

# Shifting Community Behavior

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**Abstract:** The background of the life of pesantren ulemas and tarekat in Indonesia cannot be separated from various social and political dynamics, religious organizations such as pesantren and tarekat tend to be involved in practical politics. The participation of pesantren in practical politics automatically invites prolonged conflict within the pesantren and tarekat. The Islamic community in Jombang which was once united by an Islamic political ethic became divided, as a result of Kyai Musta'in in 1977 shifted support from PPP to Golkar. This difference in political orientation occurs among religious leaders, the Kyais especially in the internal NU, who maintain affiliation with the only Islamic party, PPP, and Kyai Musta'in and his close associates affiliated with Golkar. This gave birth to a situation where mutual blame occurred. This study uses a qualitative method with the Phenomenology approach. To help unravel the problem of shifting the political orientation of the tarekat kyai in the Rejoso pesantren, the writer uses two theories. The main theories of Max Weber's theory of rational action and supporting theories of Antonio Gramsci's Hegemony Theory. The results of the study analyzed the political behaviour of the Kyai Tarekat Qodiriyah Wan Naqsbandiyah in Jombang, having different political affiliations, the Rejoso Tarekat of Political orientation to Golkar, the Cekat Tarekat of its political orientation to PPP and the Undar Tarekat of its political orientation to PKB. The three tarekat organizations in Jombang each have pilgrims or supporters who are equally interested in the community.

**Keywords:** Shift, Political Orientation, Kyai Tarekat, Pesantren, Darul 'Ulum

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The background of the life of pesantren ulemas and tarekat in Indonesia cannot be separated from various social and political dynamics, religious organizations such as pesantren and tarekat tend to be involved in practical politics. The involvement of pesantren and tarekat through political party membership and through the statements of several ulama figures as a form of their representation. The participation of pesantren in practical politics automatically invites prolonged conflict within the pesantren and tarekat. Islamic boarding schools and tarekat, experience changes and try to develop themselves in their teaching systems and orientation patterns, which besides focusing on education also follows practical politics. This development is very interesting to observe because this will affect the entire system of pesantren traditions, society, religion, rituals (Sufism), outlook on life, and political orientation[1]. The political attitude of the elite and ulama at the national level also affected the political attitude and political behaviour of the ulama at the local level, conditions in Jombang. According to Turmudi in initiating political development, there were differences in understanding about the political perspective among the nahdliyin when Kyai Musta'in Romly was the leader Darul 'Ulum Islamic Boarding School as the murshid of the Qodiriyah wa Naqsbandiyah secretly supported the government party, Golkar, to meet the 1977 elections[2]. This shift in support not only marked distortions and disruptions to the existing social structure but also showed symptoms of division among the Kyai in Jombang, then followed by differences in understanding or hidden conflicts between his followers.

Political differences that maintain affiliation with the only Islamic party are PPP, and Kyai Musta'in and his close associates affiliated with Golkar. This gave birth to a situation where attempts at mutual lame occurred[3]. Debates like this are indeed never going to end because each will show a variety of ethical and practical arguments to support his opinion. In this paper, the two opinions will be laid as a basis for further examining how the political practices of pesantren and analyzing their implications in a balanced way, both towards the existence of pesantren as well as changes in the structure and economy of the community. Secondly, seeing the reality of conflict is a real thing[4] occurring in pesantren communities in differences of understanding in addressing existing social and political phenomena, as well as seeing firsthand the pesantren community that has joined politics and the role of the Kyai tarekat in supporting or aligning with parties politics in carrying out its duties and functions. For the purposes of the analysis of this paper, the author deliberately takes the location of political practices in Islamic Boarding Schools in Jombang Darul 'Ulum Rejoso, Peterongan Jombang in which the existence of religious leaders is very influential, having educational institutions that play a major role in fostering the community, ranging from children, the younger generation reaches the elderly, a portrait of the pesantren and political journey.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of the shifting political orientation of the Kyai Tarekat is a complex field because it requires careful analysis from various points of view. Given this complexity, the study of the shift in the political orientation of the Kyai tarekat is not enough to just use one theory or a certain point of view. To get a complete understanding framework, the writer will use Antonio Gramsci's theory of political hegemony to calcify the kyai and his organization in determining his political attitude

## 3 METHOD

This study uses qualitative methods, emphasizing observational research methods in the field[5]. By using a phenomenological approach that is a study that seeks to find the "essence" meaning of a phenomenon experienced by several individuals[6]. In this study using descriptive analysis method, primary data obtained from interviews with Kyai, santri, tarekat congregants and KPU management, political party administrators in Jombang as well as

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other keynote speakers and stake holders outside the pesantren in tarekat to obtain false information about problems there is in accordance with the object of research. The study was conducted at the Darul Islamic Boarding School 'Ulum Rejoso Peterongan which is the centre of the tasawuf cottage in Jombang.

## 4 RESULT

### 4.1. Political Behavior of Kyai Tarekat in Shifting Political Orientation

This discussion begins with a shift in political orientation in the development of local politics and changes in political support for Jombang Muslims. before reviewing the politics of power that is often carried out by traditional elite rulers (Kyai) who often carry out political power hegemony with religious routines in tarekat to build confidence in their followers that the teaching of obedience to teachers is a must that must be done by a student.

