

## Partisipasi Politik Santri dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah di Kabupaten Nagan Raya Tahun 2017

### *Political Participation of Santri in the 2017 Regional Elections in Nagan Raya Regency*

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#### ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini berkaitan dengan partisipasi santri dalam pondok pesantren (dayah) yang lebih cenderung memperdalam agama sehingga informasi politik terbatas. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui partisipasi politik santri di Nagan Raya Aceh Tahun 2017. Penelitian ini penting dilakukan karena melihat sikap santri dalam relasi kuasa politik. Urgensi penelitian ini memahami budaya politik santri yang tidak hanya dilihat dari Kyai sebagai penentu pilihan politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan strategi studi kasus. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa perilaku pemilih (santri) dengan pendekatan Mazhab Michigan dimana sikap dan pilihan politik yang dipilih tidak hanya didasari pimpinan pesantren/santri, melainkan ada keterlibatan langsung secara partisipasi santri dengan tiga aspek.

**Kata kunci:** Partisipasi politik, santri, Pilkada

#### ABSTRACT

*This research deals with the participation of students in Islamic boarding schools (dayah), which tend to deepen religion so that political information is limited. This study aims to determine the political participation of students in Nagan Raya Aceh 2017. This research is important because it looks at the attitude of santri in political power relations. The urgency of this research is to understand the political culture of the santri, which is not only seen from the Kyai as a determinant of political choices. This research uses a qualitative approach with strategy of the case study. The results of this study indicate that the behavior of voters (santri) with the Michigan School approach where the political attitudes and choices are chosen is not only based on the leadership of the pesantren / santri but there is direct involvement by the participation of the students with three aspects.*

**Keywords:** Political participation, santri, regional elections

## INTRODUCTION

The participation of Santri in the political process is no longer a taboo subject, especially in Aceh, where the existence of santri is the majority group, both santri from integrated (modern) and traditional Islamic boarding schools (Dayah). Dayah has a different system from modern boarding schools. Dayah uses a non-formal learning system with salafiyah scientific studies that produce Teungku (Ustad), Dayah's existence in Aceh since the sultanate era has a strong relationship with the government system and even the process of political succession, the role of the dayah is identical with Ulama are in charge of the procession of death, life, thought, mediators in the community and even influence a reference for determining the political attitudes of the people in certain areas (Almuhajir, 2015).

The tendency of the dayah to internalize Islamic values influences the socio-political control of the community (Mashuri, 2013), as happened in succession to the victory of Jadin Idham and Chalidin Oesman (Jadin) in the election of the Regent in Nagan Raya Regency. The trend of dayah politics with the political object of santri in Jadin's victory can be analyzed based on the number of dayahs in the area. Nagan Raya is one of the regions with 32 Islamic boarding schools with 4818 students (statistical data at ditpdpontren.kemenag, 2018/2019).

A political affiliation is a form of tendency formed by the dominant group towards other groups. This tendency is carried out as a form of support and profit. Political affiliation is divided into two perspectives: First, defensive political affiliation is a tendency based on protection goals and is situational. Second, offensive political affiliation is a relationship built on the basis of interests to gain support by influencing other groups towards the interests desired by the dominant group (Endra, 1979). This affiliation gives birth to two or more groups that are superior and inferior.

The superior group in this study is the Candidate / Fighter Actor and the Leader of the Islamic Boarding School / Kyai, while the inferior group is the santri. So that the power relations formed are Candidates – Islamic Boarding School Leaders – Santri. This power relationship is considered to have influenced the voting behavior of students in the Nagan Raya Regency election, which was won by the pair Jadin Idham and Chalidin Oesman or who is more familiarly called " Jadin " from the PA (Aceh Party) and Democrat

supporting party.

