



Sacralization Religion, Power Elite, And Leadership: Female Regents In East Java

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Abstract: The involvement of the local Islamic boarding school (Pesantren) elite in a regional head election in East Java becomes the winning determiner. In a direct local election, elite religious roles significantly influence the constituent's vote. The elite utilizes religious hegemony to increase society's political participation during an election. The era of new religious movement changes the tendencies of the thinking paradigm that women emerge as regional heads for the first time. This paper aims to analyze female regional heads utilizing the Islamic boarding school religious elite's hegemony in East Java's regional elections. This research used qualitative research with a descriptive perspective and content analysis of qualitative data, which revealed that there is hegemony and patron-client movement of Islamic boarding school (Pesantren) among kyai, students, alumni, sympathizers, and Pesantren communities as a strategy to win regional head. In this research, the researcher used the elite theory approach and political participation theory—research data from the library and document analysis from the affiliated institution. This problem is formulated by how the religious elite hegemony the societies by increasing public participation and convincing voters to vote for women candidates as governor. The analysis result remarks the hegemony of the religious elite becomes a tool to obtain the power in the regional head election because there are significant influences of religious elite functioning giving dogmatism to society through religious routines ritual such as religious speech.

Keywords: boarding school; religion; elite power; female leadership; hegemony

INTRODUCTION

During post reform and direct local election system conducted in Indonesia according to the law amendment no 1 of 2005 about the

regional head election which conducted simultaneously (Akbar, 2017). Regional head election is conducted directly, honestly, and fairly, begin with the election of

governor and vice governor, the election of regional head, mayor and vice mayor, and the election of Regent and vice regent. The advantage of this election is able to deliver the female of Moslem NU becoming regional head in several areas in Indonesia. In fact, in East Java there is new phenomenon that women from Islamic boarding school emerges as candidate pair for regional head and most of them is success winning the election and being elected as governor, mayor, and Regent in several areas of East Java. Like bu Nyai Pondok Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Tambak Beras Jombang Munjidah Wahab, she was election as the Regent of Jombang, It illustrates the collapse of patriarkhi culture. In simultaneously election succession in East Java province, there are gender side in politic, there are some pesantren woman elected as regional head and vice.

So far, there are literatures discussing the influence of elite religious power to the winning of candidate pair for regional head (Azizah et al., 2021; García-Morán & Yates, 2022; Garfield et al., 2019; Vijeyarasa, 2020). Elite discussion was also written by Nania about the utilizing of elite to gain power and winning of election candidate pair (Tri, 2015). Simultaneous election is the manifestation of democraton process to elect the best leader in local level and it is able to construct

synergy between the societies and their leader (Aspinall et al., 2021; Cardo, 2021; Charles, 2020; Gonzalez-Eiras & Sanz, 2021; Prihatini, 2018).

The aim of this paper is to complete the lack of existed studies related to political dynasty. The emerging of new power in local political dynamic: (a) how the power of pesantren descent applied in local politic; (b) what are factors causing the power domination of pesantren descent in local politic dynamic, (c) how the domination of pesantren descent in local politic influence the democracy proses. These three questions are important to propose reminding

This paper is based on three assumption/ argument: that the hegemony of religious elite becomes tool to achieve the power in election process. Because the great influence of religious elite fuctioned to give dogmatic to societies (Ridho Tri Winisudo, 2021) through religious routine ritual such as religious teaching. This argument becomes main reason why Pesantren women is able to win simultaneously election.

RESEARCH METHODS

The This research used qualitative research, hegemony perspective of Antonia Gramsci. ((Kurniati, 2018). Qualitative research is research purposing to discover and comprehend all things experienced by research subject (Ali, 2017;

Siswati, 2018). Data collection on this qualitative research collected through deep interview, observation, and analyze in order to get data collection. In this research, there is religious hegemony phenomenon conducted by kyai to students and all of patron client or societies in general purposed to influence political choice, so that it is able to gain constituent vote.

Research location is at direct local election in East Java province. There is phenomenon which religious elite or kyai becoming success team for regional head candidate from Islamic boarding school women. Technique of data collection is utilizing primary and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained from deep - direct interview between researched and research subject, Researchers conducted an investigation of Mrs. Nyai Munjidah Wahab, Regent of Jombang, Mrs. Nyai Khoironi, Deputy Regent of Situbondo and BU Nyai Kholifah, Deputy Regent of Sumenep Madura. Meanwhile, secondary data is obtained from the collection of supporting data to enrich the information about research result.

