

# KYAI-SANTRI RELATIONS IN THE ELECTION OF THE GOVERNOR OF EAST JAVA 2018 IN FOUCAULT AND HABERMAS PERSPECTIVE

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**Abstract**—The existence of *kyai* in NU's dynamics of voyage since its establishment occupies the most central position. As a religious and social organization the existence of NU and *kyai* in the course of the Indonesian nation has been in a position that cannot be negotiable, starting from its establishment, involved in the dynamics of independence, the formation of the foundations of the state, becoming a political party, back again to be a religious and civic organization to date. The anatomy of the NU movement did not only involve the *kyai* but over time also involved NU scholars and other elements of the nation. *Santri*, for example, as one of the elements of NU, also has a big contribution in this dynamic. Between *kyai* and *santri* based on existing beliefs have a structural and superstructural relationship. In the election of the governor of East Java 2018, this relationship is at its summit. The two pairs of candidates namely Saifullah Yusuf - Puti Guntur Soekarno and Khafifah Indar Parawansa - Emil Dardak, both have a power base NU. Group of *kyai* who support both candidate pairs alike have a basis of the *santri's* vote. *Santri* in this case in accordance with the tradition of NU will carry out statement delivered by their *kyai*. This paper wants to explore how the relationship that was established between *kyai* and *santri* during the election process of East Java 2018. Written by the literature study method and using Habermas and Foucault's perspective to explain the presented reality. The relations that arise between *kyai* and *santri* in the vortex of the East Java 2018 governor election as patron-client relations. *Santri* places '*kyai*' as role models for all his '*fatwa*'.

**Keywords**—*kyai-santri relations, election of governor of east java 2018, Foucault, Habermas, discourse*

## I. INTRODUCTION

East Java 2018 Governor election became an arena of democracy for the people of East Java with two pairs of governor candidates namely Saifullah Yusuf - Puti Guntur Soekarno and Khafifah Indar Parawansa - Emil Dardak. Both pairs of candidates both have an NU voters base. Both of them received support from the clerics in East Java.[1][2] The election was finally won by the Khofifah-Emil pair with a vote difference of 7 percent.[3]

The number of Permanent Voters List (DPT) in the East Java Governor election was 30,155,719 voters consisting of

15,315,352 voters with female gender and 14,840,367 male voters.[4] Of the total number of voters, although only in the range, it is estimated that the number of NU residents is 60%.[5] With this amount, it is reasonable if the NU and/or Islamic boarding school's voice becomes a potential voice to be contested in the 2018 East Java governor election. This was seen during the campaign period for both pairs of candidates. The most massive mass mobilization involves many *kyai* or leaders of Islamic boarding schools in East Java assuming that each cleric has a significant mass or followers base such as Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School in Kediri, Langitan Islamic Boarding School in Lamongan, Al-Falah Islamic Boarding School in Kediri, Amanatul Ummah Islamic Boarding School in Mojokerto, Al-Hikmah Islamic Boarding School in Kediri and many other Islamic boarding schools that participate enliven this democratic event.[1][2][6]–[8].

The constellation leaves a flake of reality that deserves to be seen further. The constellation between the two pairs of candidates indirectly brought NU although it did not structurally re-enter the practical political circle after proclaiming itself for a long time to the 1926 Khittah.[9][10] The thing that is most highlighted in the constellation is the relation that is built between the *kyai* and the *santri*. Traditions that have existed from generation to generation that NU people have high loyalty to their wealth. Whatever is conveyed by a *kyai* to *santri* will be a doctrine that is embedded in a *santri*. Besides, because the *kyai* occupies the highest social structure culturally in society, this is also a manifestation of the relationship between the teacher and students. The relationship between *kyai* and *santri* is like the relationship between father and child, namely patron-client relations.[11]

