Reproducing Political Islam in Java:
The Role of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah Pesantren in the Political Socialisation of the Umat

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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I hereby declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Charles Darwin University, is the result of my own investigations, and all references to ideas and work of other researchers have been specifically acknowledged. I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree.

Nathan John Franklin

May 2014
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Abstract

This thesis contributes to the scholarly understanding of Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah and the role these Muslim organisations perform in the political socialisation of Islam through their affiliated pesantren (Islamic boarding schools). The study has a regional focus, concentrating on two case studies, both in Lamongan, East Java; Pesantren Sunan Drajat represents the NU pesantren system, and Pesantren Karangasem portraying the Muhammadiyah version of pesantren. Bourdieu’s concepts regarding habitus, field, symbolic capital, symbolic power, and symbolic violence are used to examine the pesantren system and the way it reproduces socio-religious identity through the values that santri (students) acquire. Moreover, this study looks at how pesantren and their kyai (headmasters) have influenced the political culture of the umat (religious community). Participant observation provided a detailed insight into the pesantren system, which was complemented with empirical data from election results and a survey to assess the voting habits of Lamongan residents.

The development of political Islam in Lamongan is tied to the history of Islam and the strong pesantren culture in the district. This resulted in the popularity of the Islamic political parties and parties that promote Muslim identity, including Masyumi and the NU party at the 1955 general election; the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP) during the Suharto regime (1966-1998); and the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) and National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN) in the post-Suharto era. Pesantren Sunan Drajat educates its santri to be obedient, and its headmaster demands the community faithful follow his guidance in supporting political candidates that defend the interests of NU. Pesantren Karangasem on the other hand teaches its santri to think critically, but the school’s educators encourage their followers to support cadres that represent the Muhammadiyah constituency. Although people consider the opinions of their local kyai, people are not subservient to their political instructions. Despite this, NU and Muhammadiyah identity remains a salient influence on voters in Lamongan. However, political disunity among NU figures has increased the electoral appeal of the Muhammadiyah candidates, particularly in elections for district head (pemilihan kepala daerah, Pilkada).
Acknowledgements

This study would not have been conceived, much less completed without the help of many individuals and institutions, some predating the commencement of my PhD in March 2006, and even before when I began my undergraduate university studies in 2002.

I am grateful to the Charles Darwin University (CDU) for providing me with a scholarship, allowing me to undertake this academic journey, without which this project would almost certainly not have been conducted. I am especially thankful to my mentor and principal supervisor, Dr Dennis Shoesmith, for comments and corrections on my draft chapters, as well as countless discussions providing advice on my approach, methodology, and applied theory. I am also grateful to my associate supervisor, Dr Tom Hunter, for looking over my drafts and providing insightful information about Indonesia and Islam, as well as kindly inviting me to stay with him and his family in Bali on my way to East Java. I also greatly appreciated Professor Merle Ricklefs for critiquing my survey questionnaire and for reading over my draft PhD. Dr Bill Wilson at CDU must be acknowledged for encouraging me to do a PhD at the end of my Bachelor’s Degree. I thank the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, LIPI) for granting me a research permit in 2006-2007. I also thank the State Ministry of Research and Technology (Kementerian Riset dan Teknologi, Menristek) for a second permit in 2008, and I appreciated Pak Muhammad Hasyim from LIPI for who was my sponsor in Indonesia.

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Pesantren Karangasem, in Lamongan, East Java. Appreciation must also be expressed to friends in Darwin and at CDU for their encouragement, including Dr Mikiko Kawano, Yoko Yonezawa, Litune Lee, Roland Dalton, and Monica Leong for her love and support, and in particular fellow PhD candidate Peter Faulkner for reading over drafts and critiquing my chapters, but he sadly passed away on 26 August 2013. Any text covering a topic as complex as political Islam and the pesantren system is certain to make some mistakes and errors, for which I bear sole responsibly and apologise in advance.

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I thank my teachers at Wanguri Primary school for teaching me Indonesian from grade one through to grade seven. However, it was only in grade ten that I made a conscientious effort to learn the language, and I thank my Indonesian teachers at Dripstone High School. These include, Rosalina Martone, who first took a group of students, including myself, to Bali in September 1998 when I was just 15 years old. This turned out to be my introduction to Indonesian politics, and an interest that has never ended as I witnessed the locals express their euphoria in their new political freedoms following the end of Suharto’s New Order regime. Other teachers that deserve mention include Colin Alexander, and later Ivy Batten for teaching me advanced Indonesian. In addition, special thanks to Steve Rodgers, coordinator of the Australia-Indonesia High School Exchange Program, for selecting me to go to Bali in semester one of 2000; a difficult time in Australia-Indonesia relations following the Australian-led Interfet mission in East Timor after its independence from Indonesia.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother and father, Yvonne and John Franklin, my sister, Tamara, and my niece, Kayla, for putting up with my travels away to undertake research, and for providing endless love and support, and a warm home to come back to. I would also like to thank my wife Jihye (Violet) Song for encouraging me to finish this doctoral thesis.
A Note on Orthography

Indonesian and Javanese words are spelt according to the standardised convention of the Republic of Indonesia set in 1972. The most obvious changes were: dj to j, j to y, tj to c, and oe to u. The only exceptions to this are words that are derived from quotes, titles of books, and the proper names and titles of individuals. For words that exist in both Indonesian and regional languages, the regional spelling has been ignored (thus *wali songo*, as opposed to the Javanese *wali sanga*). In the use of Arabic words, names, and titles, a conventional transcription system is employed. With regard to words that have become common in English no italics are used, for example, Qur’an and Hadith.

Note on Currency Conversion

Throughout research for this project, the purchasing power of one Australia dollar to the Indonesian rupiah fluctuated between 7,000 and 8,500. For the sake of consistency and simplicity, a standard conversion rate of one Australian dollar to 8,000 rupiah is applied, thus R.100,000 is the equivalent to AUD$12.50, and so on. The Indonesia rupiah is represented with the currency abbreviation ‘R.’ and the Australia dollar is represented with ‘AUD$’.

Note on Qur’an and Hadith

All Qur’anic references and quotes in this thesis have been sourced from Yusuf Ali’s English language translation of the Qur’an. Yusuf Ali (1872-1953) was an Islamic scholar who memorised the Qur’an and was highly knowledgeable in English and Arabic language. His translation of the Qur’an is one of the most widely circulated in the world. All Hadith references and quotes have been derived from the online Hadith collections available at www.hadithcollection.com. Its website operators established the online collection in 2009, and they state that they provide highly verified Hadith and reliable sources that have been proofread by Islamic scholars.
Abbreviations and Foreign and Technical Terms