Method to analyze information in this study utilized the approach of information analysis Antonia Gramsci (Khoirurrijal, 2017). And using information presentation by Miles and Huberman (Miles, Matthew B, 1994; Miles et al., 2014) (Miles et al., 2014). Miles and Huberman analysis model is the

process of interactive analysis which has cycles. So that, it is able to claim the fact that in analyzing of qualitative information is often tried interactively and continuously until it is perfectly done. This analysis method is consisted of three elements; information reduction, information presentation and recall and hypothesis test (erdiansyah, 2010). In the context of this article, the researcher selects the appropriate data from the interview, then presents and determines the conclusions of the research results. Therefore, things containing Sara are strongly avoided in this article.

RESEARCH RESULTS and DISCUSSION

Hegemony and Sacralization Religion in Local Elections

According to Antonio Gramsci, religious hegemony means the influence of power created because there is religion (Ali, 2017). So that, religion becomes one of power manifestation which then purposed to make power can be implemented. Most of people thinks that religion intervention is able to manifest the power. Power can be perceived by religion leader, so that they can get what they want using power. The existence of power in Islamic boarding school area emerges because Kyai teaching or big family of Pesantren (Turmudi, 2004, 2006). Power in religion appears through religion talk by Islamic boarding school elite aimed to insert political

elements. However, it is better purely discussing about politic and do not mix it with religion.

Sometimes in religion talk, there is leadership theme. In leadership theme, it is better to give the real example of leadership and inserted political elements existed in Islamic boarding school. Kyai has huge power in controlling Pesantren management and the success of Pesantren. All of students assumed Kyai is pesantren leader and their substitute parents. What has talked by Kyai must be obeyed. Kyai delivers and introduces the candidate pair for regional head when all of students gathered, it is usually conducted before observing religious speech or other religious events.

Socialization to introduce the candidate pair done by kyai before starting the religion speech because it is expected to make students recognize them (Patrikios & Xezonakis, 2019). As in the regional head elections in Situbondo district, the pesantren kyai will announce their preferred candidates when giving religious *dakwah*, as seen in an interview with bu. Nyai Khoironi, vice regent of Situbondo. He recounted the following

.... "In situbondo, it is simple. The important thing is Kiai Afifuddin Muhajir, vice leader of sukorejo Islamic boarding school, was invited to give a recitation. Surely he campaigned to carry my name and Mr. Karna, so it wasn't easy to be easy. Alhamdulillah, I won support and was assisted by Kiai Afif".



Kiai Afifuddin Muhajir
Pondok Pesantren
Salafiyah Syafiiyah
Sukorejo Situbondo
composed a Verse to



Gus Ipul and Puti
Sukarno Putri were
supported by Kiai
Cholil Asad, Ulama



Kiai Asep, Ulama
from Pacet
Mojokerto,
supported Ikfina

Based on observations and descriptions from various sources, the Kiai Afif campaign is also more elegant than the religious elites who often "hijack" the Quran or hadith that are multi-interpretation for personal gain. And in the use of attacking other candidates.

Even though it has limited time but kyai often announces it in front of students and communities. Kyai utilizes those time even it is short to affirm the supported candidate. It must not wait religion speech theme informed related to the politic or not. Kyai chooses to talk it clearly in front of public or inserted among his speech.

Most of Islamic boarding school in East Java does not relate and teach political issues on students' education curriculum. Nevertheless, When election process, most of Kyai openly hegemony students, partisan, and societies to elect candidate support by kyai. Usually when religion speech, kyai will deliver speech about leadership, so that students will know good leadership criteria according to Islam (Sovacool, 2018). The following is illustration that most of kyai in East Java becoming success team for several regional head candidate:

Tabel.1 The Elite Power in Regent Elections

No	Name of Local Elite	Islamic boarding school/ Position	Success Team	Election Area
1	KH. Muhammad Kholil As'ad	Ponpes Wali Songo Situbondo	1. Gus Ipul-Puti Guruh Sukarno Putri 2. Ahmad Dhofir 3. Yoyok – Abu	1. East Java province 2. Bondowoso 3. Situbondo
2.	KH. Afifuddin Muhajir	Rois Syuriah Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) Jakarta	1. Khofifah Indar Parawansa- Emil Dardak 2. Salwa Arifin 3. Karna Siswadi-Nyai Khoironi	1. East Java Province 2. Bondowoso Regent 3. Situbondo Regent
3.	KH. Asep Saifuddin Chalim	Pengasuh Ponpes Amanatul Ummah, Mojokerto	Ikfina Fatmawati dan Muhammad Ali Barra bin Asep Saifuddin	Regent of Mojokerto District
4.	KH. M. Hasib Wahab Hasbullah	Head of Ponpes Bahrul Ulum Foundation Jombang	Munjidah Wahab dan Surambah	Regent/ Vice Regent of Jombang District

