed of being *bullied by their* friends for being poor. Not to mention the equal distribution of educational facilities between regions. The internet network is still uneven for 3T areas (underdeveloped, outermost, and remote). So that during a pandemic, students who study online sometimes have to climb to a higher place to get a signal.

Amidst economic constraints, some students seek alternative accommodation by becoming caretakers. Various students in various regions also feel this condition. Including in Jogjakarta. So, students must be good at anticipating in order to survive and pursue their dreams and ideals. It is common for students to eat once a day with side dishes, including looking for a free place to stay. So, the term "*James Bond*" emerged. *James Bond* is a phrase attached to those who lived in a mosque during college, aka being a *marbot*. By becoming a *marbot*, at least there is no need to pay extra for housing. Sometimes, they are also given a monthly allowance to buy side dishes or rice.

The practice of *James Bond* also occurs at the Nurul Huda mosque, Surokarsan village. Precisely in Wirogunan village, Mergangsan sub-district, Yogyakarta. From the 1990s until 2010, many students from outside of Jogja lived there while studying. These *James Bond* students faced many challenges because they were different from students who generally received sufficient economic facilities from their parents. They have to think about education and anticipate expenses coupled with various jobs attached to the residents of this mosque. Such as teaching TPA, taking care of the *takmir*, managing mosque youth, also socializing with the community.

Sociologically, they then carry out the communication process. There is even a process of cultural assimilation (Zafi, 2017). Sometimes *culture* shock occurs (Furham, 2012; Simanjuntak & Fitriana, 2020) and there is also a dialectic to equalize perceptions (Nurkapinan, 2019). Moreover, these students are not only required to study. However, they are also required to socialize, advance religion by prospering the mosque, and think about how to anticipate their economy. (Baasithurahim & Zaki, 2020).

In the process, symbolic interaction theory is very close to *James Bond's* activities. In the context of culture, this theory focuses on how cultural meanings are formed and maintained through everyday social interactions. in it there are symbols, interaction processes, social identities, subjective interpretations and cultural changes (Blumer, 1971).

This research aims to explore the experience process by *James Bond* or *Santri Besek* students, highlighting their resilience in pursuing education despite economic limitations. Additionally, it seeks to provide insights for policymakers on optimizing the role of mosque caretakers while offering inspiration to students and communities in managing mosque-based empowerment.

Community empowerment da'wah is a real action to make improvements. Historically, da'wah in the form of mosque-based social empowerment has been imaged by the Prophet at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. The Prophet Muhammad succeeded in improving and changing the condition of the Medina community into a strong new society. Empowerment forms include spiritual, social (unity and equality), educational, economic, political, and defense aspects. (Jaya et al., 2023). Steps in empowerment are taken to foster

and build the spiritual potential of the community, establish an economic base, and make a means of togetherness in realizing peace and prosperity. (Nurjamilah, 2017). Along with the times and the millennial era like today, without us realizing the function of the mosque described by the Prophet in the past is no longer visible in its entirety, although some of it still survives. (Harahap et al., 2020). However, the mosque in the millennial era is still a place for various religious activities, so the mosque is still needed, not only for mahdhah worship. (Putra & Rumondor, 2019).

Students are seen by society as the nation's intellectual candidates. For various reasons, some students decide to study while working as *marbot. Marbot* is in charge of maintaining and caring for the mosque. *Marbot* is a term given to someone responsible for taking care of the needs of the mosque, especially those related to the cleanliness of the environment of the place of worship. At times, the mosque's *marbot* becomes the backup imam. At certain times, mosque caretakers are compensated with housing, pocket money, and sometimes food. A mosque *marbot* or mosque caretaker has the duty and responsibility to organize all activities organized in the mosque, (Ailsa, 2021).

