

KYAI AND POLITICAL RELATIONS RECONCILING POLITICS AND RELIGION IN INDONESIA

Mohammad Hidayaturrahman, Sudarman

Wiraraja University, Sumenep
State Islamic University Imam Bonjol, Padang
email: hidayatsahabatkita2016@gmail.com,
email: sudarmanma@uinib.ac.id.

Abstract : *This research was conducted to reveal the relationship between kiai and politics in its journey in Indonesia. Also, it explores whether the relationship that occurred to be a pattern of religious and political reconciliation. Therefore, it is obvious that the kiai's interaction as a religious figure which holds political power has a principal meaning in bringing peace. Furthermore, it find out whether the kiai's involvement in politics solely for the sake of power itself, or for the benefit of the ummah and humanity. This research collected data by in-depth interviews with kiai who became head of the region, and political observers from universities, also supported by the search of existing literature either online or offline. The findings showed that there are at least five relationship models identified. Furthermore, the relationship became one of the media for the establishment of political harmony which is considered dirty and full of intrigue with religion. Finally, it is suggested that more specific research is required on what factors influencing to be the conservation of political and religious harmony in Indonesia, thus, the involvement of religious leaders/kiai in politics never leads to conflict.*

Keywords: kiai, politics, figure, relationship, peace.

الملخص: جري هذا البحث العلمي لجلاء علاقة خاصة بين العلماء و السياسية في إندونيسيا منذ إستقلال هذا البلاد حتى الآن. تبعا لهذا، تستفاد هذا البحث لإمام نوع هذه العلاقة. أهي كإحدى الوسائل في اتحاد بين الدين و السياسية كالأسس الحياة الوطنية في إندونيسيا. و لعل بهذا البحث ظهر مباني العلاقة علماء إندونيسيا بقواد السياسية (على قصد قوة السياسية كان أم فردية، أو غيره) في تحصيل إتحاد الجماعة والإجتماعية معنا حقيقيا. جمع هذا البحث البيانات المتنوعة مما يتعلق بهذا البحث و ملاحظة وقيعية. و بجانب ذلك جمع البيانات من كتب و رسائل العلمية بما يتعلق به. و في تفسير البيانات جاء بمقابلات عميقة بالأفراد الذي يعتبر كالعلماء أو القواد السياسي أو المراقب في مجال السياسي. وأما نتيجة لهذا البحث هو هناك خمسة علاقة مهمة التي تأثرت به الموازنة في حياة الإجتماعية أو السياسية في إندونيسيا.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui relasi yang terjadi antara kiai dan politik dalam perjalanannya dari waktu ke waktu di Indonesia. Hal ini sekaligus untuk mendalami apakah relasi yang terjadi menjadi salah satu pola mendamaikan agama dan politik. Sehingga dengan begitu akan menjadi lebih jelas interaksi kiai sebagai tokoh agama dengan kekuasaan politik, memiliki makna penting dalam perdamaian. Apakah keterlibatan kiai dalam politik semata-mata untuk kepentingan kekuasaan itu sendiri, atau karena kepentingan umat dan kemanusiaan. Penelitian ini mengumpulkan data dengan wawancara mendalam (indepth interview) dengan kiai yang menjadi kepala daerah, dan pengamat politik dari perguruan tinggi, juga ditopang dengan penelusuran literatur yang ada baik yang bersifat daring maupun luring. Dari penelitian yang dilakukan, ditemukan beragam relasi politik dan kiai yang terjadi di Indonesia. Sedikitnya ada lima model relasi yang berhasil diidentifikasi dalam kajian ini. Selanjutnya relasi tersebut menjadi salah satu katalisator bagi terjalannya harmoni politik yang selama dianggap kotor dan penuh intrik dengan agama yang dianggap suci. Diperlukan penelitian lebih spesifik mengenai faktor apa saja yang akan terus menjadi kelestarian harmoni politik dan agama di Indonesia, sehingga keterlibatan tokoh agama, kiai dalam politik tidak pernah berujung pada konflik.

INTRODUCTION

The involvement of kiai in the power politics experienced a considerable variety of dynamics, as well as the time of the kiai's involvement in politics had begun since before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. This can be seen from involvement KH. Zaenal Mustofa, the leader of Pondok Pesantren Cipasung, Tasikmalaya Regency, West Java. Kiai Mustofa led the santri and the people to fight against the Japanese invaders. His name is now immortalized to be the name of the main road in Tasikmalaya City, West Java.¹

According to Kuntowijoyo, the kiai's involvement in politics prior to independence was also evident from the presence of Kiai Taman in Madura. Kiai Taman struggles to liberate the inhabitants especially the peasants from enslavement that take place. Kiai Taman forbade the people to pay taxes, because according to him all the land belongs to God, and the God who cultivates plants, for that residents do not need to pay taxes. More extreme Kiai Taman declares that unbelievers, white people, the Netherlands have no right to levy taxes. The Dutch acted quickly, Kiai Taman was arrested on January 18, 1919, accused of having prepared a rebellion against the government. On September 8, 1999 he was sentenced to jail for six years.²

Kuntowijoyo mentions that from 1942 onwards, the position of kiai and figures of the Muslims began to be involved in national leadership and state duties. During the Japanese occupation, kiai appeared in government, such as KH. A Wahid Hasyim who was appointed chairman of a kind of Ministry of Religious Affairs during the Japanese period.³

Still in Kuntowijoyo's record, in 1945 there was a conflict between employers and the people, the people downgrading the ruling officers and replacing them with public opinion officials. The presence of kiai in politics is evident in this event. As happened in Central Java, Kiai Sathori was appointed Regent of Brebes, and Kiai Suja'i was appointed Tegal Regent. According to Kuntowijoyo, historical actors such as rulers, clerics and the people, have been in a position

¹ Nurlatipah Nasir, "Kiai and Islam," *Polical Journal Profetik* 06 (Februari 2015): 31.

² Kuntowijoyo, *Social Change in Agrarian Society: Madura 1850-1940* (Yogyakarta: Matabangsa, 2017), 539–541.