5.	KH. Agus Ali Masyhuri	Ponpes Bumi Sholawat Sidoarjo dan Pengurus PBNU	1. H. Ali Muhdlor – H. Subandi 2. Fandi Ahmad Yani – Aminatun Habibah	1. Sidoarjo Regent 2. Gresik Regent
6.	KH. Abdul Hafid Aminuddin	Ponpes syekh Abdul Qodir al-Jailani Probolinggo	Puput Tantriana Hasan Aminuddin	Regent of Probolinggo District
7.	Abdullah Azwar Anas	Chairman of Pimpinan Pusat Gerakan Pemuda Ansor Nahdlatul Ulama (2004-2009), Bupati Banyuwangi (2010 – 2020)	Ipuk Fiestiandi Azwar Anas	Regent of Banyuwangi District

Source: data processed by resercher 2021

Leadership of Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren) Women in Political Field

The representation of women in local political dynamic becomes urgent to represent community aspiration and woman interest specifically. The percentage of women election becoming goverment leader is quantitatively small rather than the men's leadership (Sumbas, 2020). The lack of women representation was visible on the regional head position such as governor, mayor, and Regent, all of this things revealed the great power of man's hegemony at local goverment in Indonesia. Cultural resistance and patriarchy culture becomes particular challanges for Pesantren women who will be proposed as regional head candidate in local political dynamic (Dhar, 2018). Leader possition is assumed only suitable for men. This finding is

consistent with argument proposed by previous researcher which attempt to explain the lack of women representation in politic with traditional-patriarchy culture and lack of egaliter conception about gender role (Prager, 2020). It can be concluded that the cultural resistance created obstacles for women not only in nomination and election, but also in representation and power process after they are elected

In general women needs special threat (affirmative action) to emerge women's involvement in politic and goverment, so that women is able to actualize herself in all level started from local, regional and national (Nofri Andy.N, 2021). Therefore, this paper about women's regional head from pesantren to take part in political dynamic and democracion process in Indonesia. Research about women in local politic needs to be

examined empirically, as well as study about women's representation in local government. In order to increase community understanding and minimize stereotype about political women activities. Hansen stated women's role in increasing voter participation in local level (Hansen & Clark, 2020). Meanwhile, other researcher wrote about women roles based on party and voter to explain the women gap in existence of local politic (Shin, 2020). Another research about regional government role in promoting and socializing gender equality. Lassabie also discussed the issue of women representative in local politic (Lassébie, 2020).

Phenomenon of women's electability in local politic was also occurred on Pesantren woman in East Java. They were competed to be regional head on 5 years democracy party that is local direct election. On this regional head election, it becomes main way of pesantren women to take part to become regional head candidate in local political dynamic and Indonesia democracy. The following table shows the support of Islamic boarding school to women's candidate which can be seen that most of women win the regional election.

Tabel 2. Leadership Female Pesantren Became Regent

No	Name	Place	Religious Elite/ Pesantren	Position during Competition	Bearer Party
01	Dra. Hj. Khofifah Indar Parawansa	East Java Governor	Administrator of Ponpes Amanatul Ummah, Mojokerto dan Aliansi Jaringan Kyai dan Santri Nasional (JKSN)	Rival Candidate	Demokrat party, PPP,
02	Munjidah Wahab	Jombang Regent	Pondok Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Jombang	Incumbent	PPP, Demokrat, PDIP, Gerindra
03	Khoironi, M.PdI	Vice Regent of Situbondo	Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo	Rival	PPP, Demokrat, PDIP, PAN
04	Puput Tantriana, SE.	Porbolinggo Regent	Ponpes syekh Abdul Qodir al-Jailani Probolinggo	Incumbent (Political Dynasty)	PKB, Nasdem, Golkar
05	Ipuk Fiestiandi	Banyuwangi	KH. Imam Sibaweh. Ponpes	Newcomer/ Political	PDIP, Gerindra, Nasdem, PPP,