The shift in political orientation in Jombang was preceded by the political interaction of the tarekat Qodiriyah Wa Naqsabandiyah with the New Tarekat government originating from the political step of Kyai Musta'in Romly prior to the 1977 election by declaring himself into Golkar. This political step by Kyai Musta has received a strong reaction, both in the family environment, among the practitioners of the Qodiriyah Tarekat, Wan Naqsabandiyah, the pesantren community and the NU ranks which resulted in the breakup of the Qodiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah tarekat into four groups namely the Rejoso tarekat, the Cukir tarekat and the Kedinding Lor Surabaya tarekat and the NU ranks which resulted in the breakup of the Qodiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah tarekat into four groups namely the Rejoso tarekat, the Cukir tarekat and the Kedinding Lor Surabaya tarekat and Undar Tarekat. Discussions of the differences in the views of the four tarekat are only three tarekat discussed, because of its location in Jombang namely the Qodiriyah Wa Naqsabandiyah Rejoso (ITQON) tarekat, Jam'iyah Al Mu'tabarrah an Nahdliyyah (JATMAN) tarekat, and Jamiyah Mujahadahh Tarekat Mu'tabaroh Qodiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah (Jamu Taqwa).

### 4.2. Rejoso Tarekat

The political steps taken by the Rejoso Tarekat, which previously supported PPP with the symbol of the majority of NU groups and their tarekat, were shocked by the political maneuvers carried out by the leader of the murshid of the Qodiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah tarekat, thus affecting the differences in understanding and patterns of political support of the tarekat. The split that disturbed the harmonious situation in Muslims in Jombang occurred when Kyai Musta'in, leader of the Darul 'Ulum boarding school and the Qodiriyah Wa Naqsabandiyah Tarekat secretly supported the Golkar government party in welcoming the 1977 election, this support was not only marked by deviations and disturbances to the structure of the Qodiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah secretly supporting the Golkar government party in welcoming the 1977 elections, this support was not only marked by deviations and disturbances to the structure of the wa existing social, but showing signs of division between the Kyai-Kyai in Jombang, which then followed a hidden conflict between his followers. This conflict occurred between Kyai NU who maintained its affiliation with PPP and Kyai Musta'in and his worshipers affiliated with Golkar. The shift in Kyai's political orientation from PPP to Golkar carried out by Kyai Musta'in can be broken down through information from his followers and immediate family, in tarekat to find out the reasons for the transfer of support. To be more

focused this discussion begins with an explanation from Kyai As'ad Born in 1933 two years younger than Kyai Musta'in Romly was born August 31, 1931. Because of the same age and close family relations with Kyai Musta'in Romly, Kyai As' ad Umar was very familiar with the thoughts and ideals of his brother. Kyai As'ad Umar is one of the people who are often invited to talk, discuss and design the future of Darul 'Ulum Islamic boarding school and all its development activities, according to him between religion and politics cannot be separated. Politics is a way or way to achieve goals, while tarekat is a way or way to get closer to God. The people of the tariqa do not have to uzlah or alienate themselves from the world of life. Among them worldly life is political, economic, social, agricultural and legal (Interview with Gus Ulif, August 26, 2018) The idea of Kyai Musta'in Romly entering Golkar began in 1971, so the process was quite long, not sudden when facing the 1977 elections. The issue was often discussed together. At that time Kyai Musta'in became the head of the Jombang NU Branch and Kyai As'ad Umar became the secretary of Ma'arif (NU educational institution). In the 1971 elections NU provided strong opposition to Golkarization. Even though NU was the only political party that was able to maintain its vote compared to the 1955 elections, it even increased slightly (18.6% compared to 18.4%), but Golkar as a newcomer gained absolute victory (62.8%)[7]. After the 1971 election, NU faced obstacles and pressure from government officials who had been "mobilized". If the situation continues it can hamper Islamic da'wah, Islamic boarding schools, tarekat and Darul 'Ulum universities cannot develop as expected. Because it requires a breakthrough step or solution. In the metaphorical language, Kyai mustain likens "Rejoso's boat is a rubber boat, which is weak and easy to sink". For this reason, it needs to be tied or anchored with big and strong ships so that it can go smoothly, quickly and safely. Kyai As'ad Umar stated firmly, it is better to enter Golkar so that it has a large and strong ship. And joining Golkar means supporting a government that has many facilities, because after all the government is in power and can do anything, though Kyai Musta'in Romly. Kyai As'ad quoted a slogan: An Nasu 'ala early mulukhihim" man is dependent on the religion of kings or rulers ", meaning that the role of the ruler is very important and determines the pattern of community life. The pattern of Kyai Musta'in Romly's relationship was not only carried out with central people, but he did not forget the development of good relations with figures in the East Java region, for example being friendly with Witarmin Pangang Brawijaya at that time. Then he also made contact with the Governors of Central Java and West Java, especially after he assumed the position of Chairperson of JATMI, it seemed increasingly ambiguous. Based on the above facts, it is not surprising that at that time there was a tendency that the relationship between Rejoso pesantren and NU was distressed. One of Nombang Jombang's requests at that time was to be able to build the planned NU office on UNДАР's land, which was firmly rejected by Kyai Musta'in. And the leaders of the Pondok let an official statement that the Rejoso pesantren was politically neutral, it was heard as stated by Kyai As'ad Umar. From the explanation above, it is a social phenomenon of shifting orientation and development of local politics in Jombang which inspired Kyai Musta'in's steps to determine attitudes in terms of support and as a step to build the pesantren and its tarekat, moreover raising the university of Darul 'Ulum jombang as the first private campus times established by Kyai NU. But it is necessary to note that in tarekat to fully understand the nature of the Rejoso pesantren and the entire section, it is worth meditating on the words of Kyai Musta'in; "Indeed this cottage (Darul' Ulum Rejoso) should be