The relationship between *kyai* and *santri* like patron-client relations is certainly preceded by a respectful attitude within the *santri* because of the height of knowledge and virtue of a *kyai*. [12] However, along with the development of the flow of modernization and along with the increasingly complex polarization associated with the clerical typology, the patron-client relationship is slowly shifting, especially if it is already talking about political issues.[12] In the context of religious life, the *santri* places the *kyai* as their role model, but in the political choices, *santri* are more

rational.[13] This phenomenon has actually happened even since the first democratic election in Indonesia. In the 1955 elections for example, although the majority of Muslim voters were 88%, not all of them chose Islamic-based political parties. Islamic-based political parties only get 44% of votes. In the 2004 elections, Islamic political parties represented by PKB, PPP, PKS, and PAN, if total votes totaled a percentage of only 30%.[13] That is, loyalty can have gradations for the time being has become increasingly blurred. Between loyalty to *kyai* in the name of religion, with loyalty in the name of politics. Students who have different political views than they do, does not mean that they do not have loyalty, but it can be that the political views of *santri* have become more rational today. However, what was conveyed by Kansong[13] is not in line with research conducted in India by Heath et al.[14] In India based on these studies candidates from Muslim groups tend to get the support of Muslim voters, especially in areas with a majority Muslim population.[14]

There are several studies of relations between *kyai* and *santri* that have been studied before. For example such as the study "Existence of Client Patron Culture in Pesantren: Study of the relationship between *kyai* and *santri*. [11] Setiawan conducted the study to see how the relations that exist between *kyai* and *santri* in the middle of the current modernization of islamic boarding school education.[11] He concluded that although the current modernization of it's education was taking place with a case study at the Daarul Fikri Mulyoagung Dau Malang Islamic Boarding School, the patron-client relationship between the *kyai* and *santri* could still be maintained. The study of "Interpersonal Communication of *Kyai* and *Santri* in Modern Pesantren in Tasikmalaya, an Interaction View Approach"[12] also discusses the relationship. Utami in this study discusses the interpersonal communication of *kyai* and *santri* with Watzlawick's interactional view approach to modern pesantren in Tasikmalaya.[12] She found that between *kyai* and *santri* there was symmetrical communication with the domination of the *kyai*. The communication that is carried out is verbal and nonverbal communication by paying attention to the relationships that exist between them. This means that indirectly Utami's research found the same as previous studies that there are communication relations that are not balanced between *kyai* and *santri* with the consideration of the honor possessed by a *kyai*. [12] Although modernization has led to a shift in relations between *kyai* and *santri* who were formerly very submissive and have now been degraded, *santri* who have a different view from the *kyai*, it is almost impossible to find confirmation openly and directly towards the *kyai*. Content delivered by students will consider both symmetrical relations.

The two studies, though with a different approach, both view the relationship between *kyai* and *santri*. But both of them have not discussed specifically about these relations in the middle of the political constellation, especially the East Java 2018 governor election. Actually, there are many studies that have examined the relation of *kyai*'s existence to politics, such as a study entitled "Tracking the Role of *Kyai-Santri* in National Politics in Indonesia"[15], which

discusses the typology of the *kyai* movement in national politics from time to time. The study discusses very well the role of *kyai* in national politics in every period and regime. Although it does not explicitly discuss the relationships that are established between the clerics and students in their studies, but in the conclusions written, Nofiaturrehman states that the involvement of clerics in practical politics causes their roles to decline.[16] Conflict often occurs between one clerics and other clerics, the people become neglected. But he also stated that what is most needed related to the role of the cleric is the involvement of the clerics in national politics. Thus Nofiaturrehman conceptually distinguishes the definition of practical politics from national politics.[16] The study, entitled "The Struggle of the Congregation and Politics (The Role of *Kyai* Haji Muhammad Shiddiq in the Congregation and Politics in Kudus, also examines the relation of *kyai* and politics.[17] The study discusses the thought of the Tarekat and the role of KH Muhammad Shiddiq in politics in perspective phenomenology, how is the role of a *Kyai* Muhammad Shiddiq in fostering the Tarekat as well as being a Golkar party politician, except that the study is very unfortunate to put the subject as a data center, there is no comparative data as an attempt to see the pattern that appears.