³ Kuntowijoyo, 30–31.

far before. So too, the alliance between the people and the ulama has long been happening before, as are the clashes between ulama and businessmen.⁴

At the beginning of independence, kiai involvement in politics is also evident from the entry of a number of religious leaders/ kiai in the legislature and executive, as KH. A Wahid Hasyim became Minister of Religious Affairs at Hatta Cabinet, and KH. Masykur became Minister of Religious Affairs at Amir Syarifuddin Second Cabinet and Hatta Cabinet and Ali-Wongso-Arifin Cabinet. Similarly, other kiai such as KH. Muhammad Ilyas, KH. Wahib Wahab and KH. Saifuddin Zuhri became Minister of Religious Affairs during the presidency of President Soekarno.⁵

Similarly, in the era of the Orde Lama the kiai were involved in politics and power, such as KH. Fakhri Usman, who in fact came from Muhammadiyah occupied the seat of the Minister of Religious Affairs proposed by the Masyumi Party.⁶ Besides President Soekarno invited KH. Sirajuddin Abbas, a charismatic cleric from Bengkawas, Bukit Tinggi, West Sumatra to help him fight imperialism, with the task of contacting and seeking the support of other countries. Political activity of KH. Sirajuddin Abbas began when he was elected Chairman of the Tarbiyah 1936. In the course of Tarbiyah changed into the Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah Party (Perti) in 1945. KH. Sirajuddin Abbas who first became Chairman of Perti. In 1953-1955, KH. Sirajuddin Abbas later became Minister of Public Welfare in the Cabinet of Ali Sastroamidjojo I.⁷

During the Orde Baru period, the kiai and politics were in a prominent position in political and governmental power. When President Soeharto formed the Ampera Cabinet, 25 July 1966-17 October 1967, he saw many kiai from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) occupying important positions. Among them is KH. Idham Kholid who served as the presidium of Kesra field, KH. Saifuddin Zuhri as Minister of Religion. When this cabinet was completed, on October

⁴ Kuntowijoyo, 182.

⁵ Ahdi Makmur, "Ulama and Ruler in Indonesia (1945-1965)," *Ittihad Journal* 4 (Agustus 2006): 67.

⁶ Hasbi Indra, *Pesantren and Social Transformation* (Jakarta: Penamadani, 2005), 51.

⁷ Ade Mahmud Supriatna, "Role K.H. Sirajuddin Abbas In the Old Order of 1945-1965" (Tesis, UIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin, 2017), 57-91.

11, 1967-June 6, 1968, KH. Idham Kholid from NU is still Minister of Welfare (Menkesra), and Minister of Religion is given to KH. Mochamad Dahlan.⁸

While in the reform era, the kiai are also directly involved and active in political activities, among others by establishing a political party or engaging in the activities of political parties. The reform era that took place in 1998 caused the PBNU to return to the political stage by facilitating the establishment of the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) as a political forum for Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) figures. PKB declared on July 23, 1998 in Jakarta with the declaration of prominent NU figures including KH. Ilyas Ruhayat, KH. Muchith Muza.di, KH. Munasir Ali, KH. Abdurrahman Wahid and KH. Mustofa Bisri.⁹

Even the former Chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) who is also the founder of PKB, KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, on October 20, 1999 was elected the fourth President of the Republic of Indonesia through the General Assembly of the Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR) to defeat Megawati Soekarno Putri. KH. Abdurrahman Wahid reigned for 22 months. During the reign of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid it is widely considered to have made a controversial policy, thus experiencing political and social delegitimacy which resulted in him stepping down from the seat of the President of the Republic of Indonesia.¹⁰

The magnitude of the influence of the kiai, became one of the magnets that can attract public sympathy, especially among Muslims and more specifically among santri, pilgrims and alumni of pesantren led by kiai. In the era of reform and direct democracy, the political role of the kiai is increasingly apparent. As political elites hunt for power, they use religious leaders, including kiai to become voters (vote getter), as well as to gain popular sympathy. Kiai are embraced to enter into political parties and are invited to become endorsers of political contestation at national, regional and local levels. As there is

⁸ Nurlira Goncing, "Politics Nahdatul Ulama and New Order," *Journal Politics* 1 (September 2015): 70.

⁹ Ichwan Arifin, "Kiai and Politics Case Study of Political Behavior of Kiai Conflict in Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) Post Conference II Semarang" (Tesis, Universitas Diponegoro, 2008), 20.

¹⁰ Erpan Aprianto, "The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Politics in Indonesia (1999-2002)" 2 (April 2015), V.

less if the party or ruling candidate does not involve the kiai in their political activities.¹¹

Furthermore, the election of regional head directly became one of the open performances for kiai figure to become political actors either directly or indirectly. In the implementation of elections simultaneously in 2015 for example, the role of kiai can not be denied. Some of the kiai/ nyai who participated in the elections, some of whom won it, namely Gus Yasin son of KH. Maimun Zubair, paired up with Ganjar Pranowo to Vice Governor of Central Java, KH. Fathul Huda (Tuban), Nyai Hj. Kartika Hidayati (Lamongan), KH. Moch. Qosim (Gresik), KH. Syaefuddin (Sidoarjo), KH. Zakki Ghufran and KH. Hamid Wahid (Situbondo), KH. Busyro Karim and Nyai Dewi Khalifah (Sumenep), and in Jember District, KH. Muqiet Arief who is paired with Faidah.¹²

According to Kuntowijoyo, kiai become important in politics both at the central and regional levels, because they become personal leaders, so that all political parties, as well as candidates who advance in political contestation will approach the kiai as the leader the potential to become a vote-getter, because they have a strong relationship with the masses, in this relationship as patron-client.¹³

According to Zainuddin Syarif, after reformation, the involvement of the kiai in practical political activities on a massive scale was very clear, and colored politics in Indonesia at various levels and forms. Finally it could not be avoided, not a few kiai were involved in the struggle for power, something that had been guarded by the kiai. In fact, it is not uncommon for kiai to become political brokers, or to become parties to benefit from existing practical political processes.¹⁴

The involvement of religious leaders in politics cannot be denied at all. Many forms and models of involvement of kiai/ religious leaders in politics. This can be seen from before independence until now, so that there is a relationship between politics and religion from what

¹¹ Imam Zamroni, "Powers of Juragan and Kiai," *Karsa Journal* 12 (Juli 2007): 174–75.