Several studies have been conducted on the activities of mosque caretakers. *First*, related to the motivation to become a mosque *marbot.* The method used in the research is phenomenological qualitative. The participants in this study amounted to three students who had worked in the *marbot* for more than one year and were selected using *purposive* techniques. The data collection method used was semi-structured in-depth interviews. The results showed that the reason for working as a *marbot* was to find an environment that could help them continue to carry out routine worship. The family's economic condition is also an additional factor that caused the three subjects to decide to work as a *marbot*. During his time as a *marbot*, he felt an increase in religiosity which can be seen from the increase in the dimensions of religiosity, such as the dimension of religious knowledge, the dimension of effect or experience, and the dimension of religious practice. During his time as a *marbot*, he also built warm relationships with the *takmir* and residents in the mosque environment, managed to make adjustments when overwhelmed in carrying out his duties, and had plans to achieve in the future. *Marbot* shows an increase in psychological well-being, such as the dimension of self-acceptance, the dimension of positive relationships, the dimension of mastery of the environment, and the dimension of life goals and the positive influence of increasing religiosity, (Elhakim & Masykur, 2020). In this context, the role of mosque caretakers, often referred to as '*Santri Besek'* or '*James Bond,*' becomes crucial in maintaining the mosque and facilitating social and religious interactions.

Other research is related to the development of da'wah in proselytizing the mosque carried out by the *marbot.* This research included the Al-Jabbar Mosque, which is one of the mosques in Persada Housing in the city of Serang. It has various routine activities that prosper the mosque. Among them are fostering people to adhere to the teachings of Islam and practicing good values. The existence and active role of the mosque *marbot* is certainly very helpful in realizing these activities to revive and maintain the mosque so that its Islamic nuances are maintained in all situations of worship rituals. The role of the *Marbot* of the Al-Jabar Mosque is very helpful in harmonizing the mosque's activities and its congregation by preparing all forms of basic needs in carrying out religious and non-religious activities. (Madjid, 2004).

Still related to the above research, is the revitalization of the Muttaqien Mosque as a center of community services and the Beringharjo people's commercial area of Yogyakarta. This research uses qualitative research, a descriptive approach, and an interactive data analysis model based on Miles and Huberman. The results showed that in the social aspect, the mosque provides routine low-cost health services, rehabilitation of the disabled, and

feminist needs such as lactation rooms. Meanwhile, in the educational aspect, the mosque routinely holds recitations and provides libraries to increase the knowledge and literacy of the ummah. As for the aspect of community economic development, the mosque has succeeded in improving welfare. Mosque revitalization is also carried out by strengthening the capacity of takmir, including the fields of *idarah, imarah, and ri'ayah.* Strengthening the capacity of takmir in the field is divided into two fields, namely *idaratu binnail maddiyyi* or physical management and *idaratu binair ruhiyyi* or arrangements regarding the implementation of the mosque's function as a forum for the guidance and development of the ummah. The strengthening of takmir capacity in the *imarah* field is carried out through the involvement of all takmir in all programs related to ritual worship and community development so that takmir has real experience. Strengthening the capacity of takmir in the field of *ri'ayah* through the arrangement and use of Muttaqien Mosque facilities and infrastructure ranging from cleanliness to lactation rooms proves that the Muttaqien Mosque takmir also has to provide services to people based on gender needs. (Saputra & Kusuma, 2017).

A similar study was conducted in Pekanbaru (the capital of Riau Province). The study found that mosque administrators play an important role in mobilizing activities in the mosque, including daily worship activities, educational and recitation activities, and social activities. Although mosque administrators can establish religious authority, they cannot impose certain religious preferences to influence community preferences. However, mosque administrators or takmir must be moderate in a society with heterogeneous religious preferences. For this reason, mosque administrators are chosen from among those who do not have fanaticism so that religious life is harmonious, (Sunismi et al, 2022).

As for the specific research on the *marbot* welfare program. Research on the welfare of mosque *marbot* in Surabaya by taking 4 mosques as samples. This research uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. The findings of this study are that the welfare of mosque *marbots* cannot be said to be fully prosperous because many aspects have not been fulfilled, but mosque *marbots*, do not only measure sustenance based on material possessions but also the peace of mind they have. obtained because they are always close to the mosque. On the other hand, the mosque has also provided rewards and facilities that are considered appropriate to support the life and performance of the mosque *marbot.* (Baasithurahim & Zaki, 2020).

Other research using interpersonal communication theory and a descriptive qualitative approach conducted by Atik Nurfatmawati at the Jogokaryan mosque, showed that a personal approach strategy is one of the keys to success in building a communication process. Communication between the mosque administrators and the surrounding community, congregation, and mosque visitors is carried out persuasively. The mosque administrators also often hold social activities with the community, both Muslims and non-Muslims. Efforts to prosper the mosque are carried out through a personal approach, through hobbies that are liked by residents who have not prayed. In addition, the mosque administrators strive to maintain the comfort of guests who are praying or just stopping by (Nurfatmawati, 2020).