		Regent	Al- Atiq Karetan Purwoharjo Banyuwangi, dan lain-lain.	dynasty	Hanura
06	dr. Hj. Ikfina Fatmawati	Mojokerto Regent	Pengasuh Ponpes Amanatul Ummah, Mojokerto	Rival	Demokrat, Nasdem, PAN, Hanura, PKS dan Gerindra
07	Aminatun Habibah	Vice Regent of Gresik	Ponpes Bumi Sholawat Sidoarjo dan Pengurus PBNU	Rival	Golkar, PDIP, Nasdem, Demokrat, PPP, PAN, PKS
08	Ir. Hj. Indah Amperwati	Vice Regent of Lumajang	Ponpes Roudlotul Rokmaniyah Suko dan Ponpes KH. Syarifuddin Wonorejo Lumajang	Rival	Partai Gerindra dan PKB
09	Dr. Hj. Anna Muawwanah	Bojonegoro Regent	Pondok Pesantren Al-Rosyid Bojonegoro : KH. Alamul Huda	Rival	PKB, PDIP, PKPI
10	Dewi Kholifah	Vice Regent of Sumenep	Pondok Pesantren Terate, Pandian Sumenep	Rival	Demokrat, PAN, Gerindra, PKS, Hanura, PBB, Golkar dan PPP

Source: Data sources is processed by researcher 2021

The above table can be understood that there are 10 women from Islamic boarding school (Pesantren) elected as head and vice regional head. Khofifah Indar Parawansa was elected as East Java governor 2019-2024 and she was succeeded to beat incumbent, Saifullah Yusuf, who was vice governor of East Java. Khofifah persistence had already tested after passing 3 times candidacy for East Java governor. Her persistence was the biggest attractiveness for other Pesantren women to participate as regional head candidate in several areas in East Java. Then, it is known that

Khafifah has been officiated as the Head of Pusat Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). This basic reason becomes guidelines for Pesantren women who are also administrator of Muslimat NU in several areas in East Java to be eager to participate as regional head candidate. Pesantren woman felt the positive effect from Muslimat NU organization and Pesantren support for the winning as regional head.

The next pesantren women elected as Jombang Regent is Nyai Hj. Munjidah Wahab. Before she was elected as Regent, she was vice

regent of Jombang attending Nyono Regent, but in the mid of devotion, they were split. In 2018 election, they were proposed as Jombang Regent candidate for 2018-2022. Mrs Munjidah was supported by four parties; United Development Party, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Democratic Party, Great Indonesia Movement Party. As Pesantren women figure, she has big name from her father, KH.Wahab Hasbullah who is one of Nahdlatul Ulama founder and one of National Hero. She also administered several women's organizations; Students' Organization of Putri Nahdlatul Ulama (IPPNU), Fatayat Nahdlatul Ulama, and now she is active as Branch Leader of Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama Jombang District. Then, she has been one of leader in Islamic Boarding School Bahrul Ulum Tambak Beras Jombang. This patron klien strenght is utilized by Munjidah to be candidate of regional head and winnig the local direct election.

Khoironi is vice regent of Situbondo elected to attend Karna Suwandi as Situbondo Regent period 2020-2024. Khoironi is first female vice regent in Situbondo. Nyai Khoironi is administor of Islamic Boarding School Miftahul Ulum in Besuki Situbondo. She had experienced in women's organization Muslimat NU Situbondo as vice chairman of Muslimat NU. She had served as legislative member of United Development Party fraction 2004-

2009. She had been supported by United Development Party, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Democratic Party, Great Indonesia Movement Party, National Mandate Party, Perindo, Crescent Star Party. The biggest support to the winning of Khoironi was determined by Islamic Boarding School Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo

Puput Tantriana Sari Hasan Aminuddin was Probolinggo regent since 2013-2018 (first period) and second period (2018-2022). He had replaced her husband, Hasan Aminuddin, as Probolinggo regent for two period. He became the youngest women ,29 years old, when she is elected as Regent. He continued her husband leadership. Tendency to secure power to continue work program had been done by previous regional head and it has confirmed political dynasty is very strong in Tapal Kuda area such as Probolinggo. Wider social support was also given by KH. Hafid Aminuddin (her brothed in law) as administrator of Ponpes syekh Abdul Qodir al-Jailani Probolinggo. It has affirmed big Pesantren hegemony to gain community support and voter's vote. Even, Puput has beaten incumbent, Salim Qurasy, who had officiated as vice regent of Probolinggo.

Election at east end of Java island, Banyuwangi district, has occured political dynasty that is power handover from Abdullah Azwar

Anas (husband) to his wife, Ipuk Festiandi. Anas had been Regent since 2010 until 2021, and now his wife has elected as Banyuwangi regent 2020-2024. If it is seen and analyzed, election conducted in East Java wherein Regent's wife take part in the election has similar strategy design that is they attend her husband as Regent for two continuous period. It means political dynasty has been constructed so that it affirms the alibi to achieve power (need of power) and maintain local leadership. The emergence of assumption that family hegemony in regional government becomes fact (Azizah et al., 2021). Family political model tends to have objectives to continue work program which has been conducted by their husband when he has served as regional head. It likes Java cultural show such as wayang wherein wife has role as actor or wayang meanwhile her husband as dalang or director.