¹² Abdul Chalik, "Local Elite Based on Islamic Boarding Schools in the Contestation of Regional Head Elections in East Java," *Karsa Journal* 23, no. 2 (2015): 374.

¹³ Kuntowijoyo, *Social Change in Agrarian Society: Madura 1850-1940*, 144.

¹⁴ Zainuddin Syarif, "Shift in Political Behavior of Kiai and Santri in Pamekasan Madura," *Journal Al-Tahrir* 16, no. 2 (2016): 295.

they do. To find out how the pattern of relations, post-reformation to the present era of direct democratization, then the formulation of the problem in this study is, how is the pattern of interaction between kiai/religious leaders and politics? Does the form of involvement of kiai/religious leaders in politics cause conflict or can reconcile or juxtapose politics with religion in Indonesia?

The theory used to discuss and analyze the results of this research is the theory of social interaction. The research method is qualitative explanative, by collecting data through in-depth interviews and tracking documents related both online and offline.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The objective of this research is to provide descriptions and explanations as to what the kiai's relationships in the country's politics are, including illustrating how they relate directly or indirectly to the process of democratization and peace in Indonesia. Data was collected by direct observation of various political events involving kiai/religious leaders in political contestation in Indonesia, starting from The elections, the elections of the regional head, the elections of presidents. In addition, there were in-depth interviews with regional heads who were religious figures and political observers and survey institutional owners in Indonesia. Then added to the search for a number of online mass media, then compiled with political theory, as well as social theory in the literature, libraries both online and offline.

THEORITICAL REVIEW

According to Goerge Simmel, social interaction is defined as a pattern of universal behavior and repeatedly through the meanings of various contents are expressed. The content of social life includes among others erotic instincts, objective interests, religious impulses, help or command, and others. This whole content causes people not to live alone, apart from others, but live with others, act, share, influence and influence, and even to resist.¹⁵

According to Rahayu Ginintasasi, social interaction can be interpreted as dynamic social relationships. Social relationship in question can be a dynamic relationship between individuals with one

¹⁵ Achmad Habib, *Antartic Conflict in Rural Tidal China-Jawa* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), 26–28.

another, between groups with one another, or between groups with individuals, as well as individuals with groups. In the interaction there is a symbol, the symbol is defined as something whose value or meaning is given by those who use it.¹⁶

More deeply stated social interaction is an individual process one can adapt autoplastically to another individual, where he is influenced by another. Can be called, that the theory of social interaction is a reciprocal relationship that interplay, change, or improve the behavior that takes place between individuals with individuals, individuals with groups, or groups with groups.¹⁷

It can be stated that, social interaction is the key of all social life therefore without any social interaction there would be no life together. Social interaction is intended as a mutual influence between individuals and groups in their endeavors to solve the expected problem, in the individual and group efforts that exist in life to achieve the goal.¹⁸

According to Soerjono Soekanto there are three forms of social interaction, in the form of cooperation, competition and even conflict or conflict.¹⁹ Social interaction is closely related to social contact. Then social interaction will lead to social contact. The occurrence of a social contact is not solely dependent of action, but also depends on the response to the action. So it becomes clear and clear that within social interaction always involves more than one person, or more than one group/ party. No social interaction will exist if there is only one person.²⁰

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The political relations of kiai with politics in Indonesia are experiencing diverse and dynamic patterns. From the research conducted, there are at least five patterns or models of political relations and kiai that happened so far. The pattern, different from each other, depends on the

¹⁶ Rahayu Ginintasasi, *Social Interaction* (Bandung: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2012), 1–2.

¹⁷ Soejono Soekanto, *Sociology an Introduction* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005), 61.

¹⁸ Abu Ahmadi, *Social Psychology* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2004), 100.

¹⁹ Soekanto, *Sociology an Introduction*, 59.

²⁰ Dwi Narwoko, *Sociology of Introduction and Applied Texts* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2007), 16.

region as well as on the religious leader/ kiai concerned. Each pattern has its own peculiarities that are interesting enough to be studied.

In Madura, the kiai's involvement can be seen in various political contestations. The kiai in Madura are very much involved in practical politics. Among them KH. Ramdan Siradj, caretaker of Pondok Pesantren Karang Cempaka, Bluto, Sumenep. Kiai Ramdan became Regent of Sumenep period 1999-2010. So it is with KH. a Busyro Karim, caretaker of Pondok Pesantren Alkarimiyah, Gapura, Sumenep. Kiai Busyro became Regent of Sumenep 2010-2020 period. In legislative, KH Warits Ilyas who is the caretaker of Pondok Pesantren Annuqoyah Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep served as head of Sumenep DPRD for two periods, period 1999-2009.²¹

In Regency Sampang, East Java, on Sampang Regent Selection period 2013-2018 a charismatic kiai, in this case KH. Fannan Hasib and his deputy Fadilah Budiono served as the Regent of Sampang. Before becoming Regent Sampang Kiai Fannan became Vice Regent Sampang accompany Noer Tjahya. Kiai Fannan then advanced in the next election and won, outclassed the other and became the Regent of Sampang. Before becoming Vice Regent of Sampang accompanying Noer Tjahya, son of the deceased KH. Hasib Siraj from Kampung Kajuk, Rongtengah Subdistrict, Sampang District is a member of the DPRD Kabupaten Sampang.

In Bangkalan District, East Java KH Fuad Amin Imron, who is the grandson of the great Maduran Ulama, Syaikhona Cholil Bangkalan succeeded in becoming Bangkalan Regent for two periods, from 2003 to 2013. After becoming Regent of Bangkalan for two periods he advanced to become candidate member of Bangkalan Regency DPRD and succeed to become Chairman of DPRD of Bangkalan Regency. Kiai Fuad Amin advanced through Gerindra Party, led by Prabowo Subianto. Before becoming Bupati Regent Kiai Fuad had become a member of the House of Representatives (DPR RI) from the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) when PKB was led by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). Fuad Amin then took his son known as Ra Momon's call involved in practical politics.