While previous studies have explored the socio-economic motivations and religious contributions of mosque caretakers, limited attention has been given to the communication dynamics between *Santri Besek* and the surrounding community. This study aims to fill that gap.

Method

This type of research is descriptive qualitative, with a phenomenological method (Elhakim & Masykur, 2020). Because it is not only to answer and determine what is seen from a phenomenon. But to understand what happens behind a phenomenon. So that an in-depth study is needed. The depth of information and data can only be explored if researchers can reveal the various relationships between variables, how these variables work, and cause and effect. (Lincoln, 2009). Quantitative analysis only measures problems in black and white or right and wrong. It cannot describe in depth the complexity of social problems. So it cannot answer the meaning behind the variable. (Creswell, 2012).

This research explores the lived experiences of *Santri Besek (James Bond)* in their interactions with the mosque community. The intent of phenomenological inquiry in this study is "to uncover the meaning (of lived experience) in people's everyday practices in their interactions as *Santri Besek or James Bond* and society in such a way as to discover the practice of sociology of communication". (Barrow, 2017). Using this approach, a researcher uses signs as accepted assumptions in describing the natural way phenomena appear to gain insight into lived experiences and interpret them for meaning-making. (Greening, 2019). Research data collection tools, such as interviews, discussions, and participant observation, are commonly used in this case. However, the researcher with his/her expertise is crucial to gaining a deeper level of insight into the personal knowledge of the object of research. Phenomenological studies thus focus more on the qualitative descriptive research framework. (Qutoshi, 2018).

Data sources were obtained using in-depth interview techniques. (Moleong, 2017). The sampling technique used purposive sampling. Purposive sampling, also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling, is a form of non-probability sampling in which researchers rely on their judgment when selecting population members to participate in their survey. Purposive sampling is also used when the researcher already has a target of individuals with characteristics that fit the study. (Tongco, 2007). The advantage of purposive sampling is that it is faster and easier to implement. This method allows researchers to take samples in the field without using a sampling frame (Etikan et al., 2016). Interviews were conducted with Surokarsan community leaders, *takmir* administrators, mosque residents or *James Bond*, and the general public who knew how *James Bond* lived in the mosque to become a *marbot*. Additional data was collected by searching primary sources in the form of documents and various relevant artifacts.

A total of 30 informants were interviewed, divided into three categories: *Santri Besek/James Bond:* Ngadino, Anas Yusuf, Asyhar Widodo, Ponijan, M Arifin, Syaiful, Hisyam, Rohim, Sus Hardiyanto, Abdul Majid, Kompang, Fadil, M Rizal. Community Leaders: Danang Aji, Murtijo, Broto Purwanto, Suyanto, Didik, Abdul Zaelani, Agus Chani. Takmir Administrators: Puthut Wijanarko, Ust. Gagan, H Muslimin, H Sumedi, Kelik Endro Suryono, Muhyidin, Heru Rimawan, Jati Khoiri, Jeni Setiawan, Ipunk.

To support the analysis, data from documentation and observation were added. (Creswell, 2014). Documentation can be in the form of written documents, such as letters, meeting minutes, regulations, takmir decisions, and photographs. Meanwhile, observation is a step to visit places considered to have historical value in the history of the Nurul Huda mosque, *James Bond*, and around Surokarsan village.

The research steps are first by determining the sources. The sources chosen were the actors, who knew and also saw the context of *James Bond's* sociology of communication movement in Surokarsan. Second, determining the questions to be asked as material for in-depth interviews. Third, finding related documents. Fourth, analyzing the results of interviews and documents obtained.

Data analysis in phenomenological research focuses on describing and understanding the subjective experiences of research participants. Data obtained from interviews or observations are read carefully to get a general picture of the participants' experiences. Then, they identify themes. Through repetition and patterns that emerge in the data, researchers look for major themes that are relevant to the phenomenon being studied. Once themes are found, researchers try to understand how participants give meaning to those experiences, often by paying attention to the social and cultural contexts that influence them. Researchers compile in-depth descriptions of participants' experiences based on the themes that have been identified.

