

The Role Of Boarding School In Improving Public Political Participation In The 2024 Election In Jember District

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine the Role of Islamic Boarding Schools in Increasing Community Political Participation in the 2024 Election. In Jember Regency, the Election is an effort to convince and involve individuals in the political process. This is because there are symptoms of decreasing enthusiasm for community members' involvement in the election. The decrease in community enthusiasm is caused by the lack of political influence on the lives of the wider community. Many policies issued by the government are considered misdirected and inappropriate, only certain groups are directly influenced by these policies. Therefore, in the election process, the community is convinced through campaigns to involve the community in the political process and increase enthusiasm in the implementation of the election. The dynamics of political mobilization based on religious identity cannot be separated from the role of religious institutions and religious figures. In this case, the institution in question is the Islamic boarding school or better known as the Islamic boarding school, which is a traditional Islamic religious education and broadcasting institution in Indonesia. Life in Islamic boarding schools has a different cultural and traditional system from the lives of society in general, in Islamic boarding schools the students are educated with binding regulations. Traditional Islamic boarding school (Salafiyah) students tend to be unfamiliar with all forms of problems that are happening outside, because in this case, Salafiyah students are only involved in religious activities in the pesantren environment. Salafiyah students only get religious knowledge without being accompanied by general knowledge. This condition ultimately makes those from Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools emerge as religious leaders, or they will plunge into informal sectors. Along with the development of the times, Islamic boarding schools also have another side of life that is no less important, namely politics, therefore, as we have seen so far that in every important political momentum in the history of the nation, Islamic boarding schools are always involved (Ismail, 1999). The role of Islamic boarding schools today is also very clear. The most obvious example is the difficulty of the government to popularize programs if not through Islamic boarding school leaders. Another example is the number of political leaders approaching Islamic boarding schools, especially before the general election. The behavior of these leaders is right, if they do not approach Islamic boarding school leaders, it means that their political vision is low. The influence of the kiai is not only on the students in his pesantren, but also the community around the pesantren and can even go further. The absolute authority and power possessed by the kiai is often used by political forces (political parties) to gain support from the students and the surrounding community.

Keywords: Pesantren, Community Political Participation, Election

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji Peran Pesantren Dalam Rangka Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat Pada Pemilu 2024. Di Kabupaten Jember Pemilu merupakan upaya meyakinkan dan melibatkan individu dalam proses politik. Hal ini dikarenakan ada gejala semakin berkurang gairah keterlibatan anggota masyarakat dalam pemilu. Berkurangnya gairah masyarakat disebabkan oleh kurangnya pengaruh politik terhadap kehidupan masyarakat secara luas. Banyak kebijakan-kebijakan yang dikeluarkan pemerintah dianggap salah sasaran dan tidak sesuai, hanya kalangan tertentu yang mendapat pengaruh langsung terhadap kebijakan tersebut. Maka dari itu, dalam proses pemilu masyarakat diyakinkan melalui kampanye-kampanye untuk melibatkan masyarakat dalam proses politik dan meningkatkan gairah dalam pelaksanaan pemilu. Dinamika mobilisasi politik berbasis identitas agama tidak terlepas dari peran lembaga keagamaan dan tokoh agama. Dalam hal ini lembaga yang dimaksud adalah pesantren atau yang lebih dikenal sebagai pondok pesantren adalah lembaga pendidikan dan penyiaran agama Islam tradisional di Indonesia. Kehidupan di pesantren memiliki sistem budaya dan tradisi yang berbeda dengan kehidupan masyarakat pada umumnya, di dalam pesantren para santri dididik dengan adanya peraturan yang mengikat. Santri pondok pesantren tradisional (salafiyah) cenderung asing dengan segala bentuk persoalan-persoalan yang sedang terjadi di luar, karena dalam hal ini santri salafiyah hanya berkutat dalam kegiatan keagamaan yang berada di lingkungan pesantren. Santri salafiyah hanya mendapatkan ilmu-ilmu agama saja tanpa dibarengi dengan ilmu umum. Kondisi tersebut pada akhirnya membuat yang berasal dari pesantren salafiyah ini muncul sebagai pemuka agama, ataupun mereka akan terjun pada sektor-sektor informal. Seiring perkembangan zaman, pesantren juga memiliki sisi kehidupan lain yang tak kalah pentingnya yaitu politik, oleh karena itu sebagaimana yang kita lihat selama ini bahwa dalam setiap momentum politik yang penting dalam sejarah bangsa, pesantren selalu terlibat (Ismail, 1999). Peran pesantren di masa sekarang juga amat jelas. Contoh yang paling nyata adalah sulitnya pemerintah memasyarakatkan program bila tidak melalui pemimpin pesantren. Contoh lainnya adalah banyaknya pemimpin politik mendekati pesantren, terutama menjelang pemilihan umum. Perilaku para pemimpin itu tepat, bila mereka tidak mendekati para pemimpin pesantren, berarti visi politik mereka rendah. Pengaruh kiai tidak hanya pada santri dalam pesantrennya saja, akan tetapi masyarakat sekitar pesantren bahkan bias lebih jauh lagi. Otoritas dan kewenangan mutlak yang dimiliki oleh kiai sering dimanfaatkan oleh kekuatan politik (parpol) untuk memperoleh dukungan dari santri dan masyarakat sekitarnya.