Abbreviations

ABRI  Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, Indonesian National Armed Forces
AD/ART Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga, Statues and Rules of Association (usually for political parties and social organisations)
Aswaja Ahlus-Sunnah wal-Jama‘ah, the followers of the Prophetic Tradition and the Community, used by Sunni Muslims to identify themselves; the ‘saved sect’ from 73 factions of Islam
BMT Baitul Malwit Tanwil, Islamic concept to invest and receive profit from business interests
DDII Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Proselytisation Council
DPR Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, People’s Legislative Assembly
DPRD Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, Regional People’s Legislative Assembly
FPI Front Pembela Islam, Islamic Defenders’ Front
Gestapu Gerakan Tiga Puluh September, Movement of September 30
Gerindra Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Great Indonesia Movement Party
Golkar Golongan Karya, the Party of the Functional Groups
GP Ansor Gerakan Pemuda Ansor, Youth Helpers Movement
GPII Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Youth Movement
HAM Hak Asasi Manusia, Human Rights
Hanura Partai Hati Nurani, People’s Conscience Party
HKTI Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia, Association of Indonesian Farmers
HTI Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Indonesian Party of Liberation
ICMI Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia, Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals
JI Jemaah Islamiyah
Kopassus Komando Pasukan Khusus, Special Forces Command
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KPU</td>
<td>Komisi Pemilihan Umum, Electoral Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPUK</td>
<td>Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kabupaten, District Electoral Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDII</td>
<td>Lembaga Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Proselytisation Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Madrasah Aliyah, Religious Senior High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masyumi</td>
<td>Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia, Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, Religious Primary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIAI</td>
<td>Majlis Islam A'laa Indonesia, High Indonesian Islamic Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMA</td>
<td>Madrasah Mu'allimin, Male Religious Teacher Training High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMT</td>
<td>Madrasah Mu'allimat, Female Religious Teacher Training High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPR</td>
<td>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, People’s Consultative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTs</td>
<td>Madrasah Tsanawiyah, Religious Middle School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUI</td>
<td>Majelis Ulama Indonesia, Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NII</td>
<td>Negara Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>Nahdlatul Ulama, Awakening of Islamic Scholars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmusi</td>
<td>Partai Muslimin Indonesian, Muslim Party of Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai NU</td>
<td>Partai Nahdlatul Ulama, Awakening of Ulama Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBB</td>
<td>Partai Bulan Bintang, Crescent Star Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>Partai Demokrat, Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDIP</td>
<td>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, formerly PNI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemilu</td>
<td>Pemilihan Umum, General Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perbup</td>
<td>Peraturan Bupati, District Head Regulation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perda</td>
<td>Peraturan Daerah, Regional Regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilkada</td>
<td>Pemilihan Kepala Daerah, Election for District Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilgub</td>
<td>Pemilihan Gubernur, Gubernatorial Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKB</td>
<td>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, National Awakening Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKI</td>
<td>Partai Komunis Indonesia, Indonesian Communist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKNU</td>
<td>Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama, National Awakening Party of Ulama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMB</td>
<td>Partai Matahari Bangsa, National Sun Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNI</td>
<td>Partai Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian Nationalist Party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PKS  Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Prosperous Justice Party
PP    Partai Patriot, Patriot Party
PPIP  Persatuan Pemuda Islam Pantura, North Coast Islamic Youth Association
PPP   Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, United Development Party
PT    Perguruan Tinggi, Tertiary Education
SKB Tiga Menteri Surat Keputusan Bersama Tiga Menteri, Three Ministers’ Joint Agreement
SMA   Sekolah Menengah Atas, Second High School
SMK   Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan, Vocational High School
SMP   Sekolah Menengah Pertama, Middle School
TBC   Takhayul, Bid’a, dan Churofat (sometimes spelt Khurofat), Superstition, Innovation, and Myth
TKI   Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, Indonesian Migrant Workers
VOC   Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, Dutch East India Company

Foreign and Technical Terms

Abangan Nominal Muslims
Adat Custom
Akhlaq Islamic ethics
Amal Performance of religious and social obligations
Amar ma’ruf nahi munkar Commanding the good and forbidding the wrong
Asas Party foundation
Asas Tunggal Sole foundation (on the state ideology Pancasila)
Aqidah Belief
Aurat Intimate parts of the body
Ayat Verse of the Qur’an
Balagoh Religious literature
Barakah Blessing or reward, seen by santri as God’s reward given through kyai
Bid’a Innovation (type of heresy)
Boso Ngoko Coarse Javanese Language
Bupati
District Head

Da’i
Someone who performs religious proselytising

Dakwah
Religious proselytising

Densus 88
Detasement Khusus 88, Special Detachment 88

Desa
Village

Dewan Kyai
Council of kyai

Dewan Mushiyah
Council of Islamic scholars

Fatwa
Religious decree

Fiqh
Islamic jurisprudence

Gus
Honorific title for son of a kyai

Hadith
Holy book of verified Prophetic anecdotes of Muhammad and the second source of Islam after the Qur’an

Harokat
Morphology, markings to complete Arabic letters

Halaqah
Small circle Qur’anic recitation

Halus
Polite/Refined

Haj
Religious pilgrimage to Mecca

Haji
Title given to male who has performed the haj

Ibu Nyai
Wife of a kyai

Ikhtilat
Mingling of males and females who are not blood relations in a non-segregated space

Ijtihad
Scholarly individual interpretation of the Qur’an and Hadith

Istigosha
Prayer gathering, common with NU

Jilbab
Female Muslim headscarf showing the face, but covering the hair, ears and neck

Kabupaten
District

Kafir
Non-believer

Kafir Harbi
Non-believer enemy

Kafir Zimmi
Non-believer friend (People of the Book)

Kampung
Village hamlet

Kanjeng
Javanese high-ranking address for a nobleman

Kasar
Impolite/Coarse

Kecamatan
Subdistrict
Kembali ke Khittah 1926

Return to the Charter of 1926, NU’s founding doctrine as a socio-religious organisation non-political in nature

Khalwat
Close proximity (between males and females)

Khilafiyah
Undefined Islamic law and thus left to interpretation, usually pertaining to differences between NU and Muhammadiyah

Khotbah
Friday Sabbath sermon

Kitab Kuning
Traditionalist Islamic text; lit. yellow book

Kromo
Refined Javanese language

Kromo Madyo
Standard Javanese language

Kyai
Venerated religious scholar and pesantren headmaster specific to Java and Madura

Madrasah
Islamic school with classrooms resembling Western educational models

Ma’had Ali
Islamic college

Mazhab
School of thought based on one of the four different interpretations of Muslim etiquette, namely Shafi’i, Maliki, Hanafi, and Hanbali

Mantek
Common knowledge

Makruh
Not recommended in Islam although permissible, and no religious merit can be gained (e.g. smoking cigarettes)

Mati Syahid
Martyrdom death

Mondok
To dwell at a pondok (verb from of pondok)

Muballigh
Religious preacher

Muhammadiyah
A reformist Islamic movement founded in 1912 by Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan

Mukrim
A blood relative or guardian to a female

Musholla
Prayer house

Musafir
Pilgrim in search of religious knowledge, often moving from pesantren to pesantren

Musyrik/Syirik
Polytheism

Muktamar
Conference

Nahdatul Ulama
Revival of Islamic Scholars, a traditionalist conservative movement founded in 1926 by Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy’ari

Nahwu-Shorof
Arabic syntax and morphology
Nahdliyin  NU followers
Nyantri  Verb for the activities of santri
Orang Awam  Common people
Pahala  Religious merit
Pegon  Javanese language written in Arabic script
Pembaruan  Islamic reform and purification
Pengasuh  Director of a pesantren, kyai
Pengurus  Functionary at a pesantren
Pesantren  Javanese Islamic boarding school
Pesantren Salafiyah  Pesantren with no formal schooling and only Qur’anic recitation
Pengajian  Qur’anic recitation and studies; also religious sermon (in East Java)
Priyayi  Muslim Javanese nobility
Putihan  Devout orthodox Muslim
Qur’an  Holy Book of Islam
Rezeki  Donation; blessing
Riba  Usury; interest that is forbidden on loans according to Islam
Rukun  Proper Islamic practices to complete an action
Santri  Student who lives at a pesantren
Santri Mudik/Kalong  Homebound santri, who return home each day after study at pesantren
Santri Mukim  Boarding santri, who live at pesantren
Sarat  Traditional Javanese Islamic medicine that has been blessed
Sedang  Standard
Seni-Budaya  Artistic-cultural, traditionalist approach to Islam
Sesat  Deviant/Misguided
Shari’ah  Islamic Law
Sheikh  The Arabic language equivalent of kyai
Solat  Muslim prayer
Solat Asar  Afternoon prayer
Solat Duhur  Midday prayer
Solat Isa  Evening prayer
Solat Maghrib  Sunset prayer
Solat Subuh  Daybreak prayer
Silaturrahim  Brotherly Muslim visit
**Slametan** Traditional Javanese ritual meal preformed on important occasions, including, birth, marriage, death, etc.