Researchers do data reduction in phenomenology by filtering data to find the core or essence of the most significant experiences. This means focusing on direct experience, not other interpretations or assumptions. In presenting data, it is done with narrative description. Concluding phenomenological research focuses on identifying the essence of the phenomenon. Researchers conclude the essence or core of the phenomenon being studied, namely the main patterns or themes that emerge from participants' experiences. Researchers also critically reflect on the research, whether the findings are relevant, can be applied in other contexts, and how they relate to existing literature.

Lastly, this research has been declared to have passed the test by the internal ethics committee of Ahmad Dahlan University, Yogyakarta.

Result and Discussion

Economic problems sometimes leave people with little choice but to be "reckless". The word "desperate" is experienced by some students from various regions outside Yogyakarta to choose to become mosque caretakers or *"Santri Besek/James Bond"*. James Bond is short for "mosque guard and gardener". Students from Madura, Ponorogo, Pangandaran, Tegal, Lamongan, and various other regions in the 1990s-2010s took turns living in the Nurul Huda mosque, Surokarsan village, Wirogunan sub-district, Yogyakarta. Then the word *santri besek* refers to the stigma given to the *marbot* who is often invited to read prayers when residents have a celebration such as *aqiqoh* or pray for residents who have died. Usually, they are given souvenirs after the celebration.

In the 90s and 2000s, motor vehicles and cell phones were luxuries. Especially computers and laptops. Only the children of the wealthy had them at that time. Moreover, most of *James Bond's* students were IAIN Sunan Kalijaga students at that time. The campus was known as a proletary and cheap campus before becoming a UIN when compared to UGM or UNY. Moreover, flashy private campuses such as UII, UMY, and UAD exist.

Starting from Mr. Muharto, Gagan, Jainal, Ngadino, Fadil, etc. do not have motorcycles. Except after finishing college and working. Including the *James Bond* generation of the 2000s. Duki, Anas, Ngadino, and Arifin usually rely on onthel bikes to go to campus. Even though the distance between Surokarsan village with UIN and UGM is about 10 km. if the date is young, the shipment from parents is cheap, they usually take Kobutri or the city bus. If from Taman Siswa Street, it is usually line 3 to get to UIN Sunan Kalijaga. Even then, it is not available every hour. Sometimes even if there is, it is already full.

Arifin also experienced a similar situation. He was the son of a wealthy family in his early years. His grandfather was a beef businessman. Arifin's father continued it, but for some reason, it went bankrupt. Even houses and various properties were sold. Incidentally, Arifin's grandfather's younger brother Supriyadi was a chief prosecutor in several provinces and owned a hotel called Limaran in the Malioboro area. So, Mr. Supriyadi then donated

part of his land in the south of Surokarsan and built a mosque. The mosque was then named Al Mizan. The meaning of Al Mizan is a scale, as a sign that the one who donated and built the mosque was a law enforcer. Well, next to the mosque several classrooms were built to teach TPA. There are about three rooms. One of them was later used as a residence by Arifin and his family. Arifin has three younger siblings, so he moved to *James Bond* at Nurul Huda.

Facing economic hardship, many *James Bond* resorted to fasting, not solely as a religious practice but as a means to endure financial constraints. Those who were diligent in their sunnah fasting included Arifin, Rizal, and Anas. Fasting was not done solely out of an awareness of additional worship, but rather because they did not have money to buy food.

The rights obtained by *James Bond* include using the mosque's facilities. Such as electricity, computers, housing, and other equipment. They also get a subsidy once a month of Rp. 60,000 which is bought for bathing needs. Make the best use of Jama'ah gifts for common needs while maintaining an attitude of mutual respect and respect. Those still in school or working are free to prioritize their activities while helping the mosque program run smoothly. The obligations of *James Bond* include maintaining cleanliness (mosque environment, rooms, kitchens, etc.), maintaining order (especially congregational prayers), maintaining security both belonging to the mosque and individuals, facilitating, and supporting the success of all Takmir programs, TPA, Rismanda and requests for assistance from the congregation.