Kata kunci: Pesantren, Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat, Pemilu

INTRODUCTION

Before interpreting the meaning of general elections, first interpret the democratic system which is the background. The relationship between the two is very close, starting from government of the people, by the people and for the people (democracy is government of the people, by the people, and for the people). This meaning implies that power is in the hands of the people and must act on behalf of the people. For this reason, elections are used as a way to elevate the existence of the people as the holder of the highest sovereignty in the country. General elections are indeed an important tradition that is almost used by democratic systems in the world. Because the influence of democracy in the world is so strong, general elections are a means available for the people to maintain their sovereignty.

According to Manuel Kaisiepo in Bintar R. Saragih, he explains that general elections are important in exercising power, because that is where the ruler gets legitimacy for that power. In this research, general elections are a tradition that applies in Indonesia as a process of selecting leaders carried out by the people, in this case including students in Islamic boarding schools. General elections are a form of implementation of the democratic system as well as the application of the fourth principle of article 1 (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Elections are a mechanism for electing people's representatives in the executive and legislative bodies at the central and regional levels. General elections in Indonesia since 1955 until now, the most recent simultaneous elections in 2019, have experienced many changes in terms of the legal framework, organizers, stages, participants, institutions, violations and implementation management. One measure in assessing the success of holding a general election is political participation which is realized by granting voting rights to people who have the right to vote. It could be said that the higher the public participation in general elections, the better. On the other hand, a low level of participation is generally considered an unfavorable sign, because it can be interpreted as meaning that many citizens do not care about the state.

General elections are not born without a purpose but to elect the people's representatives in order to create a government of, by and for the people. According to Liphart, democracy, representative institutions and general elections are three concepts that are closely related and cannot be avoided. For this reason, public participation is clearly needed in order to implement the absolute meaning of democracy. It is important to hold general elections periodically for several reasons. *First*, people's opinions or aspirations regarding various aspects of life together in society are dynamic, and develop over time to time. *Second* Apart from people's opinions changing from time to time, living conditions in society can also change due to international dynamics or domestic factors, both internal and external human factors. Third, changes in people's aspirations and opinions may also be possible due to the increase in the population and mature people, especially new voters, who may not necessarily have the same attitudes

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as their parents. Fourth, general elections need to be held regularly to ensure a change in state leadership, both from the executive and legislative branches of power. The legal framework for elections has also changed compared to previous elections which were separated into three laws, this time regulated as one in Law Number 7 of 2017.

By combining the substance of three laws, namely the law on the election of the president and vice president, the law on the general election of members of the DPD, DPR, DPRD, and the law on election management from one text, it was codified into Law no. 7 of 2017, it is actually hoped that many parties will ensure greater consistency in regulations, can minimize conflicts between norms, can further prevent duplication of regulations, and ultimately can prioritize legal certainty and make it easier for all parties or stakeholders in elections to understand and implement them.