The study of *kyai* and political relations has not seen the existence of *santri* or *kyai* as subjects that need to be taken into account. As a respected and obeyed figure, the *kyai* certainly has followers with various definitions of loyalty. The *kyai* followers are the ones who have significance for certain victories in every democracy that NU becomes a part of. For this reason, this paper is more specifically explaining the relationship that exists between the *Kyai* and the *santri* in the East Java Province regional head elections that have been held.

## II. THEORETICAL REVIEW

### A. *Habermas and Foucault: an Eclectic Review*

Between Foucault and Habermas both took an interest in discourse analysis, even though both had differences in their analysis of discourse. Unlike Foucault, according to Habermas, the discourse was never separated from the concept of public space, and communicative action. The discourse is related to public space because, a space can be said to be a public space when in it every actor or individual talks collectively, without any limitations between one another and a joint discussion, which becomes a common problem. The discussion which becomes a problem together, according to Habermas, is called discourse. Thus the discourse is said to be a discourse when discourse is used as a topic of communication that concerns the lives of many people.[18][19]

In the context of the theory of public space from Habermas, the statement or action of a person is rational insofar as the reason can be explained or recognized intersubjectively. Explanation and reasoning are the basic characteristics of rational validity claims.[18] But not all forms of communication have these characteristics. In general, we can distinguish two forms of communication: naive communication and reflective communication.[18]

Humans use naive communication in everyday life, this kind of communication does not question specifically the reasons or clarity of the statements conveyed. Validity claims issued through these statements are not questioned, but the truth is presumed just like that. Such forms of communication mark communicative actions in *Lebenswelt*. [18] In this everyday naive conversation the speaker and listener simply take their information or statements from their *Lebenswelt* sources. Such conversation is called by Habermas as communicative action.

Such action with claims of validity as the object of its problematization by Habermas is called discourse. [18] In a discourse in the context of Habermas, a piece of *Lebenswelt* loses its character as background knowledge, because after being made the theme of communication, this background knowledge changes into explicit foreground knowledge, because it can be imagined that the discourse participants come out of *Lebenswelt* each of them to rationally solve the problems they took from their *Lebenswelt*. [18] Finally, like communicative action in general, in the context of Habermas discourse has the aim of achieving intersubjective consensus through conversations, dialogues, where the subjects sit together to complete the discourse they discuss. But while at this stage, consensus on communicative action was received spontaneously and was used by the communication participants without further thought, [18] in this section the participants of this discourse must produce more consensus, but at a reflective level. Finally, it can be said that the discourse according to Habermas is a continuation of communicative action using argumentative means.

Thus the concept of discourse according to Habermas is more to its function in forming a communicative action in the public space. While Foucault considers that discourse must be seen archaeologically, how its unity of discourse, cracks and discontinuities. [18]

### III. METHOD

This article does not use empirical research methods, but uses a literature study method. Library study method is a research method that utilizes various information from secondary sources or library sources as is often done by historians, literature and languages, but does not rule out the possibility of this method being used in the sociology discipline. [20]

### IV. DISCUSSION

The event of a democratic party in East Java has indeed been completed. But in its implementation leaves some interesting things to be studied further. The relation between *kyai* and *santri* in the gubernatorial election is interesting to be explored further. The mass mobilization during the East Java Pilgub process took place so massively, meeting after meeting was held to gather and direct the future voices of each candidate for Governor. It sounds so loud how each sub-culture is echoing that their candidate is the best. Islamic boarding school alumni are co-opted in one particular choice. When viewed from the anatomy of the sub culture that has been mobilized, then actually one of the candidates can be ascertained of victory.