politically neutral, for the sake of the advancement of education being held, but later in the election, I cannot do anything else except having to vote for an Islamic party "[8]. Kyai as'ad Umar stated that Kyai Mustain Romly had never openly, openly invited or campaigned for his followers to enter and choose Golkar and political matters were left to each member. However, it was conveyed by Makmuratus Syakdiyah that the reaction faced was quite harsh, including from one's own family, but all of that was faced with patience and sincerity not resisted the hard way anyway because all of that was considered part of the risks that were still reasonable in every choice and struggle. According to him after the NU returned to the 1926 Khittah, the results of the NU Conference in Situbondo were under the leadership of KH. Ahmad Shidiq (Rois 'Am) and KH. Abdurahman Wahid (Gus dur) as chairman of Tadfidz, Kyai Mustain's steps, which had been denounced and reviled, was in accordance with the khittah. Makmuratus also added that she asked Hj. Jumi'atin Musta'in son of KH. Wahab Hasbullah, one of the founders of NU (could be called an NU intellectual actor), refused to describe the background and motivation of Kyai Musta'in Romli to enter Golkar, he objected to expressing clearly but the delivery was more towards a metaphor "if you ask for chicken, please take his puppies or his menthoknya breast. However, I will not give the innards, the semiotic meaning of the language can reflect that the support carried out by Kyai Musta'in is siasah in politics to develop his institution and the advancement and welfare of his people, in the spread of the Islamic religion but in a fixed choice. When she first found out that her husband entered Golkar, she couldn't stop thinking "not being mixed up" (unable to catch and understand what she meant). It's not just a matter of entering Golkar, but often Ibu Nyai Jumi'atin Musta'in in many ways cannot understand or find it difficult to understand the steps of Kyai Musta'in. Binhad nurrohma also said that Nyai Jumi'atin Mustain's mother felt "shaken in her heart" because at that time Nyai Jumi'atin Musta'in's mother was a PPP activist, all of her families also supported PPP, was it possible that in one house there were two captains who had choices? different. Kyai Musta'in tends to go to Golkar and Jumi'atin is a young NU cadre in PPP (Interview, Rocmat, 15 March 2019). When facing strong reactions from family and community, especially among the Nahdlatul Ulama and PPP, Kyai Musta'in Romly did not waver and remained strong. To convince his followers that his political steps are not arbitrary, but have clear principles, guidelines and goals. Kyai Musta'in Romly often said, "We are twisted to go with the flow does not mean twisted or carried away. Look at important situations do not lose direction and rules ". This tells us that at that time there was indeed a big current, there was a flood that was difficult to contain in all corners of the country, namely Golkar. Indeed Kyai Musta'in Romly entered Golkar too early, compared to the decision of the NU to return to the 1926 khittah during a conference at Situbindo. Makmuratus also said that according to Mrs Jumi'atin Musta'in, after Kyai Musta'in entered Golkar, it was easy to open general faculties because they received facilities and support from the ruling officials. Likewise, financial assistance for the development of Islamic boarding schools and Darul 'Ulum universities, thus. a pretty magnificent campus in the middle of the city of Jombang. Furthermore, the support carried out by the successor of the Rejoso tarekat, Kyai Dimiyati Romly, replaces Kyai Rifa'i Romly but is consistent even though in 1999 various kinds of political parties flow. But the murshid of the Kyai Dimiyati Romly tarekat still firmly played an important role in the party bearing the symbol of the banyan until the 2009 elections, 2014. This was proven that Kyai Dimiyati still played an advisory role in