**Sowan** Visit one’s elders, including santri visiting kyai

**Sunnah** Normative Islamic example, course of action, and teachings, as set out by the Prophet Muhammad for the believers to follow as recorded in the Hadith

**Surat** Chapter of the Qur’an

**Surau** Prayer house and communal building

**Syuriyah** Advisor (advisory board)

**Tabligh** Sermon

**Tabligh Akbar** Great sermon

**Tadarus Qur’an** Taking turns to read the Qur’an, one person reads while others listen

**Tahfidzul Qur’an** Memorisation of the Qur’an

**Tahlilan** Prayer for the dead

**Tajdid** Islamic revival, in order to reform and purify society

**Tajwid** Correct pronunciation of Arabic phonemes, phonemic assimilations, short and long contrasts of vowels, and the study of punctuation marks

**Tanfidziyah** Executive board

**Taqlid** Faithful reliance

**Taqlid Buta** Blind obedience

**Tarekat** Muslim brotherhood, Sufi order

**Tasawuf** Mysticism

**Tauhid** Islamic theology; Allah’s divinity

**Ulama** Islamic scholar

**Umat** Islamic community

**Usul Fiqh** Systems of Islamic jurisprudence

**Wahhabi** A literalist and fundamentalist branch of Islam rejecting any form of innovation (bid’ā); dominant in Saudi Arabia

**Wali Songo** Nine Saints who Islamised Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth century

**Wiriten** Islamic chanting

**Zakat** Giving of alms

**Ziarah** Visiting of the graveyards of Muslim saints
Key Analytical Terms

Traditionalism
Acceptance of multiple valid sources to knowing Islam, including the Qur’an and Hadith, the four Sunni Schools of Law, religious texts (kitab kuning), and local tradition and folklore, such as the legends of the nine Muslim saints (wali songo). Often described as syncretism, embracing Sufism (Muslim mysticism) and a socio-cultural (seni-budaya) approach to religious practice and proselytisation (dakwah). General acceptance of local, pre-Islamic customs (adat), culture and mysticism, and even animism. Applies faithful reliance (taqlid) and obedience to religious teachers, particularly kyai, without critical thinking.*

Traditionalist
Someone who, or institution which, adheres to traditionalism.

Reformism
Purification of Islam through pembaruan, literally meaning renewal (Arabic: tajdid). Acceptance of strict valid sources to knowing Islam, principally the Qur’anic and Hadith, for divine guidance to purge innovations (bid’a) according to Islam’s pristine existence at the time of Muhammad and his companions. Opposes the four Sunni Schools of Law, kitab kuning, as well as local tradition and folklore, as authoritative guides and for use in dakwah. Promotes scholarly interpretation (ijtihad) and is critical of human reason and blind obedience (taqlid buta) towards religious teachers. It rejects local cultural expressions of Islam as bid’a, regards mysticism as a cause of heresy, and demands that adat and culture conform to the requirements of Islam. A process of reform achieved principally through education and dakwah.*

Reformist
Someone who, or institution which, adheres to reformism.

Modernism
Acceptance of strict valid sources to knowing Islam, principally the Qur’an and Hadith for divine guidance, and rejects human reason in understanding revelation. However, it expresses an openness to modern learning as a way of achieving modernity and enhancing the power of reason, while rejecting innovation regardless of socio-historical circumstances. It is diametrically opposed to what it sees as the medieval obscurantism of Traditionalism, may reject local cultural expressions of Islam and is at least suspicious of mysticism.*

Modernist
Someone who, or institution which, adheres to modernism.

Santri Habitus
Islamic student lifestyle produced by dependency and memory inculcated through the pesantren system, disciplining and educating

* Elements of this definition borrowed from Ricklefs’ *Islam and its Opponents in Java* (2012: 514-6).
students with knowledge, values, culture, and habits, where behaviour and belief form part of the social structure. Students are individual agents who uphold the structure giving their leader (kyai) symbolic capital and unchallenged legitimacy. A system of dispositions that endures, influencing thought, action, and identity.

**Moderate**
Someone who, or institution which, is tolerant and has temperate views on the state, politics, and religion, respects pluralism, and opposes extremism and radicalism.

**Secularism**
A theory that religion should not intrude into secular (worldly) state affairs, delineating a separation of church and state, or mosque and state.

**Nationalism**
A political ideology or belief centering upon the values and identity of the nation, and where actions are carried out in the name of the nation. For this reason nationalism is a cross-cutting ideology, manifesting on one hand as progressive and liberating, promoting unity, independence, democracy, and on the other hand, oppressive and authoritarian, but all variations share the common characteristic of the central importance of the nation. Nationalism can also encompass conservative, protectionist, and even xenophobic attitudes.

**Pancasila**
Indonesian state ideology that accepts the role of religion in state affairs, and upholds humanity, unity, democracy, and justice, based on five principles: 1) Belief in the one and only God; 2) Just and civilised humanity; 3) The unity of Indonesia; 4) Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives; 5) Social justice for all the people of Indonesia - 1) Ketuhanan yang maha esa; 2) Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab; 3) Persatuan Indonesia; 4) Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan, dalam permusyawaratan perwakilan; 5) Keadilan social bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia.

**Extremism**
An ideology or movement that holds views opposing the mainstream or political centre, which violates common moral standards and structure, particularly, changing the state’s ideological foundation, including the establishment of a theocratic state, or Caliphate, and the enforcement of shari’ah law.

**Extremist**
Someone who, or institution which, adheres to extremism.

**Fundamentalism**
An ideology or movement that holds certain principles as essential and unchallengeable ‘truths’. Not violent in its pursuit of its objectives.

**Fundamentalist**
Someone who, or institution which, adheres to fundamentalism.
Radicalism  
To abolish and reform fundamental structures and principles of society, politics, and the state, not merely superficial ones, based on religious ideology. Radicalism can manifest into vigilantism and tactics of intimidation to force concessions or compromises from governments and bully groups with opposing views into silence.

Radical  
Someone who, or institution which, adheres to radicalism.

Islamism  
An ideology based on Islam and its application to the fundamentals of life and the state. It pursues a political order through laws and regulations, as well as by establishing state institutions or modifying existing ones, to impose deeper Islamisation, promote moral justice, and uphold the integrity of the Muslim community (umat). Islamism is often associated with modernist and reformist thought. It can take literalist or more moderate forms of interpretation and application. It can be manipulated through jihadism to validate the use of violence to achieve its objectives. Islamism demands social conformity, and requires other faiths, which are supposedly allowed to operate freely, to accept the supremacy of Islamic authority and law.*

Islamist  
Someone who, or institution which, adheres to Islamism.

Jihadism  
Based on the doctrine of Jihad, or holy religious struggle, varying from peaceful means to war. Peaceful means normally involves efforts to spread and enhance people’s knowledge of Islam through education and dakwah. Violence is said to be only in retaliation to defend against physical attack or treats from foreign ideologies. Jihadism is motivated by the cause to defend and preserve Islam through spreading the realm of Islam (Darul Islam), with a belief that the divine guidance of Allah will prevail through the reward of victory or martyrdom (syahid) in this life, and heaven in the afterlife. Objectives can also include the implementation of shari’ah law, and even the establishment of an Islamic state, or Caliphate.

Jihadist/Jihadi  
Someone who, or institution which, adheres to Jihadism.

Militant Jihadism  
Jihadism based on violent rebellion through militant, insurgent or guerrilla tactics to oppose the status quo. Its objectives include those promoted by extremism or radicalism, particularly regime change or to force compromises from governments to be more accommodating towards Islam and offer concessions, such as regional autonomy and self-government. It can be linked to ethnic identity, particularly for minority groups.