As democracy develops in Indonesia, it will automatically have implications for all sectors, including the Islamic boarding school community. Pesantren as an institution is quite unique with a pesantren culture that is able to maintain its cultural purity amidst current developments. In a political context, Islamic boarding school communities cannot be separated from political dynamics, especially in determining their political direction and choices. In the development of the modernization of the education process, Islamic boarding schools which initially adhered to an individual system where leadership was in the hands of the Islamic boarding school leader, are now starting to include new elements such as schools and madrasas which adhere to a democratic and rational system. Organizations can replace the role of Islamic boarding school leaders as sole role models in the interpretation of Islamic teachings. Therefore, in the lives of Islamic boarding school students, there are still many assumptions that politics is still based on the role models chosen by the religious elite, in this case what is meant is the Islamic boarding school leader who is the figure and leader of the Islamic boarding school. As the oldest institution in Indonesia, Islamic boarding schools have become a magnet in the Indonesian political arena. Since the colonial era, Islamic boarding schools have played a big role in realizing independence. It is natural that up to now Islamic boarding schools have always been an interesting study in seeing the developing political escalation. In the run-up to the general election, candidates make various efforts to win the election, from village communities, students to Islamic boarding school circles to gather an electoral base, thus requiring these various elements to understand and enter the political context. One of the causes of the lack of political participation of Islamic boarding school students in general elections is based on various problems originating from within Islamic boarding schools. *First*, because Islamic boarding schools focus on the religious field or Islamic boarding school rules and do not think much about general election issues and problems of the outside world related to the political system, that is the reason why Islamic boarding school students pay less attention to general elections. *Second*, Islamic boarding schools limit the space of students in politics, because within the scope of Islamic boarding schools they have to

take part in studying the Yellow Book and the like. This makes them less interested in understanding the political system. *Third*, there is a lack of cooperation between Islamic boarding schools and the government in arousing students' interest in understanding the political system. This makes students experience gaps in the political system.

The existence of the political system among Islamic boarding school students is currently very worrying because Islamic boarding school students do not understand the political system and context, even though they should understand this because there are many incidents in the field where political elites apart from approaching students, Islamic boarding school students are also involved in getting the goals they want. As we all know, Indonesia is a country with democratic principles which has advantages in every policy making because it refers to the aspirations of the people. Society in a democratic system is the main figure who has a very important role. One of the roles of society in a democratic country is public participation in politics. The community has a very strong role in the executive and legislative determination process in both central and regional governments. One of the means of democracy in Indonesia is giving the people voting rights through general elections. General elections in the political system are considered as an instrument in achieving political and even national ideals (Cholisin & Nasiwan, 2012). Elections are an effort to convince and involve individuals in the political process. This is because there are symptoms of decreasing enthusiasm for community members' involvement in elections (Cholisin & Nasiwan, 2012). The reduction in public enthusiasm is caused by the lack of influence of politics on people's lives at large. Many policies issued by the government are considered wrongly targeted and inappropriate, only certain groups have direct influence on these policies. Therefore, in the election process the public is reassured through campaigns to involve the public in the political process and increase enthusiasm for the election.

Two decades after reform, Indonesia faces serious challenges in its efforts towards a better democracy. One of these challenges is the strengthening of religion-based identity politics. Muhtadi's study shows empirical evidence that religion is the fuel for identity politics. The victory of Anies Baswedan – Sandiaga Uno against Basuki Thahaja Purnama – Djarot Syaeful Hidayat in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election is proof that good performance alone is not enough to lead to victory (Muhtadi, 2019). Religious identity is more capable of opening up space for political mobilization.

The dynamics of political mobilization based on religious identity cannot be separated from the role of religious institutions and religious figures. In this case, the institution in question is an Islamic boarding school or better known as Islamic boarding school, which is a traditional Islamic religious education and broadcasting institution in Indonesia (Irawan, 2018). Islamic boarding schools (Islamic boarding schools) are a traditional educational system that historically sociologically has been firmly rooted as a sub-culture in the Indonesian cultural building. In everyday life, Islamic boarding schools are known as Islamic educational institutions whose main motive for existence

is to preserve and spread Islamic teachings, especially the teachings of ahlul-sunnah wal-jama'ah.

Islamic boarding schools have several elements that can have a big influence, one of which is Kiai. In relation to the Islamic boarding school tradition, the kiai is the most basic element (Dhofier, 1982). Kiai is a figure who is seen as having capacity, credibility, capability and acceptability. Based on this thinking, it is natural that Kiai have a strong role and influence, this role provides legitimacy both socially and politically to exercise control over society. Apart from kiai, in the Islamic boarding school tradition there are things called santri who have complete obedience to the kiai. Life in Islamic boarding schools has a different cultural system and traditions with community life in general, in Islamic boarding schools the students are educated with binding regulations. Students of traditional Islamic boarding schools (Salafiyah) tend to be unfamiliar with all forms of problems that are occurring outside, because in this case Salafiyah students only focus on religious activities within the Islamic boarding school environment. Salafiyah students only get religious knowledge without being accompanied by general knowledge. These conditions ultimately make alumni from Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools emerge as religious leaders, or they will enter the informal sector. Even in the world of religious organizations, Islamic boarding school alumni will only come into contact with purely religious activities, they are less interested in other worlds outside their world (Zulmi, 2012).