the Golkar political party, although many other political parties came to Darul 'Ulum to ask for approval and vote support in the fight in the upcoming elections because the figure of Kyai Dimiyati also served as NU Syuriah. From the description of the reasons that influenced the transfer of support carried out by Kyai Mustain Romly, who really felt the benefit was the Pondok institution, the tarekat and the campus of Darul 'Ulum University. But there is something interesting to note that towards the end of his death, Binhadnurrohmat, quoting the notes from his diary, Kyai Mustain felt failed to move his support to Golkar, because in principle the reason was to want to save Muslims from anarchist acts committed. by the government to politicize all elements of the lower classes and eliminate the Islamization movements carried out by Islamic community groups that are anti-regime. Also delivered by Kyai Musta'in, "let only me be made victimized by a fellow Islamic organization" because of their different choices, but the institution that I built remained safe and always provided the benefits of enlightenment to the people, building ahlakul karimah and educating the nation's children and Darul 'Ulum graduates have always been the front guard in leading the country. Also, convey always keep your alma mater wherever you are, "Siji enemies use Bolo Sewu less" means that if we have one enemy, it means we are recommended not to have enemies, and if you don't have 1000 friends, you are told to weave a rope brotherhood as wide as possible. This extremely risky political move invited pros and cons in the pesantren circles, among the practitioners of the tarekat and in the ranks of the Nahdlatul Ulama community in general. The existence of Kyai Musta'in who is a local figure, his name sticks out to the Regional and even National level. The tendency of changing political behaviour of religious leaders from cultural to structural behaviour with practical politics does not only occur among one of the mass organizations but also among other Muslims, as evidenced by the birth of Islamic parties since the reform era.

#### 4.3. Cukir Tarekat

In Cukir there is a large boarding school named Tebuireng, which is located in the village of Tebuireng. In addition, there is a boarding school specifically for girls, the Wali Songo boarding school which was founded by Kyai Adnan Ali. In the science of the Kyai tarekat Adnan Ali is a student of Kyai Romli Tamim Rejoso. before the commotion with Rejoso because of Kyai Musta'in's political steps into Golkar, there was no tarekat activity in Cukir, because the Qodiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah tarekat in Jombang was centred at the Darul 'Ulum Rejoso boarding school. The followers of Kyai Musta'in Romly who did not approve of his political steps then separated and established the Qodiriyah Wa Naqsandiyah Cukir tarekat led by Kyai Adnan Ali. According to information from the Cukir tarekat, the secession from Kyai Musta'in Romly (Tarekat Rejoso) was not due to Golkar issues. According to the beliefs of the Cukir tarekat leaders, Kyai Musta'in did not receive a Murshid diploma directly from his father. Kyai Makki Maksum told that Kyai Ahyat helmi (Mojokerto) and Kyai Makki (Karangkates Kediri) had received a will from Kyai Romly to take Kyai Musta'in Romly to Kyai Usman in the wall of Lor Surabaya to receive and perfect the latifah or teaching stage in the tarekat. Kyai Musta'in only received two from his father even though there were seven of them. The five shortcomings are to be perfected by Kyai Usman. In addition, it is necessary to add bai'at muroqqobah which amounts to 20 times and can be reduced to five times. Therefore, if Kyai mustain Kyai Usman from the murshid genealogy and immediately receive a murshid diploma from Kyai Romly Tamim, it means muqothi 'ie the



breaking of his sanad (the chain of teachings). The defenders of the Kyai Musta'in denied that the Rejoso tarekat was not muqothi 'that it was true that the Kyai Musta'in studied with Kyai Usman to perfect his latifah, but the murshid certificate was received directly from his father. So it must be distinguished between the irshad murshid diploma by studying to perfect the science of the tarekat. This is the same as what happened to Kyai Romli, he was appointed as a murshid (got a diploma irshad murshid) from Kyai Kholil, even though his latifah had not yet been completed. To perfect his latifah which had just reached the fourth stage, Kyai Romly Tabarrukan took blessings or studied with Kyai Siroj Pagotan Jombang. and Kyai Siroj was not included in the murshid genealogy, the same as Kyai Usman. If Kyai Siroj is not at issue why Kyai Usman is a problem. So the separation of the Cukir Tarekat from the Rejoso Tarekat is not a question of muqothi 'but clearly a Golkar issue. This controversy seems difficult to reconcile because each has a basis and reasons and beliefs held. However, regardless of the establishment of the Qodiriyah Wa Naqsabandiyah tariqa in Cukir for political or religious reasons, it is clear that in Cukir since the 1970s until now there has existed a tarekat movement that stands alone apart from the Rejoso tariqa. In the insistence of Qodiriyah Wan Naqsabandiyah Cukir's mentions, it is mentioned that Kyai Adnan Ali obtained a degree of mursyid affair from the Reverend Romly Rejoso and Mister Muslih Abdurrahman Meranggen. Abdullahman's honorary degree was received in conjunction with Anwar's Husband, Mudhor's Maid, Badawi's Syansuri, Maximum Makki's and Ali Ahmad's. After Kyai Adnan Ali Died, Cukir's cleric leader extended Kyai Makki Max and his friends. Then after Anwar Mansions and Mudha's death passed away, the role of Max Makki Makki Maximized, as Kyai Ali Ahmas became inactive. Meanwhile, Kawi Syansuri Badawi was also unable to act due to his busyness as a member of the House of Representatives of the FPP in Jakarta. When the Makai Maximum was ill, in the event of any suspicion of any vacancy and continued activities, the Sholihin and Hisham Haromain were sent to Meranggen to perform the funeral service of the late Madi Munthohar's brother Muslih Abdurahman Meranggen. Formation of Cukir tarekats formally in 1978 (after the election) according to Decree of NU Branch Jember Registrar No. 2085 / kpts / Tanf / BI / 1978 on 14 Shofar 1398 H dated January 25, 1978, M. that the Cukir tarekat supported the PPP, as the PPP is NU's heir. Although all political and social organizations today have the same basic principles, Pancasila, the PPP remains an Islamic party. because in PPP they are all Muslims. while others (Golkar and PDI) mix with non-Muslim religions. When asked if Kyai Musta'in's move after NU's decision to return to Khittah 1926 was correct? Makai Makki explains that returning to Khittah 1926 does not mean separating from the PPP, and if it is said that NU now takes the same distance as the three OPPs, it cannot be said the same, because the PPP is NU's heir. With the passage of political developments, the post-reform, from the implementation of the 1999 election or the so-called multiparty era, appears to be that political reform has not only changed the formal structure of Indonesia's politics but also encouraged the people and their people to form new political parties according to their wishes and their hopes. Apart from the 1999 election, it is also seen that both national and regional levels have changed the pattern of public support for the political party of Golkar and the Islamist party. it means that NU citizens are increasingly confused by the number of NU-related parties. The Semen of the Peoples Party, the PKNU, tends to normalize the NU citizens. This further reinforced that the NU's decision to return to the 1926 khittah at the NU M27th Convention in