It is similar with Situbondo, the election in Sumenep Madura district had new atmosphere wherein there is first woman for vice regent, Nyai Dewi Kholifah. The candidacy of Mrs Nyai Pesantren in local politic is interesting when it faced with the most of communities' assumption which rejected female role in political field. The chosen of Nyai Eva has ruined patriarkhi culture, and it has confirmed representative and pesantren women's rols in political field. Before acrive in

politic, Kholifah was the administrator of Pesantren Terate, Pendian Sumenep. Her role in government makes her becoming the head branch of Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Sumenep. Her spirit and persistence is similar with Khofifah Indar Parawansa East Java Governor, Nyai Eva follow the election as regional head repeatly. Her third election gain the winning and appointed to be vice Regent of Sumenep District on February 27th 2021 in Grahadi building Surabaya.

The Influence of Pesantren: increasing Public Participation

During the election, religious elite has big influences and becoming favorite in social realm in communities. According to Sekerka and Yacobian, several elite terms means someone who has and get from what other get (Sekerka & Yacobian, 2018). Because of that influences, there are many regional head candidate who will follow election requesting support from religious elite who is administor of Islamic boarding school (Rohim, 2015). There are several advantages obtained by election candidate like obtaining support from voter and able to build social network from top to bottom (Rijal, 2014). In a community envirotnment, there are will be certain group who has power to influence and able to change the behavior and societies' thought, they are willing to obey all of elite instruction (Patrikios & Xezonakis, 2019).

The relationship of elite and power and dynamic of cleric and power is interesting discussion because the emergence of political policy as the determination of those relation, so that not only social cultural aspect influences but also political policy becoming main factor (Joosse & Willey, 2020). Therefore, in conducting analysis to religion leader in government power, the finding of Muslim's research explained there is marginalization process of elite power because strong dominance of political elite power in the other group (Muslim et al., 2015). On the other hand, Bandiyah(2010) in his research stated there are two aspects supporting the existence of champion in local politic that is power aspect. Actor effort and opportunity aspect to be changed and individu (2011). It is known that the winner of election like small king in Banten local politic, the relationship with religion leader is still showing obidience to the religon leader which mean protector. Client relation between both of them is still well (Swords, 2017).

Patron client relationship iz very strong between kyai and stusdents, even more kyai carisma in Islamic boarding school becomes main magnet for students and all of societies. Kyai figure is assumed as role model and place to complain, to ask all of things related to religion and societies social relationship (Pribadi, 2011). Concerning to elite,

it is separated into two elements, first, elit who has power (Turmudi, 2004). The influences of Kyai carisma is huge for community. Kyai will be assumed perfect if it is seen from descent line and thought paradigm in giving advice. Kyai usually come from upper class background. Moreover, kyai is also assumed having wide religion knowledge, and it is proven with his religious speech in front of people (Azizah, 2013; Setiawan, 2013).

CONCLUSION

Research about hegemony of religious elite to the leadership of Pesantren woman as regional head can be concluded that the occurrence of hegemony by Pesantren kyai or religion elite in most of Islamic boarding school (pesantren) in East Java area. New phenomenon occurred is the involvement of pesantren kyai becoming supporter and success team in local direct election of governor, Regent and mayor. Then, there is flexibility transformation of Pesantren women leadership meaning in political field, so that kyai give religious speech about choosing the criteria of Islamic leader. Regarding to politic, it is not socialized in religious event of Pesantren and it should be announced in certain time and not in front of public. It is better to give students' political education so that they comprehend their right and able to fulfill their duty as citizen.

The leadership of pesantren women becoming regional head utilizes religion hegemony from an elite or religion figure in Islamic boarding school. The desire to achieve power is done by woman because of several reasons such as the high of education level, the ability to adapt culture, and activities in several social communities' organization and political organization. The influence of religion elite has significant role in delivering Pesantren women to gain vote and elected as regional head in succession of direct regional head election. It needs particular strategy for pesantren women who has desire to be regional head by ruining patriarchy culture. Hegemony of religion elite, Islamic boarding school support, bearer party and women organization of Muslimat NU becoming practical tools to manifest the winning of women regional head candidate. Women's organization plays important roles in mobilizing women's voter.

All of data, result and conclusion of the research, researcher has suggestion and recommend several things: as religion elite, Kyai at Islamic boarding school (Pesantren) must back to their khittah to deliver religious completely, becoming adviser and societies protector. There will be better if there is no multi interest especially political and power interest which can emerge conflict and hatred.

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