The list of names of *James Bond* or *Santri Besek* who have lived in the Nurul Huda mosque, Surokarsan are:

No.	Name	Origin	Year of residence
1.	Ratio	Bantul	1988-1995
2.	Ruslan Abdulghani	Tasikmalaya	1990-1997
3.	Fadil	Kebumen	1991-1998
4.	Jainal	Ponorogo	1993-2003
5.	Yusuf	Madura	1997-2000
6.	Acong	Madura	1999-2001
7.	Syaiful	Ponorogo	1999-2001
8.	Ngadino	Pangandaran	1996-2006
9.	Rizal	Tegal	2000-2005
10.	M Arifin	Jogja	2000-2005
11.	Kompang	Ponorogo	2003-2006
12.	Anas Yusuf	Ponorogo	2001-2006
13.	Anang Masduki	Ponorogo	2002-2008
14.	Ponijan	Pangandaran	2003-2006
15.	Asyhar Widodo	Lamongan	2000-2005
16.	Abdul Majid	Sragen	2004-2008
17.	M Hisham	Madura	2004-2010
18.	Syaifurrahman	Madura	2004-2007
19.	M Yudha	Ponorogo	2005-2010

James Bond/Santri Besek during his time as a *marbot* can be grouped into several phrases. The first is Ngriwek. The activity of the *James Bond* apples on Sunday night is called *"ngriwek"*. The father or mother of the boarding house would not have a problem if *James Bond* visited the children who boarded at their place. Apart from the fact that the

boarding house owners are members of the mosque, they (*James Bond*) are clear people, who live in the mosque and rarely play until late at night. The most frequently visited boarding houses are 10A and 442.

At first, *James Bond* introduced himself and chatted here and there about college places, etc. Then on another occasion came again. Inviting them to pray in congregation actively. After they felt a bit familiar, they introduced them to a mosque youth organisation called Rismanda. Ultimately, they were invited to join Rismanda's monthly recitation and various other activities. Including teaching TPA. If there is someone who is considered to have a bright, clear face and is suitable to be a prospective wife, the enthusiasm of the *James Bon* men to come to the boarding house increases. That's *ngriwek*.

The second is *Santri besek*. feels quite a dilemma. The interests of humanity or the interests of the stomach. A choice that is not easy and both are felt. It's common for James Bond to get late deliveries from their parents. Understandably, they are children who come from underprivileged families. So if a villager dies, there is one side that is sad because the mosque congregation is reduced and sad to lose relatives. However, on the other hand, their stomachs are hungry. They usually only eat instant noodles, and even then they don't cook it on the stove. Instead, they cook it by pouring water from the dispenser heater. Of course, it is not cooked, but *"mbedodok"* or fluffy. So that if someone dies in the folds of their hearts there is a glimmer of hope that they can eat well for the next seven days. A humane attitude. Because there will be invitations to pray, read yasin and tahlil.

They are called *besek students*. The residents of the mosque are usually used as prayer workers and return home given souvenirs (blessings) that are contained in a besek. A container made of woven bamboo. It contains various kinds, the main one is rice that can be eaten by two to three people with side dishes of goat curry and satay. Or a quarter piece of broiler chicken. It is usually supplemented with dried tempeh, oseng noodles, or peanuts. The fruit is usually banana and watermelon. There is also apem, jenang ketan merah, lalapan jengkol and sometimes wajik or bread. If it is lucky that the deceased is from a wealthy family, then an envelope of money will be given. Sometimes 5.000, 10.000 sometimes even up to 20.000 rupiahs.

Third, the use of the Jogja *"walikan"* language. In the 1990s, there was an educational institution called Magistra Utama in the Pakualaman area. The degree was only a diploma; at that time, many women studied at the institution. Most of them chose Surokarsan village as their boarding house. Of course, some of them had clear, clean faces and tended to be "beautiful". The Surokarsan children call such typical women *"Jeten Pahin"*. *Jeten pahin* itself is a *"walikan"* language taken from Javanese script.
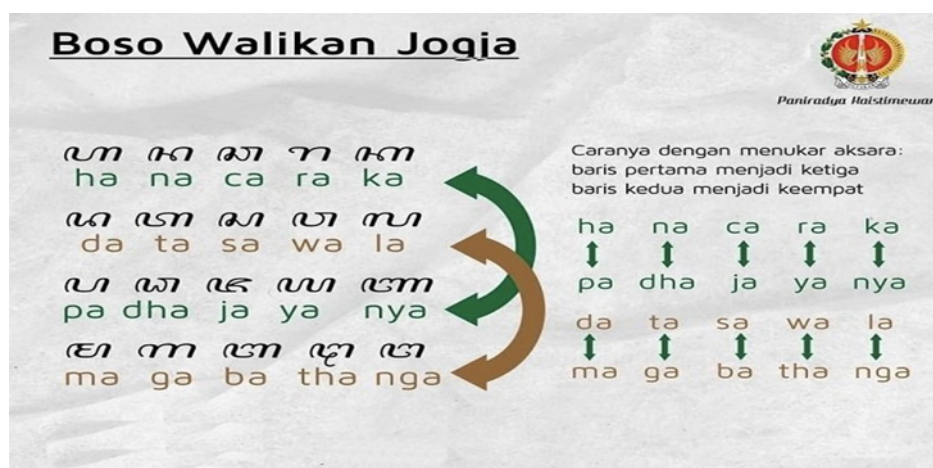
Source: (Ivan, 2020).