Situbondo in 1984 often defined that NU was no longer politically viable. Whereas the purpose of returning to khittah 1926 was to re-formulate NU as a religious social organization that emphasized preaching, education, social and religious areas. Also, the spirit returned to the 1926 khittah to rescue NU from practical political questions which at that time had entangled the organization and made the NU people fragmented.

#### 4.1. Undar Tarekat

The Undar Tarekat was officially established in Jombang, East Java on March 29, 1999 AD / 19 Dzulqo' ah 1419 H for an unspecified time. domiciled and headquartered in Tawajuh Building, Darul 'Ulum University in Jombang, East Java. The establishment of the tarekat was initially aimed at accommodating followers of the Rejoso tarekat who were confused and disappointed by the move of Kyai As'ad Umar as the Boarding School Board of Trustees to determine Kyai Dimiyati as a murshid of the Rejoso tarekat. The establishment of the Undar tarekat is a subtle transformation of the Rejoso tarekat which was formerly led by Kyai Musta'in followed by Kyai Rifa'i shifted to the Undar carriage with murshid Gus Mujib Musta'in. Although before the Undar tarekat, the Cukir tarekat had preceded its birth in the nuances of differences in political understanding. The birth of the Undar tarekat was also motivated by the murshid of the Rejoso Munqothi tariqa (breaking up the sanad) due to the appointment of Kyai Dimiyati Romly as murshid of the tarekat in the bai, or by Kyai Ma'sum Jakfar which in fact is still in doubt. He had never received a diploma from Ershad of murshid from Kyai Romly Tamim, so that reason was a justification for followers of the Undar tarekat, that Kyai Ma'sum Jakfar had no right to give bai'at to the Ershad diploma as a murshid to Kyai Dimiyati Romly. (interview, Husni, March 23, 2019). Murugid tarar undar Gus Mujib Musta'in began his political career plunging into political stage through the National Awakening Party party, so there is a reason that the undar tarekat is affiliated with the National Awakening Party. This was proven by Gus Mujib Musta'in's becoming a member of the Indonesian Parliament from the PKB in the era of Muthori Abdul Jalil's leadership. Gus Mujib Musta'in served as a member of the Republic of Indonesia DPR from 1999 to 2004, automatically followers of the Undar tarekat gave full support to the National Awakening Party (interview, Asnawi 4 April 2019) Lutfi Husni, said that the existence of the murshid in PKB political parties was only in private without involving worshipers and attachment organizations, nor did it require followers to provide support, but followers made their own choices when they saw that the murshid leadership had joined forces to provide support to PKB political parties. The steps taken by Gus Mujib Musta'in are very different from those of Kyai Musta'in Romly (father) when he led the Rejoso Tarekat, Kyai Musta'in gave full support to Golkar since 1977. The tradition was still maintained after the change of the murshid Kyai Rifa' I am also Kyai Dimiyati, they are still consistent with the choices made by the previous murshid, namely affiliation to the Golkar Party. Asnawi, said that Gus Mujib Musta'in served as a Member of the Republic of Indonesia DPR from the PKB political party for only one period, after ending in 2004 he was no longer in the PKB party, the event took place due to differences in understanding with Gus Dur on the issue of Leadership at Darul 'Ulum University Jombang. As a result of the dispute Gus Mujib Musta'in declared himself out of the PKB and focused again on developing his tarekat, because he was also a murshid and served as Chancellor of Darul 'Ulum Jombang University. Undar tarekat development centred on the Tawajuh building of Darul University 'Ulum Jombang progressed