* Elements of this definition borrowed from Ricklefs’ *Islam and its Opponents in Java* (2012: 514-6).
Garis Keras | Indonesian term meaning ‘hardline’ in English; used by some moderate Muslims when referring to fundamentalists, extremists, radicals, and militant jihadis. However, the term is often misused, particularly by members from NU, who use it to label individuals or organisations with opposing views.

**Political distinctions**

| Political Islam | The promotion of Muslim aspirations and the championing of an Islamic agenda through laws, regulations, and government policy. All forms of political Islam derive ideological inspiration from holy texts, principally the Qur’an and Hadith, and the history of Islam itself. All Indonesian political parties that adhere to Pancasila are obliged to accept at least a basic role of religion in state affairs. |
| Islamic party | Formal ideological basis in Islam as their party platform (asas), as opposed to Pancasila, pursuing an Islamist agenda pressing for government policies that accommodate and support the empowerment of Muslim society through the promotion of conservative religious values to regulate social behaviour and thought, including introducing shari’ah law or components of it, and possibly changing the state’s foundation to a theocratic model. |
| Pancasila party | Formal ideological basis and asas in Pancasila and its five tenets, which accepts at least a basic role of religion in state affairs, and upholds humanity, unity, democracy, and justice. |
| Secular party | Formal ideological basis in secularism, upholding the separation of church and state, or mosque and state. |
| Nationalist party | Formal ideological basis in nationalism, where all actions are carried out in the name of the nation. |
### Glossary of Key Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position/Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afnan Ashori</td>
<td>Local religious figure and leader of Muhammadiyah in Lamongan (2000-2005).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Maschan Moesa</td>
<td>East Java Chairman of NU (1999-2008), candidate for Deputy Governor of East Java (2008); became member of the MPR representing PKB (2009); ran unsuccessfully for National Chairman of NU (2010).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakam Mubarok</td>
<td>Senior ustaz at Pesantren Karangasem; in the process of becoming head kyai; deputy leader of FPI in Lamongan 2005-2010.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasyim Muzadi</td>
<td>National head of NU (1999-2010).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helmy Faisal Zaini</td>
<td>Since 2004, member of the national MPR from PKB; in 2009, become Minister for Development of Disadvantaged Areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam Nahrawi</td>
<td>Since 2004, member of the national MPR from PKB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khofifah Indra Parawansa</td>
<td>Candidate for Governor of East Java (2008); Minister for Women’s Affairs (1999-2001); Chairwoman of the Woman’s Wing of NU (2006-2016).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyai Abdullah Maun</td>
<td>Head of NU in Lamongan (2005-2010).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kyai Anwar Mu'rob  Headmaster of Pesantren Karangasem.

Kyai Aziz Khoiri  Head of the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (MUI) in Lamongan.

Kyai Ridwan Syarqawi  Founder of Pesantren Modern.

Mufti Labib  Senior *ustadz* at Pesantren Karangasem; formerly associated with PBB.


Masfuk  Lamongan *bupati* (2000-2010).


Syafiq Mughni  Head of Muhammadiyah in East Java (2005-2010); Alumni of Pesantren Persis in Bangil, Pasuruan, and Pesantren Modern in Lamongan.


Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul)  Deputy East Java Governor (2009-2014); member of the national DPR (1999 to 2007); State Minister for Acceleration of Development in Disadvantaged Areas (2004-2007); leader of GP Ansor (2000-2010).

Soekarwo  East Java Governor (2009-2014).


Sukarno  First Indonesian President (1945-1966).

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)  Fifth Indonesian President (2004-2009).

Tsalits Fahami  Lamongan deputy *bupati* 2005-2010.

Zainal Ansori  Leader of the Islamic Defenders’ Front (2005-2010).

Zainal Anwar  Eldest son of Kyai Mu'rob; member of PBB.
Map of Indonesia available at http://0.tqn.com/d/geography/1/0/U/3/id-150.gif
Table 1.1: Pesantren and Affiliated Organisations

In 2000, records regarding religious parent organisation for *pesantren* are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)</td>
<td>7,306</td>
<td>64.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persis</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Jami’iyah Al Wasliyah</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Community Party</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathlaul Anwar</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Khairat</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahdlatul Wathan (NW)</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDII(^1)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perti(^2)</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUPPI(^3)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDII(^4)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>2,616</td>
<td>23.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>5.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,312</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Tempo 1 March 2004:30)

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1. *Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia*, Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council
2. *Pergerakan Tarbiyah Indonesia*, Indonesian Educational Movement
3. *Gabungan Usaha Perbaikan Pendidikan Islam*, Joint Effort for the Development of Islamic Education
4. *Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia*, Indonesian Islamic Proselytisation Institute
Chapter One: Introduction
Chapter One: Introduction

This study investigates the political socialisation of the Islamic community (*umat*) through the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) operated by Indonesia’s two main Islamic groups, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The text draws upon research conducted in the East Java district of Lamongan where there is a strong Islamic identity and *pesantren* culture. The study is set in the era following *reformasi*; the movement in 1998 causing the collapse of Suharto’s New Order regime and subsequent shift to a democratic polity, enabling Indonesians to vote freely for the first time since 1955. The outcomes of the general elections in 1999, 2004, and 2009, have followed a pattern of electing nationalist, Pancasila-based political parties. However, in the regional context of Lamongan, East Java, Islamic candidates held power during these elections.

In its analysis, this thesis employs a deductive research approach based on the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu concerning *field* and *habitus*, and his concept of *symbolic capital*, *symbolic power*, and *symbolic violence*. Deploying participant observation founded upon Bourdieu’s conceptual framework, research was conducted at Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem in the littoral subdistrict (*kecamatan*) of Paciran in northern Lamongan. Findings were used to compare and analyse the methods by which *pesantren* students, known as *santri*, are inculcated in the traditions of Islam. The study concentrated on how *pesantren* headmasters, known as *kyai*, operate within the *umat*, and how they use their *symbolic capital* (reputation) and *symbolic power* (influence) to extend conventions of *symbolic violence* within the community of believers to conflate religious complicity with political complicity to *kyai*.¹ This includes the role *kyai* have played in electoral politics, particularly local elections, known as Pilkada (*pemilihan kepala daerah*). To describe the loci of the process of socialisation of *santri* in specific religious values, the term *santri habitus* was developed. The *santri habitus* endures, influencing thought and action beyond the *pesantren* experience. The *santri habitus* disciplines and educates students with knowledge, values, culture, and habits, where behaviour and belief form part of the social structure. The *santri* are an integral part of the *habitus* as they are individual agents who uphold the structure providing their leader (*kyai*) legitimacy and influence.

¹ *Symbolic capital* refers to the resources available to an individual, like honour, prestige or recognition; *symbolic power* is invisible influence creating belief; and *symbolic violence* is the convention that dialectical cultural class sees the dominated complying with the dominant class. See theoretical discussion in chapter two.
Pesantren Sunan Drajat represents the NU pesantren system, and Pesantren Karangasem represents the Muhammadiyah version of pesantren. Muhammadiyah is a reformist Muslim organisation established in 1912 to modernise Islam as well as reforming it based on the original teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. In 1926, the traditionalist Muslim organisation of NU was formed in response to reformist pressures and to maintain the juxtaposition of local cultural elements and Islam. The official policy of both NU and Muhammadiyah is that they are socio-religious entities without political affiliation, concerned with the development of society through education and social welfare programs. Historically, pesantren are characteristic of NU, but some are associated with Muhammadiyah. In 2000, approximately 64.6 per cent of pesantren in Indonesia were affiliated to NU, whereas 1.6 per cent were associated with Muhammadiyah, 23 per cent were independent, and the remaining were affiliated to other Islamic organisations (Tempo 1 March 2004: 30).