The religious figures in the 2018 East Java Governor Election became playing makers in addition to political parties, their roles were taken into account. A very loyal follower becomes one of the indicators of this situation. *Kyai* in this case besides having charisma and virtue that is believed to be able to give blessings to his followers, his fatwa also becomes a significant doctrine that will be obeyed by all his followers. In the context of the relationship of the *kyai* and *santri* in the Pilgub, it is more sensitive as Habermas's conception becomes the basic foundation that will direct each individual to behave and act. *Lebenswelt* in this context is also the experience and knowledge that each subject has gained in his life, which has embedded and become a unity with the socio-cultural system of society. *Lebenswelt*, in other words, background knowledge conveyed in communicative actions. [18] The background knowledge, as long as the communication process is established, will become foreground knowledge that can be known by all communication participants. Consequently, domination in the public sphere should be denied. Each subject does not have the right to dominate the communication process. If such things still happen, the deliberative democracy conceptualized by Habermas is impossible to achieve.

It is also not wrong if Foucault saw that each subject was actually moved by a dominant discourse. With certain discourse a group of subjects will become more dominant than a group of other subjects. [21] Discourse about illness will make doctors more powerful than patients. The patient will follow whatever is ordered by the doctor. Pain discourse that is echoed becomes a truth in the relationship of both. When the doctrine of the loyalty of the *santri* towards it coincides with the mobilization of support in politics, what happens is the boundaries between the so-called sacred and profane things are increasingly blurred. When the boundary is blurred, the *santri* will support one of the pairs of candidates as a form of respect for the students even though the support is not considered rational according to him. The behavior of choosing *santri* in this context is driven by the discourse of sacredness that he believes. Therefore, it is also not wrong if Foucault saw that each subject was actually moved by a dominant discourse. With certain discourse a group of subjects will become more dominant than a group of other subjects. [21] Discourse about illness will make doctors more powerful than patients. The patient will follow whatever is ordered by the doctor. Pain discourse that is echoed becomes a truth in the relationship of both. When the doctrine of the loyalty of the *santri* towards it coincides with the mobilization of support in politics, what happens is the boundaries between the so-called sacred and profane things are increasingly blurred. When the boundary is blurred, the *santri* will support one of the pairs of candidates as a form of respect for the students even though the support is not considered rational according to him. The behavior of choosing *santri* in this context is driven by the discourse of sacredness that he believes.

The sacred relation tradition between *kyai* and *santri* has existed from generation to generation. This is a manifestation of student respect for his teacher. This respect is considered as a mandatory thing as a reciprocal form of



knowledge that has been transferred by the teacher to his students. *Santri* also strongly believes that by respecting the teacher or *kyai*, it will facilitate the next way of life. This is because the knowledge transferred by the *kyai* to the *santri* is a tool to illuminate and navigate the life of the *santri*. Whatever is conveyed by a *kyai* to *santri* will be a doctrine that is embedded in a *santri*. Besides because the *kyai* occupies the highest social structure culturally in society, this is also a manifestation of the relationship between the teacher and students. The relationship between *kyai* and *santri* is like the relationship between father and child, namely patron-client relations.[11]

This patron-client relationship is in fact included in the realm of practical politics. Almost all *Kyai* networks in East Java, mobilize support for every candidate for governor and vice governor of East Java 2018. There are two nodes of the *kyai* support network. The first network is affiliated with the candidate for governor Saifullah Yusuf-Puti, while the second node is affiliated with the candidate for governor of Khofifah-Emil. Both of them both have the support of the clerics and their masses.

#### V. CONCLUSION

It can be concluded in simply term that the relationships that arise between *kyai* and *santri* in the vortex of East Java 2018 governor election as patron-client relations. *Santri* places *kyai* as role models who must carry out all their 'fatwa'. Both pairs of governor candidates have *kyai* support nodes, each of which has mass support. It's just to ensure the existence of the node, and to find out whether the relationship is truly significant, there needs to be further research. For that reason, the author has high hopes to examine the relationships that exist between the *kyai* and *santri* in the 2018 governor election in East Java.

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