Santri in Islamic boarding school culture also have certain habits, the santri give excessive respect to their kiai. This habit can make students passive because they are worried about losing their blessings, there is a strong belief that a student should not cross paths with their kiai in all aspects of their life, and this typical attitude of students is what differentiates students at other institutions (Qomar, 2007).

Seeing this, Islamic boarding school students can be seen as a political mass that has potential resources, because of their obedience and their very wide and numerous networks throughout Indonesia. The santri network is not only confined to Islamic boarding schools, but has spread widely in society with the existence of santri kalong. The existence of these Islamic boarding school students is considered as a potential vote bank to increase votes in the election process by using Islamic boarding school students who will obey the recommendations and even orders from their kiai, which are clear and symbolic, especially during the presidential election.

As time goes by, Islamic boarding schools also have another side of life that is no less important, namely politics, therefore, as we have seen so far, in every important political moment in the nation's history, Islamic boarding schools are always involved (Ismail, 1999). The role of Islamic boarding schools today is also very clear. The most obvious example is the difficulty for the government to promote programs without going through Islamic boarding school leaders. Another example is the number of political leaders approaching Islamic boarding schools, especially before the general election.

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The behavior of the leaders is appropriate, if they do not approach the Islamic boarding school leaders, it means their political vision is low (Tafsir, 2012)

The kiai's influence is not only on the students in his Islamic boarding school, but the community around the Islamic boarding school can go even further. The absolute authority and authority possessed by kiai is often exploited by political forces (political parties) to gain support from santri and the surrounding community (Sucipto, 2006).

In essence, in the context of a state, a santri is a citizen who legally has the freedom to make choices and is free about himself, but this is not heeded and prefers to follow the instructions and direction of the kiai. This picture is in stark contrast to a person's right to determine an opinion, this is due to the obedience of the students to their kiai. Santri as young people, the hope of the nation, should be able to make their own choices in order to create a good nation and state. Because the votes of the students determine the success of a particular pair. Islamic boarding schools are educational institutions that should not contain practical politics in them. A santri must have political insight. However, not all Islamic boarding schools are involved in practical politics.

Political students are not a bad thing as long as they still have the spirit to serve and uphold political morals. This reality proves that the santri move in harmony with the Islamic movement which never dies in the political struggle to fight for the morality of truth by seizing power in the name of the people (Siswanto, 2018). The phenomenon of santri distributing their voting rights according to the kiai's choice is important to research, in this case the distribution of voting rights for the 2019 presidential election. Especially regarding the form of participation carried out by the santri and what factors are behind political participation among the santri.

Civic knowledge needs to be transmitted well to citizens so that citizens are interested in serving society (participating actively). Public interest and service are seen as ingredients for successful democratic life (Saltmarsh, 2005).

By providing this understanding, the character of students will increase and become an important part of the development of the Indonesian nation. It is in this context that political education and national insight gain urgency. PPKn as a shaper of national character with the aim of making good citizenship achievable in society (Satori, Andrias, & Mubarok, 2017).

General Elections (Pemilu) are suggestions for the implementation of people's sovereignty which are carried out directly, publicly, without secrets, honestly and fairly in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the law also states that elections are carried out effectively and efficiently based on the principles of direct, free, secret, honest and fair (Nurkinan 2018). So this is related to democracy and political participation in the legitimacy of society in its government. The process of holding elections is increasingly developing, starting from legal considerations, then continuing to the stages of participants, institutions, violations and implementation arrangements, to increase community participation in the Jember Regency area.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Kotler, the definition of image is "the attitude, thoughts and Strengthening democracy. Elections are a people's party, a party of democracy. Different choices are certainly not wrong, but how can these different choices not tear society apart. Don't use anything, be it religion, culture or anything else for short-term interests that are detrimental to the nation's journey in the long term.

Leadership change is a definite thing that cannot be avoided, so leadership changes should be carried out in a peaceful atmosphere without violence or intimidation. Don't let the change of leadership be colored by bloodshed just because of different choices. Even though differences in choices in democracy are normal.

The black campaign model is also often found in every democratic party. Such as the spread of hate speech and hoax news that often colors the virtual world. This is not easy to avoid considering that almost everyone has access to social media.