Studies on pesantren and kyai show that pesantren and kyai have a strategic and central role in Javanese society (Dhofier 1999; Geertz 1960a, 1960b; Horikoshi 1976; Turmudi 1996, 2003). The centrality of the position of kyai in society is related to their status as educated elite, and to their role as wealthy religious educators in the community (Turmudi 1996: 3). Kyai of major pesantren exert influence throughout the nation and abroad, making them part of the national elite; some have even been appointed as government ministers, members of parliament, and ambassadors (Dhofier 1999: 35). They have the ability to transfer religious and political messages to enforce Muslim values in their local community through their command of the Bourdieuan concept of symbolic capital and symbolic violence.

The umat in Lamongan is divided by affiliation to Muhammadiyah or NU. Although the latter represent the larger portion of the umat, the former rely on their close-knit network dominating local elections and winning valuable political positions. Assessing political Islam from the traditionalists-modernist perspective is a contested approach, and one criticised for its limited scope. Dhofier (1999) and Hefner (2009) argue that the NU-Muhammadiyah approach to assessing political Islam is too narrow. However, the development of political Islam has been encumbered by NU-Muhammadiyah differences, as religious arguments (dalil) regarding what constitute correct Islamic practices and innovation (bid’a) often produce no bipartisan consensus or conclusion, and differences are just ignored. Such omissions avoid dissention, offence, and being branded misguided and deviant (sesat). Although both organisations are
social-religious entities and remain politically neutral, their constituencies are represented through the two separate political parties, the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB), and the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN).

The political culture is confounded by the fact that many parties, including PKB and PAN, maintain the status quo of a basic commitment to and recognition of religion in state affairs, as stipulated in the first clause of the state ideology Pancasila. Although PKB and PAN promote Islam for much of their identity to satisfy their respective NU and Muhammadiyah Muslim constituency, they are not Islamic parties like, for example, the Justice Prosperous Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS), the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP), or the Crescent Star Party (Partai Bulan Bintang, PBB), which hold Islam as their sole foundation (asas). Further, the uncertain nature of political Islam and its political disunity amongst its advocates has, in part, led to multiple small and fractured Islamic parties with vague policies and limited electoral appeal. Nevertheless, as this study demonstrates, NU and Muhammadiyah identities remain a salient influence in socio-religious and political matters. In Lamongan, almost the entire population follow Islam and Muslim identity is strong, divided only by question of affiliation to either of the two major religious groups. The traditionalist-modernist dichotomy is a plausible approach to examining Islamic aspirations and Muslim politics in this district as NU and Muhammadiyah have been, at times, intensely political, and even linked to specific political parties.

**Background**

Indonesia’s Islamic organisations and pesantren communities did not escape the suppression that civil society and political groups experienced under presidents Sukarno and Suharto, as their regimes sought to maintain power. Religious groups could operate relatively independently so long as they acquiesced with the government agenda and its programs of national unity and economic development. Although the regimes of Sukarno (1945-1966) and Suharto’s New Order (1966-1998) suppressed political Islam, they saw the value in close relations with Muhammadiyah and NU because of their potential to facilitate development, particularly in rural and isolated communities. In fact, during the first few decades of the newly formed Republic of Indonesia, NU members came to dominate the Ministry of Religion.
This study will examine political culture at the district level following reformasi, with specific examination of the way pesantren reproduce political values in this new setting. In 1998, reformasi saw two of the nation’s most prominent religious leaders, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), the leader of NU, and Amien Rais, the Chairman of Muhammadiyah, play decisive roles in the political reforms that followed. Gus Dur took the opportunity to create PKB, as did Rais who created PAN. Both leaders hoped that followers of NU and Muhammadiyah would support their respective political parties.

Members of PKB view NU and the pesantren network as a source of support for their political ambitions (Interview with Ali Maschan Moesa 28 November 2009; Interview with Helmy Faishal Zaini 22 November 2007; Interview with Imam Nahrawi 22 November 2007; Interview with Makin Abbas 5 December 2007). This belief arose when NU was directly involved in politics (1952-1984); many kyai attempted to draw upon traditional patron-client relationships to advance their personal interests from ‘their ally’ in office (Barton 2002: 203; Van Bruinessen 2002). The appeal to this constituency is understandable since NU proclaims to have around 40 million followers, the largest organisation in the country. In the 1999 general election, PKB attained 12.6 per cent of the national vote, and it became the third largest party in the country. In Lamongan, PKB emerged the most popular party with 42.5 per cent of the district vote. PKB’s founder, Gus Dur, was elected by the country’s parliament and became Indonesia’s fourth president in July 1999. These were great achievements given that the party was created only a year earlier, and was indicative of the changes that had taken place in the ‘era of reformation’ following decades of electorate manipulation and political suppression by Sukarno and Suharto.

Muhammadiyah followers are pressured by PAN members to support their party, particularly since its founder was Amien Rais, the former head of Muhammadiyah (Interview with Abdul Fatah 9 July 2008; Interview with Din Syamsuddin 7 July 2007; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 13 November 2007; Interview with Zainal Anwar 29 June 2007). The Muhammadiyah constituency is the second largest with perhaps 19 million Indonesians identifying with it, or 7.9 per cent of the population according to survey data (Bush 29 Nov-2 Dec 2012). Although Muhammadiyah is not pesantren-focused in spreading reformist theology, in Lamongan at least a dozen pesantren are affiliated to the organisation, while its formal education is more extensive with scores of affiliated schools and madrasah in the
district, and thousands more throughout the country. In 2005, the Muhammadiyah educational apparatus in Lamongan included 115 primary schools, 51 middle schools, 31 senior high schools, and 4 teacher colleges (Tim Penulis 2005: 391). In 1999, PAN captured 7.1 per cent of the vote becoming the nation’s fifth biggest party. In Lamongan, it was the third most popular with 12.1 per cent, behind PKB and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*, PDIP).\(^2\) Rais was rewarded with the country’s third most prestigious position, after the President and Vice-President, as the Speaker of the People’s Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*, MPR).

In the 1999 general election, support for political Islam from Islamic parties, as well as NU and Muhammadiyah candidates within PKB and PAN, was a reaction against decades of political suppression. Chronologically, in 1960, Sukarno disbanded the nation’s most popular Islamic party, Masyumi. After Suharto established his authority in 1966-8, he moved to control the Islamic constituency. In 1973, he approved two secular parties; Golkar (*Golongan Karya*; the Party of the Functional Groups) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*, PDI), as well as the amalgamation of all the Islamic parties within PPP. In 1985, Suharto forced all political parties to accept the Pancasila as their sole basis (*asas tunggal*). The New Order regime also enticed *kyai* to affiliate with Golkar in an endeavour to improve their religious appeal, and *kyai* were free to do so following NU’s decision to withdraw from politics in 1984.\(^3\)

*Reformasi* has seen the transition to regional autonomy, which was passed in 1999 and implemented from 2001. This has empowered the position of *bupati*, or district head, making it an attractive office (Karim 2008: 158; Vel 2005: 106). Religion, foreign policy, justice, and economic affairs remain the responsibility of the national government, but significant components of religious affairs have been determined locally (Ricklefs 2012: 266-7). *Bupati* assume more control over the district bureaucracy, including taxes, budgets, local services, as well as elements of health and education. This control is exercised through local by-laws issued by *bupati*, known as *bupati* regulations, or *Perbup* (*peraturan bupati*), while local

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\(^2\) PDIP attained 24.4 per cent of the vote in Lamongan and 33.8 per cent nationally.

\(^3\) This included Kyai Ghofur from Pesantren Sunan Drajat who joined Golkar in 1977. Following *reformasi*, *pesantren* involvement in democratic Indonesia is sometimes unavoidable as Indonesia’s political parties compete to increase their support at elections and visit *pesantren* in the process. It should be noted, however, that even though a *kyai* might welcome a political candidate or party representatives to his *pesantren*, this does not automatically mean that he and his followers are willing to provide political support.
parliaments can also produce regional regulations, or Perda (*peraturan daerah*). *Bupati* are directly elected for five-year terms, with a two-term limit, culminating in alliances between NU and Muhammadiyah to attract more votes. It has also caused rivalry between the two organisations. Candidates for *bupati* and deputy *bupati* run as pairs, and to increase their appeal it is common for the paired candidates to represent both Islamic organisations. This has influenced outcomes in the Lamongan elections where PKB and PAN (except in 1999 when PAN came third) have been the most popular political parties, and have produced successful coalitions to win Pilkada.