One of the political tendencies raised by the Jadin couple is to use religion as a political marketing brand. This political branding can be seen in the vision and mission of the Jadin couple, namely "religion ta peukong, culture tajaga," which has the meaning of strengthening the religion and preserving local culture. In addition to this vision and mission, the researcher assumes that other indicators of victory affect the power relations of the candidate/fighter actor-the leader of the pesantren and the santri. This is because the demographics of the Nagan Raya Regency area are one of the regencies whose majority are students. Nagan Raya has several Islamic boarding schools including; Dayah Nahrul Ulum Diniyyah Islamiyah (NUDI) Babah Krueng Village, Babul Khairat (BK) Village Lhok Mesjid, Nur Darissalam Islamic Boarding School Ie Beudoh Village, Darussa'adah Islamic Boarding School Krueng Ceh, and Bustanul Jannah Islamic Boarding School Ujong Fatihah. The five Islamic boarding schools above are traditional Islamic boarding schools, and there is no formal education like modern Islamic boarding schools.

The study of regional elections related to the participation of students, it is closely related to Kiai in Islamic boarding schools (dayah). The relationship of obedience applies to a santri towards the kyai. Pesantren is an Islamic educational institution. On the other hand, this institution has an important influence on society. In the pesantren, there is a Kyai figure, where the Kyai is the founder, the growth, development, and management of a pesantren means that he is an essential element. As a pesantren leader, the character and success of a pesantren depend a lot on the expertise and depth of knowledge, characteristics, and authority, as well as the skills of the Kyai. In this context, the Kyai's personality is very decisive because he is a neutral figure in the pesantren (Hasbullah, 1999). Meanwhile, santri are people who study Islam and study Islam in a pesantren (Islamic boarding school), a place of learning for students (Hidayat, 2016).

According to the results of Mas' Ud Abdurahman's research that Islamic boarding schools have values that contain three elements in the formation of patron-client relationships based on unbalanced exchanges that reflect differences in status. A client, in this case, the santri, has received many services from the patron, the Kiai, so that the client is bound and dependent on

the patron, (2) The patron-client relationship is personal such as a sense of trust and dependence in the relationship. (3) Patron relationships are comprehensive, flexible, and have no time limit. This is possible because the socialization of values when becoming a santri goes on for years. (Mochtar Mas'ud & Abdurrahman, 2004). From the pattern of the relationship between the Kiai and the santri, paternalistic leadership emerged. Meanwhile, Eko Setiawan's writing explains that the kiai and santri bond and the culture of subordination (Setiawan, 2012). The results of the 2008-2013 Pilkada research by Zainudin in Madura showed that the Kiai's strength in maintaining strength rested on traditional and charismatic domination in which the Kiai maintained his charm as a charismatic religious symbol through the symbol of adherence to religious, moral values in maintaining the obedience of his students. The political behavior of students occurs when students are obedient. Students are obedient to me, and students are prismatic (Zainuddin Syarif, 2016). Based on the description of the results of research in various regions that the involvement of Kiai in politics takes various forms according to the roles performed and the involvement of students.

Santri have considerable political power but are hidden in their respective Islamic boarding schools or dayahs. Therefore, in this study, we want to explain how the power relations of santri, kyai, and candidates for the 2017 Pilkada are. Thus, it is intended to determine how students determine their political choices in the 2017 Nagan Raya Pilkada.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This type of research is qualitative research. Qualitative research, according to Creswell, that case studies identify cases bound by time and place. In addition, it uses various sources of information in collecting detailed and in-depth data and considers it to be a methodology.

This research uses a case study model, and this research is not intended to test the hypothesis so that it does not apply statistical analysis. This research uses descriptive qualitative with a case study approach, while the research location is in Nagan Raya Aceh. In this study, there are still shortcomings, namely the form of power relations and knowledge of students in the 2017 Nagan Raya Pilkada candidates, so further research is needed.

This research was only conducted at Islamic boarding schools in Nagan Raya. Where to explore technical cases through data collection involving informants who are the research target, namely the leaders of Islamic boarding schools and students, through in-depth interviews and documentation, the research targets can be seen in table 1 of the pesantren data the number of informants.