How to make Jogja *"walikan"* language is quite easy. From the picture above, it can be seen that it is only done by adjusting the words in Indonesian and then converting them to Javanese script. If the characters are found, they are then swapped, with the first line being the third line and the second line being the fourth line. *Jeten* is the result of the *walikan* language of *cewek*, while *pahin* is a pronoun for beautiful. *Dab* is another word for *"mas"* or older brother for men. However, only the consonant letters are changed, while the vowels remain unchanged.

James Bond's children initially did not know about the *walikan*. They gradually came to understand because of their association and socialization with the local people of Surokarsan. Like the typical Jogja t-shirt brand *"dagadu"*, it is a *walikan* language from the word "your eyes", according to the image of the eye as the brand. Often conveyed by preachers or ustadz, if women gather among themselves for more than 30 minutes, then the chatter will become loud over time. Meanwhile, if adult men gather for more than 30 minutes, the chat tends to be *"saru"* or taboo. In Surokarsan village, this also happens, of course not all of them. So among the men, the term *"sonyol"* emerged. It is the *walikan* of the word *"bokong".* Including among teenagers, but often used by villagers, *James* Bond tends to be shy and looks at the situation when saying the word *"sonyol"*. Worried about being labeled as an imam, muadzin and TPA teacher who likes to talk dirty.

The word *sonyol is* often said when they are hanging out and a woman passes by. Incidentally, the late 1990s were famous for tight-fitting clothes. It even tends to look like her sister's clothes that she wears. Combined with tight jeans as well. It *was so* tight that her curves were very clear. At that time it was very *trendy* if women dressed to show their navel. Many preachers gave insinuations, if they rode a motorcycle then the back of her body looked like a *"celengan"* hole. If it's like that, *sonyol* phrases from Nanto, Junet, and Broto or Puthut become daily consumption. The same thing happened with the word *"Temon"*. The word *temon* comes from the Javanese word *"wedok"* or in Indonesian, woman. Suppose at night, after Isha, the *James Bond* are not in the mosque and go to the boarding houses of the female worshipers. In that case, it is common to hear sentences from young men from Surokarsan such as Broto, Junet, Agus Chani, and Nanto who say *"para James Bond lagi golek temon"*.

The fourth word is *"biyangane"*. *Biyangane* means the mastermind of a problem or event. Usually pinned on those who are ignorant, troublemakers, excessive jokes, or actions considered outrageous and beyond the limit. For example, Agus Chani is often asked to buy food, even though the distance is only 500 meters from the mosque, but it can take up to 2 hours. Because Agus Chani left to play first. So when Agus Chani returns to the mosque, he will usually be told *"biyangane,* diminta beli nasi sampai dua jam lebih"*. Or Ashhar who often lingered in the bathroom. Ngadino, who had a stomachache, would usually say, "wooo dasar Asyhar, *biyangane*" when he came out.

In addition to some of the phrases above, there are also cases of some of *James Bond's* broken hearts. Tyo 2000 was about 23 years old. Just like Asdan, a sweet woman with an Arabian nose. Tyo is a native of Surokarsan and has a beautiful face and white skin. Plus, he has a high religious awareness. He often prays in the congregation, is a member of the takmir board, and was once the chairman of Rismanda. Meanwhile, Asdan comes from Pemalang, Central Java. He lives in Surokarsan village, where he studies.

The two of them were brought together at Rismanda's event. Both harbor feelings. They both also understand each other and have been committed to building a household for about two years. In 2000, they both agreed to meet on the terrace of the Nurul Huda mosque. *James Bond* did not dare to disturb them, knowing they were talking about very serious things.