METHODS

This research uses a descriptive qualitative research methodology. The qualitative descriptive method is a data processing method by analyzing factors related to an object with more in-depth data on the research object. Bogdan and Taylor (Lexy. J. Moleong, 2007) in their book define qualitative research methods as research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior. Then examine objects that reveal existing phenomena contextually through collecting the data obtained, by looking at the elements as interrelated units of study objects and then describing them. This research requires more in-depth information. The researchers chose to use descriptive qualitative research methods to determine how to study, process and analyze the data resulting from the research. This research was carried out using interviews, observation, documentation and literature study approaches. It is expected that by using the qualitative descriptive method, the data collected can be appropriate and detailed to support election.

This research uses descriptive qualitative research methods. Data analysis is carried out from data collection to the data evaluation stage. Miles and Huberman (1992) explained that data analysis techniques consist of data reduction, data presentation and conclusions. This research technique will facilitate an overview of communication strategies through the election.

1. Data Reduction

Reducing data means summarizing. Reduction is defined as the process of selecting, focusing attention or simplifying, abstracting and transforming rough data obtained from notes in the field. Data reduction will take place continuously as long as the research is carried out and will continue after the field research. Apart from that,

data reduction is a form of analysis that sharpens, categorizes, directs, removes what is not necessary, and organizes it in such a way that conclusions can be drawn.

2. Data Presentation

After the data is collected, the researcher then groups the same things into documents or categories to make it easier for the researcher to take samples and make it easier to draw conclusions at the next stage.

3. Drawing Conclusions

Drawing conclusions is an activity carried out by drawing conclusions from the presentation and understanding of the data obtained by the researcher to test and determine the authenticity, suitability and correctness of the data. Reviewing the data that has been obtained by the researcher is a measuring instrument and produces relevant data. At this stage, the researcher matches the data that has been obtained with data from subject interviews and research which aims to draw conclusions as a reference.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Elections as Strengthening Democratic Values in Indonesia

The General Election Commissioner (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) must continue to provide outreach to the public, especially Islamic students, about the importance of participating in elections. The election organizers must be able to invite and convince the students that their votes in participating in the upcoming elections will also have an influence in determining Indonesia's future. Students must be made aware that if they do not contribute to the election, they should not be blamed if the elected leader does not meet their wishes. The election of leaders who do not have integrity can be detrimental to the nation and state. The role of kiai and ulama is also important as role models for Islamic students in this election. If the kiai have told them who is the right candidate for people's representatives to choose, then from there many of their students will follow. For the students themselves, they must be able to be part of the change in the Indonesian nation because of the struggle of the Indonesian people. This was also formed from the services of the founding ulama and religious figures in Indonesia. The Islamic boarding school students also provide enlightenment so that people are not trapped by choices for election contestants who have the potential to become anti-democratic forces or are at odds with the spirit of jihad resolution.

As educated people, of course students must first be able to identify election contestants, both in terms of political parties and people promoted by political parties.

Position of Community Figures/Ulama/Patritors of Islamic Boarding Schools and Santri in Empowering Political Potential.

Public figures and religious figures certainly have an important role in substantially strengthening democracy and maintaining peace during the elections. It is not the other way around that erodes democracy with hate speech in places of worship. Likewise, students must take a role in doing good and defending the Republic of Indonesia and the principle that Pancasila is a fixed price. Apart from that, with their intellectual thinking, Islamic boarding school students have a role in protecting elections from hoax attacks in order to realize peaceful elections.

The Islamic boarding school community has an important role in maintaining election conduciveness. Differences in support should not be used as an excuse not to unite with each other. Santri as intellectuals must take a role in maintaining the peace of the democratic party which will be held in 2024. In Islamic society, scholars are one of the elite who have a very respectable position and have a great influence on the social dynamics of society. Scholars become one of the strategic elites in society because of their prominence as figures who have extensive and in-depth knowledge of Islamic teachings. More than that, theologically scholars are also seen as the heirs of the Prophets (*waratsat al-anbiya*). Therefore, ulama then become a source of legitimacy in various religions, but also in almost all aspects of community life. It is at this point that we can see the strategic roles of ulama, especially in the dynamic aspects of social, cultural and political life in Indonesia.

Another view was expressed by Abu Bakar Jabir al-Jazairi who identified ulama as those who master, practice and disseminate religious knowledge. They are the people who guard the upholding of the Islamic religion and serve as guidance for other humans. This second understanding is the understanding of ulama in a special sense. In the context of Indonesian culture, the meaning of ulama refers to this special meaning. In every local Islamic community in Indonesia, ulama have several titles, such as Ulama in Java, *clergy* in Sunda, *bow down* in Aceh, master teacher in Lombok, *anregurutta* in Bugis, and *Annanguru* in Mandar.