Makmun Ibn Fuad or called Ra Momon son of Kiai Fuad Amin managed to become Bangkalan Regent at the relatively young age

²¹ Abdurrahman, "Kiai Phenomenon in Political Dynamic: Between Moral Movement and Politic," *Karsa Journal* 15 (Februari 2009): 20.

of 26 years. Ra Momon became Bangkalan Regent 2013-2018 period accompanied by Mondir Rofii as Vice Regent of Bangkalan. Ra Momon succeeded to replace his father Kiai Fuad as Bangkalan Regent through direct elections held in December 2012. Fuad Amin can no longer run for Bangkalan Regent because he has served for two periods. In the 2014 general election, Kiai Fuad nominated himself as a candidate for Bangkalan DPRD, and was elected, then became Chairman of the Bangkalan DPRD period 2014-2019. Kiai Fuad became Chairman of DPRD Bangkalan, while his son Ra Momon became Regent of Bangkalan period 2013-2018.

Still in Bangkalan East Java, KH. Imam Buchari caretaker Pondok Pesantren Bani Cholil who is also descendant of KH. Saikhona Cholil Bangkalan plunged into politics, and had become the Chairman of the Partai Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem) Bangkalan District. Ra Imam, KH Imam Buchari's close nickname then run for Bangkalan Regent 2018-2023 coupled with Mondir Rofii who previously became Vice Regent of Bangkalan period 2013-2018. Imam and Mondir were nominated by three political parties with a total of 10 seats in the Bangkalan District Legislative Council, namely PKB, PKS and Nasdem.

In Pamekasan Regency, East Java is unique and interesting. On the one hand the kiai are directly involved in nominating themselves as candidates to the regions. In this case KH. Kholilurrahman, caretaker of Pondok Pesantren Matsaratul Huda, Panempan, Pamekasan nominated as Regent of Pamekasan in regional election (Pilkada) in 2008. The pair of KH Kholilurrahman-Kadrisman Sastrodiwirjo (Kondang) carried by the coalition of unity Pamekasan, able to outperform the competitors, the couple Ahmad Syafi'i-Muhammad Sohibuddin (Asas) and the couple who carried PKB, Dwiatmo Hadiyanto-Supriyadi (Dwiadi). KH. kholilurrahman then became Regent of Pamekasan period 2008-2013 (Adi Mawardi, Tempo.co, Wednesday, March 5, 2008). In Pilkada Pamekasan period 2013-2018, KH. Kholilurrahman from the Partai Kebangkitan Nasional (PKB) is not competing with Achmad Syafii who advanced through the Partai Demokrat.

On the other hand, Pilkada Pamekasan Regency can not be separated from the involvement of the kiai from two large pesantren in Pamekasan, namely Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Banyu Anyar

and branches Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata. The influence of kiai from these two pesantren, big enough in politics in Pamekasan Regency, from so big, even more than political party. The political choice of the Pamekasan community is always oriented towards two old pesantren, Pesantren Banyuwangi and Bata-bata. The elder kiai of the two pesantrens are often in a position to support the prospective regional heads who are progressing on the contestation. Both pesantren are established strong bonds of brotherhood, Banyuwangi pesantren is an elderly pesantren Bata-bata, Pesantren Bata-bata become part of Banyuwangi Pesantren, so in the political choice always occur in common because the interests of both pesantren deep political. Politics policy in the Pamekasan District Election the candidates supported by both pesantren are superior and win the contestation process. In the 2003 election, both pesantren recommended Achmad Syafii to run for Pamekasan Regent for the 2003-2008 period. Syafii who at that time became a member of Parliament Pamekasan beat Dwiatmo as incumbent. Next, in Pilkada 2008, Pesantren Banyuwangi and Pesantren Bata-bata supported KH. Kholilurrahman as the candidate of Regent of Pamekasan, and KH. Kholilurrahman managed to become Regent of Pamekasan period 2008-2013). Victory KH. Kholilurrahman shows the involvement of the elder kiai in the two pesantren.²²

In Central Java, one of the well known kiai in Semarang and even Central Java, namely KH. Ahmad Haris Shodaqoh who is also the caretaker of Pondok Pesantren Tafsir and Sunnah Al-Itqon Tlogosari Wetan Pedurungan, Semarang. Kiai Haris was directly involved in practical politics and served as Chairman of the Regional Advisory Council in 2010. Kiai Haris is also known to be active as Vice Chairman of the MPW (Regional Expert Council), and chairman of the MSW (Regional Sharia Council) DPW PPP Central Java and listed as a member of the Central Assembly of the DPP Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP). In a non-political organization, Kiai Haris is a member of the Mustasyar Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) of Central Java, and the head of one (in charge of the fatwas) at the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) of Central Java in 2012. Kiai Haris has majelis taklim regularly held every Sunday morning with participants not less than

²² Muhammad Bustonul Husein, "Kyai's Involvement as Participant of Pamekasan Election Year 2018," *Ejournal.unira.ac.id.*, Januari 2018, 1.

12 thousand people from various circles coming from Semarang and other cities in Central Java.²³

In Situbondo, District kiai involvement in practical politics and power politics are also visible. Kiai in Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Syafiyah Sukorejo, Situbondo, located in Sukorejo Village, Banyuputih Sub-district, founded in 1914 by Kiai Syamsul Arifin. the involvement of kiai in politics in this pesantren has been going on since independence era. In the period of physical struggle, Kiai As'ad was actively involved in Laskar Sabilillah who had been involved in war with the Dutch army in Mojokerto and Surabaya. When Japan occupied Indonesia, he once took weapons and ammunition from the Japanese arsenal located in Kalisat District, Jember. Kiai As'ad's active involvement in the political struggle is quite clear. Kiai As'ad was also involved in the political party of the Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi), especially at the time when NU still joined in Masyumi.²⁴

After independence, Kiai As'ad Syamsul Arifin's involvement in politics was also seen in the fight against the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) movement in 1965. Together with the santri of Kiai As'ad participated actively in the struggle against the PKI crackdown in the territory of the former Residency of Besuki. Kiai As'ad's involvement is that moment by the direction of his father K.H.R As'ad Syamsul Arifin.²⁵

Successor of Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Syafiyah, that is KH. Fawaid As'ad Syamsul Arifin and KH. Cholil As'ad also can not be separated from politics. At the election of East Java governor in 2018, Kiai Cholil is known as a keen supporter of campaigning for the candidate of East Java governor Saifullah Yusuf or known as Gus Ipul who is a young figure from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). In the opposite camp, KH. Sholahuddin Wahid (Gus Solah) who is the caretaker of Pondok Pesantren Tebu Ireng Jombang, is the main supporter of the

²³ Ulin Nuha, "Political Role of Kiai in Political Process in Political Party (Case Study of Role KH. A. Haris Shoodoqoh in the Partai Persatuan pembangunan)," *Journal of Politics* 3 (Maret 2012): 7.