Since at least the mid-1980s, Lamongan *bupati* have held good relations with powerful *pesantren* in Lamongan (Interview with Muhammad Faried 8 July 2008). The provincial and national level is rather more complex and because *pesantren* and *kyai* throughout the archipelago are politically amorphous, their potential collective power is diminished. Support from *pesantren* educators does not necessarily mean the surrounding community will vote the way a *kyai* dictates, but attaining the backing of respected *kyai* can improve the *bona fides* of candidates. However, if a *kyai* becomes politically involved, he may damage his credibility, particularly when the public perceive him as too distracted, neglecting his religious duties.⁴

There are few in-depth studies, in either Indonesian or English language, which have concentrated on Lamongan. To research the role of *kyai* in politics and political Islam, this district was an appropriate choice for its demography of NU and Muhammadiyah followers, and strong *pesantren* culture.⁵ Nearly 1.2 million people live in the district and 99.4 per cent are Muslim. The two case studies were chosen because they represent two prominent *pesantren* within the two major Islamic organisations in Indonesia located close to each other.⁶ Pesantren Karangasem was founded in 1948, and its leader was attracted to Muhammadiyah in the 1950s. It is one of the oldest and biggest Muhammadiyah *pesantren* in Indonesia with 1,425 *santri* in 2007. The NU-aligned Pesantren Sunan Drajat was founded in 1977, and it has become the largest Islamic boarding school in Lamongan with 4,238 *santri* in 2007. It is

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⁴ This was a view expressed in survey feedback; although some respondents supported *kyai* involvement, and saw *kyai* as ‘protectors of the *umat*’ (*pengayom umat*). To read comments from survey respondents, see appendix.

⁵ Lamongan is surrounded by famous *pesantren*, including Pesantren Tebuireng and Pesantren Denanyar in Jombang to the south, Pesantren Langitan in Tuban, east, and Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik, west.

⁶ Other *pesantren* were visited during research. These *pesantren* were mostly located in East Java, including, Pesantren Gontor in Ponorogo, Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang, Pesantren Langitan in Tuban, Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik, as well as other small *pesantren* in Lamongan and other districts in East Java.
uncommon for pesantren to be affiliated to Muhammadiyah because the organisation, including its Chairman, Din Syamsuddin, does not consider the pesantren system necessary for the achievement of Islamic modernism and reformism (Interview with Din Syamsuddin 7 July 2007). Overwhelmingly, pesantren are associated with NU; but Pesantren Karangasem is a well-known and respected pesantren within the Muhammadiyah organisation. This scenario provides a unique opportunity for research into pesantren politics from the perspective of Indonesia’s two main Islamic groups.

**Pesantren**

Pesantren are traditional Javanese Islamic boarding schools, the word means ‘place of the santri’. Indonesians also refer to these schools as pondok and often they combine the two words: pondok pesantren. The characteristics that constitute a pesantren include a kyai, pondok (dormitory), santri and regimented lifestyle and religious education based around the pengajian (Qur’anic studies and recitation). Pesantren are different to the common madrasah (Islamic school with Western-style classrooms) because students generally live at pesantren for long periods. This usually ranges from three to six years, spanning either or both the middle and senior high school years of a santri.

American anthropologist of Indonesian Islam Clifford Geertz suggested that ‘there have been pesantren-like institutions in Java since the Hindu-Buddhist period (i.e. from the second to about the sixteenth centuries), and most likely even before, for the cluster of student disciples collected around a holy man is a pattern common throughout south and southeast Asia’ (1960a: 231). Some scholars, such as Hefner (2009: 17), Van Bruinessen (1995: 174), Ricklefs (2007: 52) and Soebardi (1971), disagree with this position and argue that the proliferation of pesantren for advanced study only began to be established in the late eighteenth century, and did not become extensive until a century later. Whenever the pesantren tradition began, during the course of the twentieth century its spread was rapid. Ricklefs’ analysis of educational reports in 1831, identified that although pesantren were located in some areas, and in particular on the pasisir (north coast of Java), ‘they were not yet a common phenomenon across Java and the proportion of Java’s population educated in them was very small’ (Ricklefs 2007: 52). In 2005, there were 14,656 pesantren in Indonesia that
educated around 3.4 million *santri* (Departemen Agama 2007b: iii-iv). In 2007, Lamongan recorded 240 *pesantren* that educated 50,004 students (Departemen Agama 2007a).

Social and technological developments have forced most *pesantren* to accommodate modern subjects, such as English language, mathematics, and science, into their curricula. In 1975, the Three Ministers’ Joint Agreement (*Surat Keputusan Bersama Tiga Menteri*, SKB Tiga Menteri) compelled *pesantren* that use the national education curriculum and received some state funding to teach 70 per cent general learning and 30 per cent religion in formal classrooms. However, *pesantren* educators filter subjects to make them compatible with beliefs, for example, they believe God created humans, and reject Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution. *Kyai* often perform dual roles as *pesantren* headmaster and local *ulama* (Islamic scholars) to ensure the protection of social morality and Islamic orthodoxy of the *umat*. This grants them special status in the *umat* fostering their relationships with *orang awam* (common people), *kyai* from other *pesantren*, businessmen, government officials, and politicians.

The term ‘*kyai*’ is unique to Java and reflects the nature of Islamic education that developed there. ‘In their early history, when Islam in Java was predominantly popular Sufism and was expressed in the form of *dhikir* and *wirid* as taught by numerous *tarekat* orders, *pesantren* centers probably consisted of the Kyai’s house and a large mosque in which some extra open rooms were allocated for the members of the *tarekat* orders (Sufi, or, mystic, Muslims brotherhood) who came from distant areas to practice *suluk* (Dhofier 1999: 13). Prior to the establishment of the *madrasah* system in the early twentieth century, the *pesantren* system resembled a kind of *madrasah tarekat* order (Dhofier 1999: 13). *Tarekat* are Sufi or mystic Muslim brotherhoods that seek closeness to God through the accumulation of religious merit (*pahala*) by ritualistic chanting and prayer, and many are affiliated to NU; whereas Muhammadiyah hold the view that *tarekat* are unnecessary for the practice of Islam and

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7 These *pesantren* are separated into three categories, namely, traditional, modern, and a combination of tradition and modern. There were exactly 9,105 traditional *pesantren*, 1,172 modern and 4,379 combination. Apparently, the new trend is the combination *pesantren*, which are *pesantren* with boarding school facilities that operate with a modern schooling or *madrasah* system of education (Departemen Agama 2007b: iii-iv).

8 Although most *pesantren* teach general learning, one type of school, known as *pesantren salafiyah*, follow only pure and literal translations of the Qur’an and Hadith.

9 Extra studies outside the normal classroom hours were at the discretion of *pesantren* educators. Also, the SKB Tiga Menteri ruling did not apply to *pesantren salafiyah*, which do not teach general subjects.

10 *Dhikir* is recollection of God’s name.

11 *Wirid* is *dhikir* in certain phrases, repeated tens, hundreds, or thousands of times.

12 *Suluk* is ‘mystical path, where members of *tarekat* live at a mosque and follow strict rules, devoting themselves exclusively to *dhikir* and *wirid*. 