Sociologically, a scholar has a role and responsibility as a dai (Islamic preacher), a spiritual leader, as well as a builder and guide of the people. As a dai an ulama is obliged to convey the good teachings that come from the Islamic religion to the wider community. As spiritual leaders, scholars lead and guide the people so that they are correct in living their religion, providing spiritual guidance that guides the people to find the path of goodness. Scholars as builders and guides of the community are obliged to build the community not only in religious matters, more than that, scholars are sociologically obliged to provide social construction of the community to the community.

Traditional society, according to Karel A. Steenbrink, views someone as an ulama (ulama) because they are accepted by society as a scholar, people come to ask for advice from him, or send their children to study with him. Thus, to become a scholar there are no formal criteria such as a diploma. Culturally, meeting the criteria as a

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scholar is usually due to factors; knowledge, piety, number of students, and descendants. The social duties of the ulama are normative as a consequence of being heirs to the Prophet. According to Harry J. Benda, the normative task of a ulama is as an advisor (*consellers*), judge (*Qadi*), and religious teacher. Meanwhile, according to Hiroko Hirokoshi, a cleric plays the role of mosque or madrasa administrator, teacher and educator, as well as an expert in the field of Islamic law.

The most prominent thing about a cleric in carrying out socio-religious roles in society is the charisma that a cleric has with which he can have an influence on his community. According to Martin van Brunnessen one of the keys to traditional Islam is the charismatic personality of the ulama (ulama). A charismatic attitude is characterized by an attitude of respect, reverence, and absolute obedience to the ulama. The cleric's charisma is also based on spiritual power and the ability to give blessings because of his relationship with supernatural realm.

The dominant role of ulama in the process of religious formation then forms a social system, in which there are elements that are inseparable, presuppose each other, need each other and build a whole so that it reaches a balance that tends to maintain itself. So the analysis of Parson's functional theory is very relevant by using relational or role concepts, as explained by K. J. Veeger who studied Talcot Parson's functionalist theory by introducing two distinctive characteristics, namely: The concept of function which is understood as a contribution to the safety and resilience of the social system. As well as the concept of maintaining balance as the main characteristic of each social system. So in sociological analysis, according to Weber, it is a matter of fact social, the leadership of religious figures is actually charismatic leadership that pivots on personal leadership. In this context, the cleric is the patron of his people (*client*) in a paternalistic relationship. The Ulama's competence in the field of religion places him as the holder of sacred religious authority. Ulama fatwas and advice are always used as socio-political preferences that are obeyed by their followers. Even with the power and moral authority they have, Ulama are able to move the community in making their political choices.

The term ulama is something *achieved* a status that someone strives for through a long process. This status is obtained not only because of mastery of Islamic religious knowledge but also because of the application of Islamic religious teachings in daily attitudes and behavior. Apart from that, what is even more important is that the status of the ulama is legitimized by the public's recognition of their mastery of the Islamic sciences and their religious piety.

In the development of Indonesian society, ulama are categorized as traditional elites who have played and are currently playing an important and strategic role. Historically-sociologically, ulama in Indonesia have played various roles: political, social, economic, educational, cultural, and of course, most importantly, religious.

The Role of Ulama and Islamic Boarding Schools in Social and Political Dynamics

Historically, ulama have been part of religious figures whose position is quite important in the context of various considerations regarding policy, especially policies involving the community, especially when related to the needs of movements and mobilization. So the ulama are assessed and placed as the determinants of whether a civilization is progressing or not. Therefore, progress is always synonymous with change, then accusations emerge whether it is the ulama who must change first or the society. These accusations are then placed in various interests when the ulama are always placed as guardians of traditions which must be stagnant and not dynamic, so that the clashes of social change must be faced in the name of religion. Or conversely, it is the ulama who must be at the forefront to adapt to various upheavals of change due to the demands of the times.

Ulama are the main actors in all social conceptions of religion as well as being the institutions through which they spread, so that ulama have quite significant influence on social, political and economic development, especially for local communities. It can be said that the ulama and their influences form a system in the pattern the life of the community, besides that it can also be a determinant of culture. Honoring and glorifying scholars is a tradition inherited by traditional societies, until later Extraordinary defenses emerged from the community, especially Islamic boarding school students, regarding the security of the cleric. This heroic attitude is a form of devotion, solemnity and high loyalty towards the cleric.