²⁴ Suadi Sa'ad, "Educators and Spritualist Fighters (Socio-Historical Review K.H.R. As'ad Samsul Arifin)," *Journal of Edukasia* 11 (Agustus 2016): 295.

²⁵ Hasan Basri, *K.H.R. As'ad Syamsul Arifin Curriculum Vitae and his Struggle* (Semarang: CV. Toha Putra, 1994), 54–55.

candidate for other East Java governor, Khofifah Indarparawansa who is also a cadre of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

The direct involvement of kiai in practical politics is also experienced by former Chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) KH. Hasyim Muzadi. Abah Hasyim is a close friend of Kiai Hasyim, plunged into the world of practical politics, in pairs with Megawati Soekarnoputri as presidential and vice presidential candidate in presidential election (pilpres) 2004 the decision to run for vice president began with Megawati's visit to the Hashim-led pesantren. Similarly, Megawati's interest in the figure of Hashim, because he is considered to be a reprentence of religious leaders, especially among traditional Muslims, especially Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Because Hashim is known to have a strong charisma and power electorate among Nahdliyyin, the name for NU.

The fifth model of kiai and political relations that took place in Indonesia as follows. *First*, engage directly as political actors (actor). This model also has a variety of forms, kiai become regional head, president, vice president candidate, board of political parties, candidates and members of the legislature. Among the kiai who enter on this model is KH. Abdurrahman Wahid who became President of the Republic of Indonesia period 1999-2001. In addition KH. Hasyim Muzadi also entered this category because he was once a candidate for Vice President in the 2004 Presidential Election. KH Ramdan Siraj and KH. A Busyro Karim is also categorized as being the Regent of Sumenep. As for the category of kiai became a party of political party very much of whom is KH. Imam Bukhari, Bangkalan, and KH. Imam Hasyim, Bluto, Sumenep. The candidate for political contestation is KH. ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairah, caretaker of Pesantren Abu Hurairah Sapeken, Sumenep, East Java who had been a candidate for legislative members in the 2004 general elections, and KH. Kholilurrahman who became the candidate for Regent of Pamekasan in Pilkada 2018.

Second, the kiai become supporters of candidates for regional heads, and/ or supporters of legislative candidates. Entrance in this model is kiai Pondok Pesantren Bata-Bata and Banyuanyar, Pamekasan, East Java. In addition there is also KH. Cholil As'ad who became a supporter of candidates for East Java Governor Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Iptul) and KH. Sholahuddin Wahid (Gus Sholah) who

became a supporter of East Java Governor candidate Khofifah Indarparawansa.

Third, to promote the descendant or family as candidates for regional head and legislative candidate. Enter this model is KH. Maimun Zubair, Rembang, Central Java who blessed and supported his son Gus Yasin in association with Ganjar Pranowo as a candidate for Governor and Vice Governor of Central Java, and won the Central Java Pilkada contest, making Gus Yasin the Deputy Governor of Central Java period 2018-2023. *Fourth*, the kiai who is together with other family members are involved in politics. For example KH. Fuad Amin who became Bangkalan Regent was later replaced by his son Makmun Fuad, and Kiai Fuad became Chairman of the Bangkalan parliament. *Fifth*, not involved in political activities. This is done by the kiai at Pondok Pesantren Al-Amien Prenduan, Sumenep. Since its establishment until now the kiai in this pesantren still maintain the tradition of not actively involved in any form of practical politics. To further facilitate the pattern of kiai and political relations see table below:

Patterns of Kiai and Political Relations

No	Pattern Relation	Description	Actors/ Kiai
1	Practitioner	Kiai becomes a politician	KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, KH. Busyro Karim, KH Imam Bukhari.
2	Supporting power	Kiai became a supporter of the party or figure who entered the politics	KH. Cholil As'ad, KH. Sholahuddin Wahid (Gus Sholah)
3	Genealogy	Kiai approves his offspring to be a politician	KH. Maimun Zubair
4	Family of politicians	Kiai with his family became politicians	KH. Fuad Amin
5	Non-partisans	Kiai is not involved in the practical politics	Kiai in Pondok Pesantren Al-Amien Prenduan

Processed from various sources: July 2018

POLITICAL TYPE OF *BU NYAI*

Not only *kiai* are involved in practical politics, but also *bu nyai*. This can be seen from not least, *bu nyai* who jumped into politics, both

as contestants for regional head elections, legislative candidates, and supporters of candidates who plunged into the world of practical politics.

In Sumenep, Madura, East Java, for example, Nyai Dewi Khalifah is the wife of KH. Safraji, Chair of the Sumenep Regency MUI, has nominated himself twice as a candidate for the deputy regent of Sumenep, first in the 2010 regional elections and the second in the 2015 regional elections before becoming a candidate for deputy regent of Sumenep, Dewi Khalifah became a member of the Sumenep Regency Regional Representative Council (DPRD), 2004-2009.²⁶

In addition to being a candidate for political contestation, bu nyai is also involved in supporting certain couples who nominate political contestation. As did the young Nyai in East Java who supported the candidates for President and Vice President Joko Widodo and Makruf Amin in the 2019 Presidential Election (Pilpres). Support was delivered at Metal Al-Hidayah Rejoso Islamic Boarding School, Pasuruan Regency, East Java, November 2018.²⁷

Meanwhile, not a few neutral ones in political contestation are not involved in supporting efforts to support candidates who fight in political events, both at national and regional levels. As was done by Nyai Sihah Wal'afiyah, Chair of the Community of Sholawat Jama'ah Muji Rasul Putri (Jamuri) Solo Raya, Central Java. According to Nyai Sihah, he and his pilgrims chose neutral attitudes in the 2014 presidential election.²⁸

In a more brief, Ali Maschan Moesa, mentions the relationship and kiai relationship with politics can be seen in three models, namely between kiai and politics very closely (integrated), another model is between religion and politics have a relationship but not too close, there is a distance between both, is not fully integrated (symbiotic), and the third model is the complete separation of religion from politics, this is known as secular.²⁹

²⁶ Taufiqurrahman, "Supported by 8 Political Parties, Nyai Eva is Ready to Challenge the Incumbent," *Kompas.com*, 28 Juli 2015.