Chapter One: Introduction
represent an innovation (bid’a). Javanese Muslims use the title ‘kyai’ to signify a Muslim scholar who is a master in Islamic theology and jurisprudence as well as a Sufi master (Dhofier 1999: 14). In Lamongan, there is an acceptance amongst the Muhammadiyah community to use the title ‘kyai’ for their pesantren headmasters, which is a phenomenon not widely accepted by Muhammadiyah members outside Lamongan as they prefer to use the Arabic term ‘ustadz’ (Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010).

Pesantren are not a typical Muhammadiyah institution, which is because of the organisation’s birth in the urban cities and focus on formal education, but some are affiliated to it. This includes Pesantren Karangasem, which employs all the usual characteristics of pesantren, even using the Javanese title kyai in reference to its headmaster. However, there are differences that are distinctly Muhammadiyah, such as giving its santri the opportunity to question and be critical of Muslim educators, as well as operating a more pluralistic administrative structure in decision-making, the use of funds, and direction of the pesantren. In addition, their religious pedagogy is shaped by the two principal sources of Islam, Qur’an and Hadith (verified prophetic stories of Muhammad). They reject superstition (takhayul), innovations (bid’a) and myth (churofat), or TBC, as their aim is to reform Islam (pembaruan) and apply scholarly interpretation (ijtihad). Despite the fact that Pesantren Karangasem is smaller than Pesantren Sunan Drajat, because it is affiliated to Muhammadiyah, which has an administration that is more structured, unified, and cohesive than NU, Pesantren Karangasem is empowered with a significant degree of symbolic capital.

The Arrival of Islam and the Emergence of Islamic Movements

How locals view Java’s Islamisation underpins the contemporary identities of Muhammadiyah and NU followers. Islam came to Java, and the wider archipelago, by way of either successful introduction, or methods where acceptance of the religion was achieved through coercion, beginning with contact with Muslim mercantile seafaring traders to port cities and later royal conversion (Ricklefs 1993: 3). The general consensus of modern scholarship is that the Islamisation of Indonesia began in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century (Hooker 1983: 3). More recently, however, Ricklefs suggests it began almost a century earlier as the first evidence verifying the existence of an Islamic Kingdom can be dated to AH 822 (AD 1211) based on the gravestone of Sultan Sulaiman bin Abdullah bin Al-Basir at the Kamreh
Most scholars agree that evidence indicates that North Sumatra was the first place where Islam became established in the archipelago.

Hard evidence of the spread of Islam to Java, specifically East Java, exists from the fourteenth century. A series of Muslim gravestones exist close to the Hindu-Buddhist court of Majapahit in the graveyards of Trowulan and Tralaya in Mojokerto. The epigraphy is dated according to the Indian Śaka period rather than the Islamic Anno Hijrae, and is written in Old Javanese instead of Arabic characters indicating the graves were Javanese, rather than foreign, Muslims (Ricklefs 1993: 4). A Muslim gravestone dated AH 822 (AD 1419) located in Gresik marks the burial grounds of Maulana Malik Ibrahim who was likely a foreign Muslim, and according to local histories, was the first of the nine saints, or wali songo, who Islamised Java (Ricklefs 1993: 5).

The earliest dated gravestone at Trowulan bears the date Ś 1290 (AD 1368-9) (Ricklefs 1993: 5). ‘At Tralaya is a series of gravestones extending from Ś 1298 to 1533 (AD 1376-1611). These stones carry Qur’anic quotations and pious formulae’ (Ricklefs 1993: 5). Damais (as quoted in Ricklefs 1993: 5) believes that the intricate decoration on the headstones and close proximity to the Majapahit capital indicate these were the graves of prominent Javanese, and perhaps even members of the royal family. This might suggest that some members of the Javanese elite within Majapahit converted to Islam during the height of this Hindu-Buddhist state, and that the Javanese interior may have adopted Islam before the coastal areas. Therefore, this casts doubt on whether Muslim merchants were responsible for the conversion of the Javanese elite. A. H. Johns posits ‘that the Islamisation of Indonesia coincided with the period when Sufism came to dominate the Islamic world, after the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258. He sees Sufis, of all nationalities, as travelling to Indonesia aboard trading ships and there successfully propagating their more eclectic and less austere version of the faith’, which would have been familiar to Hindu-Buddhist followers (Ricklefs 2008: 15). Beginning with the elite, Islam did not supplant existing beliefs, but mixed and synthesised with them.\footnote{Ricklefs (2012: 12) termed this a ‘mystic synthesis’, which he describes as predicated on three pillars, ‘the identification of being Javanese with being Muslim, the widespread observation of Islam’s five pillars and the acceptance of the reality of local spirit forces’.

With the intertwining of pre-existing songs, dances, wayang kulit or shadow puppet plays, local cultural practices became vehicles of religious teachings, aided with the wali songo stories, as well as sermons, Islam was able to spread.}
Muhammadiyah acknowledges the unique process of the Islamisation of Java, but disagrees with the synthesis of Islamic and non-Islamic cultural elements. Muhammadiyah intends to purify Islam to its original form as based on the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. By contrast, Kyai Ghothur of Pesantren Sunan Drajet and other NU kyai believe they are continuing the spread of Islam through the *pesantren* system in line with the teachings of the *wali songo*. This has a significant influence over the style of teaching of Islam within NU *pesantren*. Although *pesantren* represent the traditional Islamic boarding school system, *pesantren* operated by Muhammadiyah, including Pesantren Karangasem under leader Kyai Mu’rob, follow the reformist organisation’s interpretation of Islam through adapting the modernist approach to their *santri habitus* and teaching curricula.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the socioeconomic position and the worldview of devout Muslims in Java began to change. This was because the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 increased Javanese contact with the Middle East when the Islamic Reform movement was prominent. Audiences in colonial Java were exposed to returning pilgrims who transmitted the central idea of the movement, which was based on the need to regain the ‘uncorrupted’ and ‘progressive’ Islam of the time of the Prophet, and to discredit the ‘non Islamic’, heterodox accretions of the intervening centuries (Anderson 1990: 69). This eventually led to the rise of reformist Islam, which began to question the type of Islam that developed throughout Indonesia. Pious, devout Muslims called themselves *putihan* (‘the white ones’), but there were many Javanese who resisted this new brand of Islam, who were labelled *abangan* (‘the red’ or ‘brown ones’) (Ricklefs 2012: 16).

One significant difference between NU and Muhammadiyah is that the former hammer the importance of adherence to the concept of *Ahlus-Sunnah wal-Jama’ah* or Aswaja (the followers of the Prophetic Tradition and the Community), which traditionalist Sunni Muslims use to identify themselves. This is based on the proclamation made by the Prophet Muhammad that 73 different groups of Islam would develop, and only the followers of the true form of Islam, or Aswaja, will enter heaven.14 NU often state that Muhammadiyah are not part of Aswaja, but Muhammadiyah followers do asserts themselves as Aswaja, although the concept does not dominate their approach to Islamic reform. Another aspect dividing NU

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14 Hadith Sunan Abu Dawood, book 35 (Model Behaviour of the Prophet), no. 4579: The Prophet said: ‘The Jews were split up into seventy-one or seventy-two sects; and the Christians were split up into seventy one or seventy-two sects; and my community will be split up into seventy-three sects.’
and Muhammadiyah is the concept of *sunnah*. *Sunnah* includes the Islamic examples, courses of action, and teachings, which can be interpreted differently, deemed *khilafiyah* (undefined Islamic law). Muhammadiyah apply a more rigid system of verifying what is *sunnah*, whereas NU are more flexible and draw upon a larger variety of sources, including classical religious texts known as *kitab kuning*.