**Table 1. Research Informants**

Name of Islamic Boarding School	Information	
	Students	Leader
Dayah Nahrul Ulum Diniyyah Islamiyyah (NUDI)	3	1
Dayah Babul Khairat	3	1
Pesantren Nur Darissalam	3	1
Pesantren Darussa'adah	3	1
Pesantren Bustanul Jannah	3	1

**Source: Processed by Researchers, 2021**

The research site is located in Nagan Raya Aceh. Researchers choose informants who are considered to know the most about the problem being studied. A snowball does determination of informants. Purposive sampling is a technique of determining samples for certain purposes only. The samples selected were alumni of traditional Islamic boarding schools and leaders of the five Islamic boarding schools, including Dayah Nahrul Ulum Diniyyah Islamiyyah (NUDI), Babul Khairat Dayah, Nur Darissalam Islamic Boarding School, Darussa'adah Islamic Boarding School, Bustanul Jannah Islamic Boarding School (Sugiyono, 2009: 72). The data collection technique uses participatory observation, in-depth interviews, documentary studies. The data analysis process begins by examining all available data from various sources, namely interviews, observations, personal documents, official documents, photos, etc. The next step is to conduct data reduction. They were done by making abstractions (Miles, 1992: 82).

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Nagan Raya Regency Leadership History**

Nagan Raya Regency was formed in 2002 after the division of Aceh Jaya Regency. Nagan Raya's first leadership was led by H.T Zulkarnain or familiar with Ampon Bang through direct appointment. The first regional head election in Nagan Raya was held in 2007, which Ampon Bang won. The second election

was held in 2012 and was again won by Ampon Bang. Ampong Bang's leadership lasted for 15 years, indicating dynastic politics (Aklima & Ramadhan, 2019). In 2017, the contest for the seat of regional head power in Nagan Raya was held again, followed by the Jadin Couple. Jadin's victory is considered to have brought down dynastic politics from 2002 to 2017.

The participation of the Jadin Pair in the 2017 Pilkada gave a new color to the democratic system of Nagan Raya district by carrying out several visions and missions, including (Sudarman Alwy and Misnawati, 2018); (1) Implementing Islamic values in the order of people's lives and realizing the implementation of Islamic Shari'a in a kaffah manner. (2) Reforming the bureaucracy towards good governance (good governance), clean and authoritative (clean government); (3) Increasing community participation in the policy-making process; (4) Improving community economic empowerment based on local wisdom towards a productive society as an effort to eradicate poverty; (5) Improving the quality of Human Resources (HR) by providing maximum support for formal and informal education; (6) reshuffle the work cabinet by the disciplines of the government apparatus to stabilize the work climate by the legislation; (7) Gathering with the community in the sub-districts, gathering information on the uniqueness and characteristics of the region to carry out development by local conditions; (8) Coordination with BAPPEDA, Social Service, Regional Finance, Health Office, Education Office, RSUD and other related agencies in the 2017-2022 period.

The vision and mission were later known as 15 flagship programs, namely: religion, education, health, agriculture, arts and culture, employment, people's economy, death compensation of 21 million rupiahs given on the 5th day after death, maternity compensation (baby nutrition), prevention flooding in flood-prone sub-districts, renovation/rehabilitation of uninhabitable houses for the poor, free rice for the poor (free Raskin), free electricity for the poor, the allocation of 20% ADG for women will be ratified by regent regulations, as well as youth and sports. Through the mission of implementing Islamic values in the order of people's lives and realizing the implementation of Islamic law in a kaffah manner. Through this vision and mission, Jadin can influence the social system and structure of society. Meanwhile, the differences and similarities between the results of this study and the findings of previous studies relating to students can be seen in table 2:

**Table 2. Previous research**

Difference	Equality
<p>Research in Padang City:                      Ronnie and Al Rafni said that their findings show that students' affective orientation is low. Hence apathy appears. (Ronnie Farzianto &amp; Al Rafni, 2020)</p>	<p>No research shows the same findings as to the politics of santri in Nagan Raya.</p>
<p>Research in West Aceh:                      Political Attitudes Santri follows Kyai in a day or Islamic boarding schools to choose one candidate for a regional head in 2017 because Kyai does not allow students to take part in active political activities. (Sudarman &amp; Reza Febriandi, 2018)</p>	<p>Research in Madura:                      The political attitude of santri follows Kyai (absolutely obedient santri), santri who have political choices but do not dare to oppose politics with Kyai (absolute pseudo-obedient santri), but some colorful students have political choices but are obedient to Kyai in morals and religion. (Zainuddin Syarif, 2016)</p>
<p>Research in Lamongan:                      Kyai is considered to have high knowledge so that students and guardians obey the Kyai's orders. Hegemony is formed from the path of religion, education, and higher culture. (Yeshinta Veradella Anugrah &amp; Agus Machfud Fauzi, 2019)</p>	