²⁷ Galih Lintartika, "The Alliance of Kiai and Nyai Muda East Java Expresses the Attitude of Supporting Jokowi in the 2019 Presidential Electio," *Kompas.com*, 5 November 2018.

²⁸ Ahmad Rosyidi, "Jamuri Solo Take a Neutral Attitude in the Presidential Election," *NU.or.d*, 3 Juli 2014.

²⁹ Ali Maschan Moesa, "Kiai Politics Not Banned" 3 (Maret 2007): 32-33.

While Bambang Purwoko, called kiai and political relations in the form of *periodesasi*, with three periods. In the years 1945-1965 is called the first period, where politicians with a religious base, especially from *pesantren* and religious organizations, can play a broad role in Indonesian politics. These periods of kiai's political role, here in after referred to as Muslim politicians are very strong in the political arena of the country. In the years 1966-1998 called the second period, at this time Muslim politicians shackled by the system and policy of the authoritarian regime of the New Order, because they are perceived as a threat and the enemy to be subdued in various ways and efforts. While 1998 until now, is an era of freedom for religious leaders and kiai in expressing their political choice. It can be seen from the number of kiai who pioneered the establishment of political parties after the reformation, followed by kiai who became head of government both at the central level such as the president and at the regional level became regent/ vice regent, governor/ vice governor. Including members or legislative candidates at the central and regional levels. Or be a supporter of candidates who advance on political contestation.³⁰

KH. A. Busyro Karim, the leader of al-Karimiyah boarding school, Braji, who is also Regent of Sumenep two period 2010-2020 claimed to have its own reasons for plunging into the world of practical politics. Before becoming a a head region (*bupati*), he has become Chairman of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) Sumenep regency, the period 1999-2009. At the same time, he became Chairman of DPC PKB Kabupaten Sumenep.

According to Kiai Busyro, he founded a boarding school for the community, active in various social and political organizations for the community, then plunged into the world of practical politics as well to answer the needs and aspirations of society that can not be solved just by establishing *pesantren* and social organization. For him, politics must be held by people who are committed to the values of goodness, if not, then in the long run there will be a tremendous collision damage the order of peace of society.³¹

³⁰ Rudi Subiyakto, "Kiai Involvement in Pilkada (Case Study of Regional Head Election Banjarnegara Year 2006)," *Journal of Political Science and Science of Government* 1 (Maret 2011): 45-46.

³¹ Interview with Kiai Busyro Karim in residence, 7 Juni 2018.

In line with Kiai Busyro, Kiai Haji Ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairah, the founder of Pesantren Abu Hurairah Sapeken, stated that politics is a part of religious activity, as a form of awareness of Muslim affairs in Indonesia. So that people who do not care about political affairs, such as not caring about personal affairs, public affairs and religious affairs in general.³²

Busyro does not deny that between religion and politics there is a difference, he calls it even like heaven and earth, but both must be reconciled, and the meeting point between the two is in politics. Politics becomes the meeting point of values that comes from religion and things that come from worldly affairs. Politics is synonymous with dirty things, and religion is identical with good and right, there is a challenge for religious leaders to show that politics can be a *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. So far Kiai Busyro claimed not to find that the politics of religious leaders to make the disintegration of the nation, even the politics of religious leaders bring peace. Busyro gave an example of how Abdurrahman Wahid, who was deposed as president, did not use the power of Banser and his daring troops to attack those who wanted him to stop being president. In fact, the transition of national leadership takes place in a peaceful manner. It did not happen in another country like in Egypt, when President Mursi was deposed by General al-Sisi, bloodshed occurred. Further Kiai Busyro admitted that as long as he plunged into politics and as a leader at the local level, both as Chairman of the Sumenep Regency DPRD for two periods and as Regent of Sumenep for two periods, no conflict events were triggered by political differences the region he leads. Himself as head of the region claimed to prioritize the substance of government programs, not religious symbols.³³

Hasan Ubaid, lecturer of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Brawijaya University, Malang assess, there is a good point of contact between religion and politics in Indonesia that has been running well. These conditions need to be maintained and preserved as one form of local wisdom of Indonesian society but he reminded, do not get to the front there is a conflict caused by religious leaders who politics. As a record, according to Hasan, in the future that need

³² Interview with Kiai Ad-Dailamy at Abu Hurairah boarding school, 2 Mei 2018.

³³ Interview with Kiai Busyro Karim in residence, 1 Juli 2018.

to be done is the religious leaders or kiai who plunge into the world of politics is to answer the problem of society with activities and programs that are real to society, rather than put forward religious symbols that are capitalized in such a way to obtain public support, it is also a political education for the community.³⁴

According to Whima Edy Nugroho, director of one of the political consultants and survey institutes, Proximity based in Surabaya, East Java, politics in practice has a positive side of getting used to different choices, different opinions, different preferences. But these differences do not cause conflicts that undermine peace as a nation. Even as a means of learning, that as a heterogon nation, the people of Indonesia will always be faced with the choices and differences, choices and differences are, addressed in adult, wise and wise, do not create a conflict.³⁵

Similarly, Wildan Rasaili, a lecturer at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Wiraraja, needs to be familiarized for different choices, as a consequence of democracy. The more often the different choices and preferences, the more mature society. One of the momentum that makes different societies exist in political contestation, both legislative elections, presidential election, regional head elections and village head elections. In its journey, society is increasingly trained and accustomed to differing in choices, which directly educate to resolve differences in a peaceful and democratic way. Wildan reminded that the involvement of kiai and religious leaders is indeed vulnerable to potential conflict at the grassroots level. Therefore, the kiai need commitment to the values of peace and *akhlaq al-karimah*, do not be too oriented to power, because losing out in politics is common. At the time of losing the contest for example, not to mobilize students and supporters to do something that destroys peace and democracy.³⁶

In the study of the theory of social interaction, Soerjono Soekanto mentioned there are three forms of social interaction, in the form of cooperation, competition and even conflict or conflict, such social interaction takes place. *First*, the existence of cooperation. Kiai and

³⁴ Interview with Hasan in his campus, 12 Juli 2018.