to Madura, Mataram, Lombok, NTT, even to Kalimantan and Sulawesi. The youth was accepted in various regions due to the Undar tarekat kholifah already known in various regions because in each region there were already followers of the Qodiriyah Wa Naqsabandiya Rejoso tarekat. The manoeuvre made is only the transformation of Jam'iyah movement. After leaving PKB Gus Mujib Musta'in Active as a murshid of the Undar tarekat and the Chancellor of the University of Darul 'Ulum Jombang, but when there was a political election event in Jombang in 2008, Gus Mujib Musta'in went forward as a candidate for regent in Jombang paired with Suharto. by the Democratic party. As stated by the former Chairperson of the KPU Nominating Working Group in 2008, Minan Rohman that The General Election Commission (KPU) of Jombang Regency determined 3 pairs of 4 pairs of prospective candidates for regent / deputy regent who was entitled to participate in the upcoming July 23 elections. The decree was announced by the Jombang KPU. The couple who were declared not to have passed the verification by the KPU was the pair Munjidah Wahab - Ikhsan Effendy (Muji). Meanwhile, 3 other couples drove smoothly to follow the stages of the elections that will take place soon. The three couples were Suyanto-Widjono (ToNo), Nyono Suherli-Halim Iskandar (Nyono-Halim), and Suharto-Mudjib Mustain (Harum) couples. The announcement of the determination of the three pairs of candidates was then set forth in the minutes of the Kombang Regency Jombang number 270/434 / KPU / 2008, signed by five members of the Kombang Jombang. In his statement, the ToNo pair carried by PDI-P had a percentage of votes as a condition of support of 24.77 percent of the vote. The Nyono-Halim pair carried by the Golkar Party, PKB and PKS have a vote percentage of 43.91 percent. Meanwhile, the Harum couple promoted by the Democratic Party and 10 non-parliamentary parties garnered 16.84 percent of the votes. (Interview with Rohman, 2 April 2019)

The results of the vote count released by the Election Commission indicate that the success and superiority of Suyanto in governing the Government of Jomban Regency during the previous 1 period gained a place in the hearts of the people of Santri City. He also became the first regent in Jombang which was directly elected alias one man one vote with 353,255 votes. While the Nyono-Halim candidate pair which was carried by the Golkar Party, PKB and PKS came in second place with the acquisition of 241,678 votes. While Suharto-Mudjib (Harum) candidate pair Democrats and 10 non-parliamentary parties only received 36,482 votes.

## 5 DISCUSSION

Political development in Jombang is indeed quite dynamic, this is not only marked by the existence of a variety of groups with different political orientations, due to the presence of individual power centres of the Kyais. But it is also caused by changes in the composition of votes obtained by political parties in each election. In Jombang, the political orientation of the community was clearly demonstrated through affiliation with Islamic parties, from the composition of seats in the local parliament in 1957, it was proven that NU as an Islamic political party which seemed more dominant was of interest to the community at that time, in comparison with the party other parties in Jombang. NU won 14 seats out of 35 seats in the local parliament. The number of NU seats acquired when combined with the Masyumi acquisition. By using the perspective of the hegemony theory framework (Antonio Gramsci) which associates the public more likely to

follow the behaviour pattern of religious elites (a Kyai) with the support of the Kyai politic (relatively following), it can be concluded that approximately 50% of Jombang voters are devout and strong enough Muslims bind themselves to Islamic parties. The following year, Islamic political parties in Jombang suffered a continuing setback. After four Islamic parties in Jombang, namely NU, Permusi, SI and Perti joined PPP in 1973. PPP never regained the votes that NU had achieved in the 1955 elections. Delivered by Hilmy Mochtar. that the decline in PPP votes was even more pronounced when several times supported the political manoeuvring of the breakout during the 1987 election campaign. PPP Jombang which gained 13 seats (40% of 32) in the 1977 and 1982 elections the number of DPRD seats was 32, while 1987 and 1992 the number rose to 36 did not include army rations in the TNI-Polri Faction. It is also a result of the behaviour of the Rejoso Kyai tarekat who helped campaign for support to Golkar since 1971 in various regions, Kyai Musta'in Romly is a reliable orator in terms of mobilizing the mass during the campaign. (Helmy interview, March 29, 2019) In 1987, PPP experienced a significant decline, only getting 9 seats (25%) out of the 36 seats available in the DPRD. Although the 1992 elections this party gained 11 seats (30%), it was not yet comparable to the appearance of NU in 1955. It is interesting to note, that since 1971, the elections in Jombang have been marked by a rivalry between the Islamic parties and Golkar. The jurkam from these two parties tried to increase the vote gain of each party. Like PPP, the vote for Golkar also changes. On the other hand PDI, the combination of five nationalist parties and other parties experienced a significant increase from 1 seat in the 77th election to 2.4 and 8 seats in the 1982, 1987 and 1992 elections. The figure above shows that the acquisition of Golkar votes in the 1971, 1977 and 1987 elections. The increase and decline in the Golkar vote in the 1982 election were accompanied by an increase in the PDI vote by 6.2%, while the decline in PPP in the 1987 elections accompanied by an increase in Golkar 62 votes, 8% and PDI 11.4%. Although Golkar won the most votes in 1987, it experienced a significant decline in 1992. The decline was not only marked by the return of PPP voters who supported Golkar since 1982 and 1987 but also marked the disappearance of sympathizers from supporters of Golkar. From the description of the data above it can be reviewed that the joining of the Rejoso Congregation (Kyai Musta'in Romly) to Golkar since 1971 greatly influenced sympathizers of the Islamic community in Jombang to be able to gain votes for the party's acquisition. This was marked by the increase in the vote acquisition of Golkar and the decline in PPP votes. But after Kyai Musta'in died in 1985 it could also be used as one of the reasons for the decline of the 1987 election vote. As after the death of Kyai Musta'in for the leadership of the Rejoso Congregation, Kyai Rifa'i Romly was assisted by Kyai As'ad Umar to be very enthusiastic in developing his pesantren by joining the Golkar Party. Judging from the perspective of analysis, in theory, the hegemony method for followers can be said to be representative, building religious beliefs through the media of the tarekat. The harmony of Muslims in Jombang is very confident in the religious elite because most of them are convinced to follow the path of the teacher because in the teachings of the tarekat there is istila bai'at and is always implicit to the teacher/murshid, what is done by the teacher the followers tend to always obey with how to imitate. The mobilization by Kyai left an impression on the entire Jama'ah even though the assertion was once issued by Kyai As'ad that what Kyai Musta'in did to support Golkar was only personal without requiring all followers to follow in his footsteps. It can be interpreted that the