**Source: Processed by Researchers, 2021**

Weber classifies four types of social action that can affect the social system and structure of society. In realizing his vision and mission, Jadin carries out these four social interactions/actions to influence the social and social system of the Nagan Raya community. The four types of social action are (Sudarman Alwy and Misnawati, 2018):

1. Instrumental Rationality, as a figure who had won the previous post-conflict local election as deputy regent of 2012-2017, Jadin has no problems in terms of a social approach to the community considering that Jadin's previous closeness as deputy regent with the community has been built

coupled with the availability of other facilities—supporting facilities owned as deputy regent. The slightest action taken by Jadin as deputy regent will definitely get the attention of the community, including "blusukan" in the immediate community.

2. Value-oriented Rationality, Jadin takes a sympathetic approach by attending every event held by the community by touching various circles of society and focusing more on the middle economic community, the majority voter, compared to middle and upper economic voters.
3. Traditional Action, Jadin carries out a hereditary tradition among the Acehnese people in general, namely establishing a direct friendship with the community, which is usually carried out without escort and protocol as a deputy regent state official. The "Saweu Gampong" culture routinely carried out individually by Jadin makes the community grow trust in Jadin. In the community's opinion, establishing Islamic ukhuwah is an order and recommendation by the nature of the star's Acehnese people.
4. Affective Action, Jadin's visits to villages as deputy regent without any escort from the government made Jadin a populist figure. It seemed that there was no distance between the deputy regent and the community in terms of the built interaction. The community feels that Jadin's presence is not merely a visit of officials who must pay special attention and prepare everything, but rather the presence of a brother figure who understands the conditions and situations of the community so that Jadin becomes a guardian figure and a listener to the complaints of the people in Nagan Raya district to can be completed either while serving as deputy regent or after being elected as regent.

The clear division of roles and functions between Jadin as a candidate for regent and Chalidin as a candidate for deputy regent made the Jadin pair's victory even more complete. Jadin is more involved in the middle and lower economic community. At the same time, Chalidin is more focused on the middle and upper economies, especially entrepreneurs by the background and entrepreneurs who are successful in taking part at the national level. Chalidin, in addition to approaching entrepreneurs, also approaches youth according to the character and physical appearance that is still young and energetic, so that even young people can easily accept it, although not all (Sudarman Alwy and Misnawati, 2018).

### **Michigan School of Voting Behavior in the 2017 Nagan Raya Election**

The patron-client culture in general elections in Indonesia is an interesting thing that continues to be studied, where the patron-client relationship has a mutually beneficial impact. The benefits obtained are certainly not balanced, but when viewed from the concept of rational choice, the benefits obtained are individual and mutual benefits. The specifics of this concept are that the patron is (superior) and the client is (inferior). This relationship is then easily applied in the santri community, where the role of the pesantren leader is categorized as a patron with identification on the culture that develops among the santri, namely reverence for the leader. This takzim then makes the santri as clients who are continuously controlled according to the attitude of the leadership. Or conversely, there are mutual benefits with the same political stance.

A sociological or socio-structural approach is used to see the perspective of choosing behavior from the concept of patron-client relations. This approach is divided into two models of explanation, namely micro-sociological and macro-sociological. The basis of the micro-sociological explanation model comes from the theory of social circles, such as family, circle of colleagues, workplace, etc. A voter lives in a particular context: his economic status, religion, place of residence, place of work, and age define the social circle that influences voter decisions. At the same time, the explanation of the macro-sociological model refers to the basic conflicts that usually arise in society, whose balance needs to be maintained in a democracy (Ramadhan, 2020).

Client patrons show that there is a strong relationship between a person's identification with a character and party choice. Their interactions with the leader influence individuals' decisions to support a particular party. Each leader has its own social and political constituencies based on their respective orientations. In patron-client relationships, the community also weighs the advantages and disadvantages of supporting a political party or a person's figure (Ramadhan, 2020).