³⁵ Interview with Wima in Exelco Cafe, Tunjungan Plaza Surabaya, 29 Juni 2018.

³⁶ Interview with Wildan in lecture room, Wiraraja University, 16 Juli 2018.

religious leaders involved in politics are involved in cooperation with various parties and circles, both internal and external. Kiai who plunge into politics need support, voice support to win political contestation, both in legislative elections, election and elections. Kiai cooperates with santri, alumni, pilgrims, and santri families to get the most votes. Cooperation between the two is no longer limited to cooperation as religious leaders who teach religion to the ummah who had been studying religion with him. But beyond that, that is to work together to get as many votes as possible, so as to win contestation. Kiai's cooperation with santri and internal circles can be just a mere vote, it can also be the willingness of students and internal circles to become a winning team that actively invites others to also support the kiai. With external circles, the kiai will be involved in cooperation and coalition to win the contestation. Because kiai often do not have the ability to win contestation if only fight alone with internal supporters without cooperation and coalization with internal circles. This happened for example in Kiai Busyro Karim who cooperated and coalition with Said Abdullah, one of the figures and PDI Perjuangan functionaries. The cooperation between Kiai Busyro and Said Abdullah can be seen in two forms, namely cooperation and coalization in institutional and coalization and individual cooperation. In the institutional form Kiai Busyro carried by the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) party where Kiai Busyro was and PDI Perjuangan, the party in which Said Abdullah was located. Both parties are carrying the nomination of Kiai Busyro for two periods namely the period 2010-2015 and the period 2015-2020. In an individual form, the cooperation between Kiai Busyro and Said Abdullah, is also very clear, as Said actively in mobilizing support, by activating his network to win Busyro Karim as a regent candidate, both in the period 2010 and 2015 period not only that. Said also spend a lot of money for the winner of Kiai Busyro as Regent of Sumenep, both period 2010-2015 and period 2015-2020. Even some of the campaign activities conducted by Kiai Busyro many use the facilities provided by Said Abdullah.

When viewed explicitly, the cooperation between PKB and PDI Perjuangan, and between Kiai Busyro and Said Abdullah can be seen as a collaboration that can show that religion and politics can be a way to maintain peace, does not occur dichotomy between religious figures with nationalist figures, between religious parties and secular

parties. In this case politics bridge the creation of cooperation to build a coalition to get local leaders conducted by religious figures and nationalist figures.

Second, competition. Competition in social interaction, manifest in the realm of politics. Religious figures and kiai who enter into practical politics involved in the competition to seize or retain power (power). Kiai who want to occupy certain positions in the world of practical politics will definitely try to defeat the person who has been occupying that position first. So also if the kiai who has served will continue to maintain his position, then he will deal with other parties who want to occupy positions that have been occupied by religious leaders/ kiai. So competition in the world of politics can not be avoided by religious leaders/ kiai who plunge in the world of practical politics.

In practice, the rivalry between religious leaders and kiai in practical politics such as the East Java regional election in 2018 does not create a damaging event for peace. The questioning of differences of opinion and choice between candidates Saifullah Yusuf as the Movement of Anzor Youth and Khofifah Indarparawansa as NU Muslim leaders did not undermine the relationship of both, nor the two organizations. In campaigns, it is carried out during the contestation in a cool and peaceful manner, each strives to apply a polite culture in politics, maintaining peace and *akhlaq al-karimah*.

As well as religious leaders and kiai who became supporters of both, looks polite in inviting the students, congregations and others to support the couple supported. There is no attempt to use religious symbols to win contests and beat competitors. Each religious leader and kiai use rational and civilized ways to get the most public and voice sympathy.

Competition is a necessity in practical politics, but religious leaders/ kiai are able to undergo a process of competition in civilized ways so as not to damage the peace that has been established so far, both fellow Muslims, as well as parties outside the Muslims.

Third, the dispute. when there are parties who both want to gain power, seize power and maintain power, then inevitably the conflict as the edge of the competition. Conflict is considered by many experts to have various forms and functions. Some consider the conflict to be dangerous, but others think it is natural and even important, a

conflict of something that can have a positive impact on the way of the organization and community life.

Conflicts also have diverse forms, ranging from perceived conflicts, perceived conflicts, to conflicts manifested in physical conflict. In practice, the conflicts that occur in the political contestation in which the *kiai* engage in them are perceived and perceived conflicts, not conflicts manifested in the form of physical conflict. As experienced by *Kiai Kholilurrahman*, the caretaker of Pondok Pesantren Matsaratul Huda, Pamekasan, East Java who also ran for the Regent of Pamekasan period 2018-2023. *Kiai Kholil* faced *Badruttaman* who was still part of the *kiai* family, because his parents and father-in-law were both *kiai*. Both are fighting for power, in this case the Regent of Pamekasan whose position was abandoned by *Achmad Syafii*, due to tripping corruption cases and detained by the Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK). Both came from the same religious background, both of them also came from the same political organization, the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), both of whom were also representatives of the people, *Badruttaman* became a member of East Java Provincial DPRD, and *Kholilurrahman* served as member of DPR RI. It turns out that the conflict between the two also does not cause things that damage peace. The election of *Badruttaman* as Pamekasan Regent period 2018-2023 takes place safely, comfortably and orderly, no turmoil or mass action.