hegemony theory can still be developed, the development of the theory can be categorized successfully in the new order era. While the pattern of behaviour of Muslim voters in Jombang, shows a continuous but small change, as seen from support for the former PPP Islamic party, with the exception of the election results in 1987, the pattern of elections in each district remains the same. The 1997 elections, which were held simultaneously on May 29, 1997, to elect members of the House of Representatives (DPR) and members of the Regional House of Representatives for the period 1997-2002. is the last election held in the New Order period, followed by 2 political parties (PPP and PDI) and one Work Group. The 1997 election was marked by the Golput action by Megawati because her political party was delegitimized by the New Order regime. The election system used in 1997 is still the same as the system used in the 1992 elections, which follows a proportional representation system with a list system. This election was won by Golkar but ended with the fall of the New Order marked by the fall of Suharto (reform), thus giving birth to new election rules followed by more than three parties. The 1999 elections held on 7 July in Indonesia were often rated by domestic and foreign observers as democratic, as were the 1955 elections. These 1999 elections were not only marked by the emergence of considerable enthusiasm from the public, but also by the presence of several Islamic parties besides PPP. Out of more than 140 political parties established following the fall of the new order, there are 48 Islamic parties supported by Islamic leaders and leaders. In Jombang, more than 20 political parties have registered to participate in the 1999 elections. Most of these parties are small parties including the New Indonesia Party, the Indonesian National Christian Party, the Indonesian National Party Supeni, the Indonesian Democratic Alliance Party, the Indonesian Muslim Awakening Party, the Indonesian Muslim Party, The National Awakening Party, the New Masyumi Party, the United Development Party, the Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, the Abul Yatama Party, the Independent Nationality Party, the Loving National Democratic Party, the National Mandate Party, the Democratic People's Party, the Indonesian Islamic Party in 1905, Democratic Catholic Party, People's Choice Party, Indonesian People's Party, Masyumi Indonesian Islamic Political Party, Bulan Bintang Party, Workers Solidarity Party, Justice Party, Nahdlatul Umat Party, Indonesian National Party - Marhaenis Front, Indonesian Independence Supporters Party, Republican Party, Republican Party Democratic Islam, Indonesian National Party - Ma ssa Marhaen, Many People's Deliberation Party, Indonesian Democratic Party, Working Group Party, Unity Party, National Awakening Party, Indonesian Democratic Union Party, National Labor Party, Gotong Royong Family Consultation Party, People's Sovereign Party, Cinta Damai Party, Justice and Unity Party , All Indonesia Workers Solidarity Party, Indonesian National Nation Party, Indonesia Unity in Diversity Party, Indonesian National Union Solidarity Party, Democratic National Party, Indonesian Muslim Community Party, Indonesian Workers Party, and only those with family roots succeeded in gaining seats in the DPRD . Of the eight parties that won seats in the Jombang DPRD, the Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) and the National Awakening Party (PKB) managed to win many seats with 16 and 12 respectively. The two parties that have participated in the elections in the New Order era, namely the Golkar Party and the United Development Party (PPP), each only got 4 and 3 seats. The remaining seats were won by the National Mandate Party (PAN), namely 2 seats, the Crescent Star Party (PBB) 1 seat, the Nahdlatul Ulama Party (PNU) and the PKP received 1 seat. From