The client's patron is very strongly felt in the process of selecting regional heads (pilkada). The pattern of client patrons has a negative effect on voters and has an effect on performance within the political parties or candidates themselves. In the structure of the successful team of a political

party or candidate, many people join with different motivations. Some individuals join because of the aspect of proximity to certain candidates or political parties (activist brokers), some individuals join because solely to seek material or motivation to find work (Clientelist brokers), and the last is to seek material in a short-term context (opportunist brokers). ).

In addition, patron clients hurt the voting community because candidates who have the material can buy the votes of voters who choose them and win them. The candidate certainly gets legitimacy from the election. The legitimacy gained from buying votes allows candidates not to be obliged to provide accountability (articulate and aggregate the people's interests into public policy). The disconnection of relations between public officials and the people after the election ends and the severance of these relations imply the severance of relations between public policies and the people so that policies that occur is an elite bias policy (Ramadhan, 2020).

The sociological approach places the activity of choosing its relation in the context of the sociological construction of society, where a person's behavior in the case of a client's patron will be seen from the influence of their sociological background. Individual attitudes play a role in determining a person's behavior in their environment. The environment will reciprocally influence attitudes and behavior with various factors and will form a complex process that determines a person's behavior. The characteristics of the patron-client relationship are as follows (Scott, 1993); First, because of the unequal ownership of economic resources; second, there is a reciprocity relationship. A reciprocal relationship is a mutually beneficial relationship, giving and receiving each other even though in an unequal level; third Loyalty Relationship. Loyalty is loyalty or obedience, the four personal relationships. A personal relationship is a direct and intensive relationship between the patron and the client, which causes the relationship to occur not solely for profit motives but also contains elements of feelings that can be found in personal relationships.

On the other hand, the Michigan School approach looks at the social context, namely a place of shelter or living environment, but a group of social scientists from the University of Michigan at Arbor also places the individual himself as the main focus. Where personal perceptions and judgments or issues raised (short-term effect) greatly influence the general election. Not

only that, membership of a party or candidate orientation (long-term influence) also influences choices in regional head elections (Leo Agustino, 2009). This social-psychological approach emphasizes that the behavior of choosing a person or group of people is influenced by socio-psychological aspects that determine the act of choosing. This psychological school builds the assumption that the influence of psychological forces largely determines the determination of political choices. The determination to vote or take sides with a political force is seen as a product of the attitudes and psychological dispositions of the voters (Affan Gaffar, 1992).

The social-psychological approach has three determinant factors that can influence voter choice in the short and long term in the regional head election: First Party ID or party identification; Second candidate orientation; The third is issue orientation (Leo Agustino, 2009). These determinant factors are used to explain the concept of student voting behavior in making choices in the 2017 regional elections in Nagan Raya as follows:

#### ***Party ID (Party Identification)***

Party identification identifies the closeness of a person's feelings that a certain party is his political identity or feels close to a certain political party (Haryanto, 2016). Likewise, in the regional head election (pilkada), Nagan Raya. One factor influencing the behavior of choosing students in the Nagan Raya election is Party ID. The pair Jadin Idham and Chalidin Osman are candidates who are promoted and supported by the PA and Democrat parties. Based on field data, the five pesantren that were the target of the study were dominated by supporters of the Aceh Party (PA). This support is internal to the Pesantren leadership, but the students also identify with this party. According to them, the two parties are their identity, especially the Aceh Party. From the field data survey, it is explained that; party identification in Jadin's victory as Regent/Deputy Regent can be seen from the following interview results; First, local parties are political identities dominated by santri from the five pesantren; Second, the candidate promoted by the Aceh Party became one of the dominant factors affecting the suffrage of students in the five pesantren. The data above shows that the behavior of choosing santri in the 2017 Nagan Raya election is influenced by the identification of parties that are considered capable of representing mutual benefits.

### ***Candidate orientation***

Candidate orientation is a feeling of belief that the candidate can improve the situation. In this case, leadership is the candidate's ability to convince voters. Voter behavior is largely determined by the candidate's figure (Dalton, 2002). The students believe that the " Jadin " candidate can improve the condition of the dayah or pesantren in the future, especially in terms of facilities and infrastructure. According to the santri, the vision and mission of the candidate " Jadin " clearly show that this pair of candidates cares about strengthening the religious field in Nagan Raya. The candidate orientation in the context of the election of regent/deputy regent in Nagan Raya, including; First, religious figures are evidenced by the candidate's vision and mission during the campaign period; Second, the educational background of santri which requires choosing candidates who are pro or prioritize development in the field of religion; Third; The profit dimension with the recognition of religious education is equivalent to general education.