The Tug of War/Dual Role of Islamic Boarding School Ulama/Guardians in Practical Political Dynamics.

The thoughts and social attitudes of ulama have three functions at once. First, the defense function, namely maintaining social and religious traditions in the face of new traditions that come from outside in a mutually reinforcing synthesis. Socio-religious thought provides extraordinary resilience to people's lives as recorded in the history of the ulama and the surrounding community. Second, its function as a buffer area, namely when something happens

Faced social processes or conflicts do not reach a compromise, so ulama can always provide buffer space so that conflicts or differences do not lead to wider damage and other extreme attitudes. Third, the dynamic function, where the deep and comprehensive religious thinking of the ulama is able to become a dynamic movement style so that there are always big breakthroughs made by the ulama and their community. This dynamic may not be very obvious on the surface, but it has a deep influence on the way of thinking and the inner space of society. These three social functions of ulama will have a more articulate influence, especially in societies that still position religion as the main variable in their culture.

The involvement of scholars in practical politics, so far there has indeed been a tug-of-war of opinion, between the group that supports political scholars and the group that strongly opposes the involvement of scholars in politics.

The first group assumes that ulama are somehow entities that have political rights and aspirations like other citizens. Meanwhile, the second group criticized it harshly, based on the assumption that the involvement of ulama in politics brought more losses than benefits that could be obtained. This is related to political realities which are considered by many groups to be "dirty". So when ulama and Islamic boarding schools are involved in politics they will be dragged into a "dirty" world too.

The emergence of differences of opinion regarding the political role of ulama in society has become an issue *debatable* and will never be finished. Each of them will continue to strengthen their group's arguments. Even though there is a long-standing controversy regarding the involvement of ulama in politics, the involvement of ulama and Islamic boarding schools cannot be avoided. The intensity of ulama and the forms of ulama involvement in politics can vary, both directly and indirectly, as can be seen through the involvement of ulama in important political moments such as the General Election (Pemilu), Presidential Election (Pilpres), or regional head general elections (Pemilukada).

The diversity of Ulama political attitudes that occur shows that Ulama involvement in politics is driven by various motives. Motive here is the encouragement and strength that comes from within the Ulama themselves, the Islamic Boarding School or even from outside, whether consciously or not, to achieve certain goals. Trying to understand the motives for Ulama involvement in politics is not an easy matter. Here we will enter the subjective space of Ulama and their motivation to get involved in politics. According to Miftah Farid, the phenomenon of differences in socio-political behavior among kiai is, in many ways, influenced by at least two factors that influence each other. First, the kiai's social position factor, which according to previous studies shows the existence of a driving force for change in society.

A study conducted by Horikoshi in 1987, for example, showed the power of kiai as a source of social change, not only in the Islamic boarding school community but also in the surrounding community. Meanwhile Geertz shows kiai as cultural brokers (*cultural brokers*) and stated that the kiai's influence lies in the implementation of this broker function. Even though politically kiai are categorized as figures who do not have experience and professional abilities, socially they have proven to be able to bridge various interests through the language they most likely use. Second, the personal strength factor is colored by the theological thinking that is the basis for the behavior he plays. As figures who are often identified as having charismatic power in the midst of society, kiai are seen as having "extraordinary" abilities to move society, especially in determining political choices. Ulama are not politicians, but their political calculations are often considered the last political "fatwa" to be followed. As many people know, the

case of Gus Dur who persisted in his stance to maintain his position as President of the Republic of Indonesia at that time was actually due to the kiai's "advice" which encouraged him to take such a decision.

There are several differences in the typology of ulama, there are at least four differences in political attitudes that occur among Islamic politicians. First, a group that has a pragmatic view and tends to integrate itself into power and abandon its ideological label. Second, the accommodative group is a group whose political thoughts and attitudes are receptive and compromising, but do not always integrate. Third, transformative groups, namely groups that have a commitment to fundamental change but reject radical methods.

Fourth, the principalist group is a group that wants the basic principles of Islam to be upheld. Ali Maschan Moesa expressed almost the same opinion, providing a typological classification of ulama which was also based on the construction of ulama in interpreting Nationalism, including Fundamentalist Ulama, Moderate Ulama and Pragmatic Ulama.