the 1999 elections or the so-called multi-party era, it was seen that political reform, following the fall of the new order regime, not only had changed the formal structure of Indonesian politics but also succeeded in encouraging the people and their leaders to establish new political parties in accordance with their wishes and hopes. In addition, from the 1999 election, it was also seen that both at the national level and in Jombang itself there had been a change in the pattern of public support for Golkar's political parties. After the 1998 Reformation, the Pilbup in Jombang Regency had used the parliamentary mechanism. At that time, the election of the number one person in the scope of the Jombang Regency Government was regulated in accordance with article 34 of Part Four of Law Number 22 the Year 1999 concerning Regional Government. "At that time there were 45 members of the Jombang Regional House of Representatives. They all have voting rights. At that time, the parliament was controlled by a party bearing the white bull snout. PDIP faction has 16 seats in the Jombang DPRD. Then followed by PKB Faction with 12 seats, ABRI Faction for 5 seats, PPP for 3 seats, Golkar for 3 seats, PAN for 2 seats, PDKB for 1 chair, PKNU for 1 chair, and PBB for 1 chair and PKP for 1 chair. There were two pairs of candidates fighting over the seats of the Regent and Deputy Regent of Jombang in the 2003 Regional Election. Namely Paslon Drs. Suharto, who at that time served as Regional Secretary (Sekda), was paired with Tamim Romly, SH (Gus Tamim), who sat as Chairperson of Jombang PCNU. While his rival, Drs. Suyanto, who previously served as Deputy Regent of Jombang after being elected in the 2001 elections (with a parliamentary mechanism), chose to join hands with Drs. Ali Fikri Chairman of the PAN DPD Jombang who was also the Chairperson of the Madani Faction in the 2003 election. There is an interesting thing, at the 2003 pilbup event. Even though there were only 45 votes chosen, there were Jombang DPRD members who did not vote. "One abstention indeed. I don't know who, because the election was closed. Until finally, the Suyanto-Ali Fikri pair was officially appointed as Regent and Vice Regent of Jombang, 2003-2008 period. During 5 years in office, the relationship between the two is fairly harmonious. A number of policies that were spawned were able to bring Jombang to a better direction. July 23, 2008, adds to the historical record of the political scene in Jombang Regency. Residents of the City of Santri for the first time we're able to vote to elect regional heads or regents and vice-regents. After the Republic of Indonesia Parliament officially enacts Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning Regional Government in lieu of Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government. Wherein in article 24 paragraph 5, it is explained, the election of regional head and deputy head of the region is directly elected by the people in the area. In 2008 the Undar murshid Gus Mujib Musta'in advanced as a candidate for deputy regent in Jombang in partnership with Suharto promoted by the Democratic party. The General Election Commission (KPU) of Jombang Regency has determined 3 pairs of 4 pairs of prospective regents/deputy regent candidates who are entitled to participate in the upcoming July 23 elections. The decree was announced by the Jombang KPU. The couple who were declared not to have passed the verification by the KPU was the pair Munjidah Wahab - Ikhsan Effendy (Muji). Meanwhile, 3 other couples drove smoothly to follow the stages of the elections that will take place soon. The three couples were Suyanto-Widjono (ToNo), Nyono Suherli-Halim Iskandar (Nyono-Halim), and Suharto-Mudjib Mustain (Harum) couples. The results of the vote count released by the Election Commission indicate that the couple Suyanto - Wijono became the first regent and deputy



regent in Jombang which was directly elected alias one man one vote with the acquisition of 353,255 votes. While the Nyono-Halim candidate pair which was carried by the Golkar Party, PKB and PKS came in second place with the acquisition of 241,678 votes. While Suharto-Mudjib (Harum) candidate pair Democrats and 10 non-parliamentary parties only received 36,482 votes. There are several important notes that the leadership of the tarekat in Jombang after the reformation, has nominated itself as the representative of the Jombang Regent, namely Kyai Romly Tamim murshid of the Rejoso tarekat paired with Suharto in 2003 and Gus Mujib Musta'in murshid of the Undar tarekat paired with Suharto too, both nominating but the results no vote was selected at the end of the vote count. In terms of theoretical testing, hegemony can only be applied when the New Order, while at the Reform Order the theory is less representative, the manifestation is that both of them have not been able to lure their followers in the Jombang Regency to take him to be number 2 in Jombang. So it can be concluded that the behaviour of the Kyai tarekat in the perspective of the hegemony theory to mobilize time can only be accepted on the religious side. Meanwhile, to mobilize the election period there is a lack of response because the people of Jombang have been able to distinguish between the interests of the state and religion, as well as being supported by many political parties leading to freedom of choice without coercion from any party.

## 6 CONCLUSIONS

The behaviour of the Kyai Tarekat Rejoso, who was previously affiliated in favour of PPP, secretly supported the Golkar government party in welcoming the 1977 election, this support was not only marked by irregularities and disturbances to the existing social structure, this conflict occurred between Kyai NU who maintained its affiliation with the PPP and Kyai Musta'in with the congregation affiliated with Golkar. So that it results in the standing of the Cukir tarekat order. the Cukir tarekat supports PPP, because PPP is the heir of NU. The establishment of the Undar Undar Order is a subtle transformation of the Rejoso tarekat which was formerly led by Kyai Musta'in followed by Kyai Rifa'i shifted to the Undar carriage with murshid Gus Mujib Musta'in. Although before the Undar tarekat, the Cukir tarekat had preceded its birth in the nuances of differences in political understanding. Murugid tarar undar Gus Mujib Musta'in began his political career plunging into political stage through the National Awakening Party party, so there is a reason that the undar tarekat is affiliated with the National Awakening Party. The reason for the transfer of Kyai Mustain was because after the 1971 election, NU faced obstacles and pressure from government officials who had been "mobilized". If the situation continues it can hamper Islamic da'wah, Islamic boarding schools, tarekat and Darul 'Ulum universities cannot develop as expected

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