So it can be explained here, that the root of the conflict is not really political and religious, but rather the individual's readiness to accept differences and recognize the strengths of others. The attitude of acceptability (*qona'ah*) to the *kiai* actually becomes the main capital for maintaining peace when there are religious leaders/ *kiai* lost in political contestation. Moreover, religious leaders/ *kiai* are people who believe in fate, good or bad. Then elected or not to political contestation, is part of the fate that will take place, as it necessarily wins or loses in political competition. The same is also slowly infected to students and supporters *kiai*/ religious leaders who plunge into the world of politics.

CONCLUSION

The era of democracy in Indonesia allows all existing elements to surely be involved in the political world, including religious leaders and *kiai*. Popularity as well as the mass base became one of the attractions for

the kiai to engage or engage in practical politics. In the involvement in practical politics, religious leaders/ *kiai* have various models and forms, some choose to go directly as president, regional head, board member or party official and political activist. Not only that, there are kiai who also involve children, wives and their families together to plunge into practical politics. But there are also those who choose to be supporters (endoser) figures who want mencalokan themselves on political contestation. Support forms are diverse, ranging from those that merely express support, others are mobilizing sympathetic masses to be the winning machines for supported figures.

The involvement of the *kiai* in practical politics became a kind of catalyst that changed the acceleration of democratization in Indonesia, as well as the practice of political learning and maturation of Muslims in politics. Differences that occur within the Muslim body itself, as well as differences with groups outside the Muslim community are normal in a democratic country, so that should be addressed in a natural and not necessary to excessive. Walk the function of political education for citizens.

There is a potential vulnerability to conflicts when the kiai are involved in practical politics, but they can be eliminated by religious leaders involved in practical politics not exploited religious symbols for the sake of winning. But be wise and give priority to political education to the *ummah*, and give awareness to the *ummah* that different in the political choice is commonplace in a democratic country.

REFERENCES

- Abdurrahman. "Kiai Phenomenon in Political Dynamic: Between Moral Movement and Politic." *Karsa Journal* 15 (Februari 2009).
- Ahmadi, Abu. *Social Psychology*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2004.
- Aprianto, Erpan. "The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Politics in Indonesia (1999-2002)" 2 (April 2015).

- Arifin, Ichwan. "Kiai and Politics Case Study of Political Behavior of Kiai Conflict in Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) Post Conference II Semarang." Tesis, Universitas Diponegoro, 2008.
- Basri, Hasan. *K.H.R. As 'ad Syamsul Arifin Curriculum Vitae and his Struggle*. Semarang: CV. Toha Putra, 1994.
- Chalik, Abdul. "Local Elite Based on Islamic Boarding Schools in the Contestation of Regional Head Elections in East Java." *Karsa Journal* 23, no. 2 (2015).
- Ginintasasi, Rahayu. *Social Interaction*. Bandung: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2012.
- Goncing, Nurlira. "Politics Nahdatul Ulama and New Order." *Journal Politics* 1 (September 2015).
- Habib, Achmad. *Antartic Conflict in Rural Tidal China-Jawa*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004.
- Husein, Muhammad Bustonul. "Kyai's Involment as Partisipant of Pamekasan Election Year 2018." *Ejournal.unira.ac.id.*, Januari 2018.
- Indra, Hasbi. *Pesantren and Social Transformation*. Jakarta: Penamadani, 2005.
- Interview with Hasan in his campus, 12 Juli 2018.
- Interview with Kiai Ad-Dailamy at Abu Hurairah boarding school, 2 Mei 2018.
- Interview with Kiai Busyro Karim in residence, 7 Juni 2018.
- Interview with Kiai Busyro Karim in residence, 1 Juli 2018.
- Interview with Wildan in lecture room, Wiraraja University, 16 Juli 2018.
- Interview with Wima in Exelco Cafe, Tunjungan Plaza Surabaya, 29 Juni 2018.
- Kuntowijoyo. *Social Change in Agrarian Society: Madura 1850-1940*. Yogyakarta: Matabangsa, 2017.

- Lintartika, Galih. "The Alliance of Kiai and Nyai Muda East Java Expresses the Attitude of Supporting Jokowi in the 2019 Presidential Electio." *Kompas.com*, 5 November 2018.
- Makmur, Ahdi. "Ulama and Ruler in Indonesia (1945-1965)." *Ittihad Journal* 4 (Agustus 2006).
- Moesa, Ali Maschan. "Kiai Politics Not Banned" 3 (Maret 2007).
- Narwoko, Dwi. *Sociology of Introduction and Applied Texs*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2007.
- Nasir, Nurlatipah. "Kiai and Islam." *Polical Journal Profetik* 06 (Februari 2015).
- Nuha, Ulin. "Political Role of Kiai in Political Process in Political Party (Case Study of Role KH. A. Haris Shoodoqoh in the Partai Persatuan pembangunan)." *Journal of Politics* 3 (Maret 2012).
- Rosyidi, Ahmad. "Jamuri Solo Take a Neutral Attitude in the Presidential Election." *NU.or.d*, 3 Juli 2014.
- Sa'ad, Suadi. "Educators and Spritualist Fighters (Socio-Historical Review K.H.R. As'ad Samsul Arifin)." *Journal of Edukasia* 11 (Agustus 2016).
- Soekanto, Soejono. *Sociology an Introduction*. Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005.
- Subiyakto, Rudi. "Kiai Involvement in Pilkada (Case Study of Regional Head Election Banjarnegara Year 2006)." *Journal of Political Science and Science of Government* 1 (Maret 2011).
- Supriatna, Ade Mahmud. "Role K.H. Sirajuddin Abbas In the Old Order of 1945-1965." Tesis, UIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin, 2017.
- Syarif, Zainuddin. "Shift in Political Behavior of Kiai and Santri in Pamekasan Madura." *Journal Al-Tahrir* 16, no. 2 (2016).
- Taufiqurrahman. "Supported by 8 Political Parties, Nyai Eva is Ready to Challenge the Incumbent." *Kompas.com*, 28 Juli 2015.
- Zamroni, Imam. "Powers of Juragan and Kiai." *Karsa Journal* 12 (Juli 2007).