Asdan had finished college and was asked to get married by his parents. Feeling that he had a candidate, Asdan conveyed his parents' wishes to Tyo. Tyo himself was not surprised. Because Asdan often joked that Tyo would marry him soon. The problem was that this time Asdan was serious, while Tyo was not ready. Tyo himself was studying animal husbandry at UGM and had just finished KKN. He feels that he was born into a simple family and does not yet have an income, of course, and he feels he is not ready if he has to become a priest in the household.

Along with Tyo's heartbreak, Jainal also experiences soul shock. Jainal and Tyo are the same age. Jainal and Dewi had long been attracted to each other. But unfortunately that, both of them were not approved by Dewi's parents. One time Jainal went to Dewi's house, not long after sitting and chatting with Dewi, Jainal was shocked to hear a door slam. It turns out that it was done by Dewi's father, who does not like Dewi's relationship with Jainal. It was said that the reason was that the economic condition of Jainal's family was not commensurate with Dewi's family. Dewi's parents are well-known religious figures and priyayi in Surokarsan. Tyo and Jainal, who both suffered from heavy heartbreak, then agreed to go on a hike. They took a moment to calm themselves down. They both went to a Kiyai in Wonosobo.

The next victim of heartbreak was Syaiful, a native of Ponorogo, still a neighbor and brother to Anas and Duki. Like Anas and Kompang, Syaiful is a Al Islam Joresan Islamic boarding school graduate. So he is very fluent in chanting sholawat and qiroah. Coupled with a fairly "charm" face, sweet tends to be handsome. Of course, many mothers of worshipers are fans of him. Not a few village or boarding house women put their hearts into it.

Unfortunately, Syaiful has a weak psychological or mental side, easily discouraged or *inferior*. This is due to one of them because he feels ashamed, born from a family that is completely deprived, studying at UIN which at that time was known as a place for poor people to study, living in a mosque, etc. Because shipments from the village are often late, seeing this condition, Mr. Agus and his wife often provide to assist Syaiful. Even Syaiful is considered like his own child. Moreover, Mr. Agus has been married for a long time but has not been blessed with a baby. So, Syaiful often slept at Mr. Agus' house and ate there, and they often poured out their hearts to each other. One day Syaiful liked one of the boarders in Surokarsan village. His love was very excessive, but unfortunately, after various efforts were made the end was predictable. Waving one hand.

Feeling unable to bear the heartbreak, Syaiful decided to go home. He buried his dream of obtaining a bachelor of religion at UIN Sunan Kalijaga along with his lukan. Not a little advice has been given by Mr. Agus and his wife. His friend *James Bond* also forbade him, especially Jainal as a senior who used to invite Syaiful to stay as a *marbot.* Many congregations feel lost, *muadzin* and *imam* with a melodious voice. The findings highlight that economic hardship serves as a driving factor for students to become mosque caretakers, creating unique social dynamics. Through practices like *ngriwek* and the use of boso *walikan, Santri Besek* established communication patterns that fostered social integration and resilience, reflecting the interplay between religious values and socio-economic realities.

Conclusion

Human communication is inherently symbolic, with these symbols serving as markers of social integration and solidarity. These symbols can be used as a measure of solidarity.

There is an understanding and has become a general agreement among the native youth of Surokarsan village, especially those who interact with *James Bond* such as Broto, Nanto, Junet, and Lodonk, if the *James Bond* or *Santri besek* do not use the *walikan* language they usually use, then they are considered unable to blend in. If the *James Bond* has lived for more than a year, the native youth of the village think that the *James Bond* does not want to mingle or socialize. Even more extreme is to follow the identity. Because a year or more is enough time to learn and use *walikan* language. Although the language used is not all, only for certain words.

On the other hand, the word *santri besek*, which is pinned on the mosque's *marbot*, is a form of ridicule. *Santri besek* is an affirmation of one's social status, that the mosque caretakers are poor people, so they have to live in the mosque because they do not have the money to pay for boarding. In addition, the mosque caretakers also have to eat by being "laborers" of prayer.

In addition to some of the phrases they embed as symbolization, the *James Bond* also has dynamics, like interpersonal relationships and emotional challenges. All of this illustrates a sociological process of communication that is full of struggles in achieving educational ideals and a better future.

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