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that the presence of ulama in practical politics will provide coolness and peace and can cool the heat of political currents and become a moral force in political life and the running of government in Indonesia. On the other hand, there are also some people who hope that the role of ulama or religious elites will play a more significant role in order to overcome the problems and crises occurring in Indonesia. Some ulama have had dual roles for a long time, so whether this dual role is now is an issue. However, if the symbol of the ulama, which is sacred and highly respected by the people, is simply lost because it is involved in political games and power becomes a problem, then in politics the ulama will play a moral role related to the public interest in various political channels, both directly and indirectly.

Before Indonesia became independent, the ulama had an important role in the resistance to colonialism, especially in the formation of the Republic of Indonesia, so that the ulama became a symbol of solidarity in the struggle of the ummah. So in the historical constellation in Indonesia it can be understood that the ulama and their social and political roles cannot be separated from the extremes. In its development in Indonesia, where political reconstruction has shifted the line of struggle of ulama along with changes and developments in the country's politics. Ulama also began to penetrate the political area with all kinds of supportive political maneuvers (legitimation) which were often referred to as giving blessings or friendship.

This process is due to the existence of a symbiotic mutualism for certain interests in order to get a share of power or at least get help from the political elite they

support. Meanwhile, the political elite will obtain religious moral legitimacy from the ulama.

In fact, it is fine for a scholar to be involved in politics, but practical politics is not oriented towards power, but rather instilling moral values for the enlightenment and strengthening of the people and society. In this context, power is understood as the quality, capacity or capital to achieve certain goals of its owner. Foucault does not reject this kind of perspective, but it is not enough to understand the invisible practice of subjection. A more critical view of power emerged in cultural studies. Gramsci's concept of hegemony is often used to dismantle cultural establishments in a hidden process of domination. In a more sophisticated explanation, power works beyond hegemonic means, which is what Foucault conceptualized as *governmentality*.

A cleric carries the mandate of cultural power which always reminds leaders, while at the same time emphasizing his role to ethically and prophetically guard the interests of the people in daily life. With such functions, the role of ulama will remain grounded in society. In the end, ulama morality does not become just an isoteric language, but can become a language and political struggle to achieve prosperity, justice and peace for the people. Even though in the end development, industrialization and modernization are used as reasons for the involvement of various elements including the role of ulama, maintaining traditions and living values must remain a parallel program, so as not to result in negative excesses that must be accepted by society. As echoed by Sunyoto Usman, religious movements should be oriented towards maintaining local traditions by adhering to the process of internalizing religious teachings without having to destroy the social values that live in local culture, so that there is no rise in resistance to the introduced religious teachings.

According to Hasnatul Jannah, it revolves around the dilemma of the tug-of-war between the dual role of ulama in the range of social, political and religious life, so what is also taken into consideration is the history of the theological framework which results in the social and political action it produces. So, if explored in more detail, it will produce an understanding, first: that there is a tendency for ulama to be involved in political affairs to place the affairs of the ummah on the practical political stage with the assumption that politics is the most practical vehicle. In this case, the ulama usually fully understand the consequences they receive, namely the reduction of their social and religious role, so that in anticipating this by placing their relatives to handle this role, the ulama can focus more on political affairs, second: ulama who take it lightly and are more flexible in practical political matters, for them politics is only a momentary interest and becomes a stepping stone for purely pragmatic interests, third: ulama who are consistent in not intersecting with political affairs.

In a practical political context, the figure of a ulama should emerge from an open personality development and a high level of commitment in his capacity as an element of a religious figure, so that he is able to go beyond the boundaries of

primordialism but still stand on his intellectual capacity. There are also certain changes that are sometimes mistaken and attributed to modernization. This is because not all modernization is as modern as the West, this is because modernization patterns are different. Traditions can change without modernization, likewise modernization can occur without fundamental changes in tradition. Traditional elements embedded in ulama figures and cultural pockets can be maintained in a modernizing society, because these traditional elements can provide a strong foundation in mapping modernization.

Operationally, ulama in this research refers to someone who has a central position and role in the religious field. The categorization of ulama or in local terms Mandar is called *Annanguru* includes heads of Islamic organizations, leaders of Islamic boarding schools or heads of Islamic educational institutions, leaders of tarekat, imams of large mosques who culturally have charisma and influence on society. The politics referred to operationally in this paper includes contestation in the realm of practical politics and contestation in efforts to formulate strategic public policies. It is the scope of politics, the strategic role of ulama that is the main locus of this research and ulama as *resources* which is the unit of analysis in this research.

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