The description above shows that the dominant factor of the candidate's orientation is religious in a universal sense. This religious dimension is used as the initial basis for choosing students to determine the voting rights given. Furthermore, the pattern of student participation is not completely numb or follows the patron-client concept.

### ***Issue Orientation***

The behavior of choosing participants can be seen from the voters' understanding of the orientation of the issues that are informed as political information for candidate pairs. Participating voters tend to be active in accessing the information on political choices' targets before determining their political attitudes and actions. This can be seen in the context of the election of the regent/deputy regent in Nagan Raya in 2017 that the psychological approach dominates in determining the voting of students. Because apart from party identification, candidate orientation, issue orientation is one of the considerations before determining political attitudes and choices. as for the orientation of issues that are developing, including; First, there is a new hope from the selected candidate pair to pay attention to the development of religious education based on disappointment with the previous candidate; Second, the existence of individual students' awareness of socio-political developments in Nagan Raya, especially the existence of religious education,

so that the candidate pairs to be selected are based on the orientation of issues related to the development of religious education.

### **Patron-Client Relations in the Michigan School; Forms of Student Political Participation in Nagan Raya in 2017**

The patron-client framework in this study can be seen as follows; Candidates/ Islamic Boarding School Leaders, Candidates/Santri, Islamic Boarding School/Santri Leaders. So that those who act as patrons are Candidates and Pesantren Leaders, while those who act as clients are students. Relationships that are formed are based on the same interests and are not balanced. This relationship can be seen in the behavior of choosing students with the Michigan School approach. The political attitudes and choices chosen are not only based on the concept of the leadership of the pesantren/santri, but also the direct involvement of the students' participation which is based on three aspects.

Based on the field data obtained, it shows that; First, the political attitudes and actions chosen by the santri are determined through the orientation of political candidates, and are influenced by choice of the pesantren leadership, with the consideration that the advantages of the pesantren leadership represent the political advantages of the santri; Second, there is a high loyalty of santri to the leadership of the pesantren, so that political attitudes and choices simply follow the choice of the pesantren leadership; Third, the leadership of the pesantren is part of the winning team for Jadin candidates, with the work area of the Pesantren under their leadership. Thus, it shows that the relationship between Pesantren/Santri Leaders dominates students' attitudes and political choices in the election of regent/deputy regent in Nagan Raya in 2017. On the other hand, it can also be seen that there is a relationship between candidate/boarding school leaders by making the Pesantren Leaders the winning team for Jadin.

Of course, the patron-client relationship above is based on the candidate's psychological closeness to the leadership of the pesantren and its part, namely the santri. Client patrons show that there is a strong relationship between a person's identification with a character and party choice. Their interactions with the leader influence individuals' decisions to support a particular party. Each leader has its own social and political constituencies

based on their respective orientations. In this context, santri relations are institutionalized in several social groups: santri groups in their environment, Indonesian Muslim groups, or in other words. They form the "Islamic world" (Arina Rohmatul Hidayah, 2021). This means that students who use their voting rights are due to loyalty to the leadership of the pesantren or dayah.

## CONCLUSION

Students' political attitudes and actions in the 2017 Regional Head Election in Nagan Raya Regency were determined by the orientation of political candidates, of course, very much influenced by the political choices of the pesantren leaders. The influence of the leadership of the pesantren is due to the high loyalty of the santri to the Teungku/Tgk/Kyai, so that the attitudes and political choices of the santri fully follow the choice of the leadership of the pesantren. One of the factors behind the Jadin Pair's victory in the 2017 Regional Head Election in Nagan Raya was the participation of the pesantren leadership as part of the candidate winning team, with the pesantren working area they lead as the basis for voting. The interest of the candidate pair in embracing the pesantren and making the santri as a voice base is certainly very beneficial for the candidate because the loyalty of the santri to the leader of the pesantren or the dayah is very high..

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