Governments at all levels in Indonesia are conscious of Islamic aspirations, which have influenced many policies, as well as hundreds of local bylaws throughout the nation’s provinces and districts. Notwithstanding differences between NU and Muhammadiyah, there is much that both organisations agree on, including dress codes and covering intimate parts of the body, known as the *aurat*. When there is broad support for a particular Islamic principle it can be made into law. Although not necessarily promoted by NU or Muhammadiyah, perhaps the most famous religious bill is the anti-pornography legislation introduced in 2008, but not without controversy because of its vague definition with the possibility of stifling local cultures for their provocative gestures, revealing costumes, and exotic dances (The Jakarta Post 31 October 2008). In 2009, a Perbup by-law in Lamongan made it compulsory for students who were Muslim to recite the Qur’an to gain entry into high school (Pemerintah Lamongan 2009; The Jakarta Globe 22 March 2009). Apparently it was set at a basic level and not designed to discriminate (Informal conversation with an official from the Department of Education 15 June 2009). In January 2013, this was replaced with a more comprehensive Perbup that compelled all public and private primary, middle, and high school Muslim pupils to be tested on their memorising of Qur’anic verses with the intention to enhance religious knowledge and ethics (Pemerintah Lamongan 2013). Local NU and Muhammadiyah leaders supported the policy, which deepens the Islamisation of Indonesian society.

Islam’s holy scriptures are considered the blueprint for the perfect society where Islam encompasses all facets of the social world, including politics, government, laws, and economics. Religion is an important component of identity for Muslims on both an individual and collective level, which has contributed to its political vitality. However, to understand fully the religious phenomenon we must consider socio-cultural and historical factors. Javanese Islam has its own specific historical development. The type of traditional religious piety that exists within Java is commonly referred to as syncretism. This term is often loosely applied to define Islamic ideas juxtaposed with Hindu-Buddhist concepts; others include
Catholicism, ancestor worship and theosophy, while some still relish combining cabalism, freemasonry and Javanese concepts of biology, which is seen to be compatible (Mulder 1996: 115). Some traditionalist Muslims believe that those who have a full understanding of such things can predict or even influence events, including the outcome of anything from an election to soccer matches; a notion totally rejected by reformists. An example of this traditional belief included Ali Maschan Moesa, the former head of NU in East Java, who said that his local kyai predicted that he and his front-runner, Soenarjo, would win the East Java gubernatorial election in 2008. Apparently this same kyai predicted the soccer win by Spain over Germany in the Euro 2008 final, the night before Moesa was interviewed (Interview with Ali Maschan Moesa 30 June 2008). Another example was when Kyai Ghofur was adamant that Tsalits would become bupati of Lamongan in 2010 (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 10 November 2009). However, neither of these candidates won, despite the support of kyai.

Political Islam is underpinned by the fact that Islam is the dominant religion of Indonesia’s citizens of 238 million people (BPS 2010). The island of Java is of particular importance because according to the census of 2010 nearly 140 million people live there, of whom 93.7 per cent are Muslim. Further, there were 37.5 million people in East Java, 96.4 per cent of them Muslim; the second most populated province after West Java (BPS 2010). Lamongan had almost 1.2 million people, and 99.4 per cent adhere to Islam. For these reasons, Java has long been a focus for scholars who wish to understand political Islam in Indonesia, which has evolved because of socio-economic developments and globalisation. Compared to the 1950s and 1960s, more Indonesian Muslims are now better-educated urban dwellers, professionally employed and middle class (Fealy & Hooker 2006: 41). However, Indonesians are largely conservative with enduring institutions that show no sign of disappearing, including NU and Muhammadiyah, and the pesantren system.

All Muslims believe in the Qur’an and Hadith and accept these texts as the basis for Allah’s shari’ah law detailing rules for the perfect human society by regulating business, politics, government, as well as social and family life. This is the basis for shari’ah-based Perbup and Perda, which typically state that their intention is to upgrade morality and public order (Pemerintah Lamongan 2007, 2009, 2013). The 5/2013 Perbup in Lamongan justifies its existence because: ‘The Qur’an is the Holy Book for the umat and is the source of law for the umat, which must be read, understood, and implemented in everyday life’ (Pemerintah
Lamongan 2013). To date, local bylaws, which enhance piety or are anti-vice, have received broad support from the Lamongan community.

Educators at Pesantren Karangasem, and in particular Kyai Mu'rob, were found to have a literalist interpretation of the Qur’an, but employed rational reasoning and individual interpretation (ijtihad) to Islamic application in modern society. NU followers at Pesantren Sunan Drajat, including Kyai Ghofur, are not pushing for the implementation of shari’ah law, but they follow the Qur’an and Hadith, and also complement their Islamic understanding through a variety of non-authenticated classical Islamic texts, or kitab kuning. The emphasis on Islamic values and obligations based on shari’ah are strictly observed at both pesantren regardless of government policies. Notwithstanding their different approaches to Islamic interpretation and application, educators at both pesantren accept Pancasila as sufficient to support and represent a pious Indonesian society with the expectation that governments will promote Islamic values, including locally through the implementation of shari’ah-based Perda and Perbup if necessary.

During the May 2010 Pilkada, differences between educators at Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem were played out in Lamongan. The former supported Tsalits because he represented the NU constituency and could provide the patronage of government, and the latter supported Fadeli, who represented the Muhammadiyah constituency. The result was that Fadeli won the election with 41 per cent of the district’s vote, compared to just 14.5 per cent attained by Tsalits. Fadeli was the only Muhammadiyah candidate running for bupati, and as such, Muhammadiyah followers were not confused or divided over who represented their constituency. Fadeli also became attractive to NU Muslims when he obtained the backing of PKB after a political deal was brokered with its local leader Makin Abbas. This decision caused a rift with Kyai Ghofur, dividing the NU community. Fadeli was also supported by PAN, Golkar, the Democrat Party (Partai Demokrat, PD), and the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP). Kyai Mu'rob from Pesantren Karangasem also encouraged local constituents to vote for Fadeli. Meanwhile, Kyai Ghofur at Pesantren Sunan Drajat was bent on stopping Muhammadiyah from winning the district’s top position for another five-year period, since members of Muhammadiyah had dominated it for two decades. Kyai Ghofur publicly declared it ‘obligatory’ for NU Muslims to vote for Tsalits, but because
of divisions in the NU community and support from only minor parties, the candidate suffered a resounding defeat.¹⁵

The Socialisation Process of Islam

This thesis views *pesantren* and *kyai* as mechanisms and agents of socialisation and cultural reproduction. This is based on the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s methodological framework concerning social structures, and more specifically the educational field. Bourdieu was an influential and imaginative author whose writings encompassed studies on Algerian peasant life, sociological research on education and culture, as well as systematic reflection on language and its role in the reproduction of social life.

In Bourdieu’s *The State Nobility* (1998), his work concerned the structure and functioning of the top tier of France’s system of higher education and its linkages to the country’s bourgeoisie and top corporations. His theoretical aim was to elaborate a model of *social division of the labour of domination* that involves a diversity of forms of power that coexist and vie for supremacy in advanced societies. Bourdieu concluded that social classes, particularly the ruling and intellectual classes, seek to preserve their social privileges. This statement can be applied to Indonesia with some variation. The common factor is that those with the *symbolic capital* to influence and exert power over people in lower social positions are not usually done by means of direct force. Rather, it is achieved through the naturalisation of the belief that the dominant who occupy positions of power have the ability, knowledge, and legitimacy to exercise their social privileges over the dominated that are located in the lower echelons of the social hierarchy: the rules of *symbolic violence*. This can be assessed by examining the role of the *kyai* in their *pesantren* and in the local, or at times national, political sphere. The applied theory of Bourdieu’s social reproduction and inculcation in this study posits that *kyai* hold positions of religious, and subsequently situational authority, which can empower them as intermediaries between political parties and the *umat*.

In European feudal society, the church was the institution charged with promulgating belief in the ruler’s divinely ordained power, and the ecclesiastical authority was employed to justify and thus solidify the rule of the ruling class. According to Bourdieu, since the advent of

¹⁵ Tsalits was supported by Great Indonesia Movement (*Gerakan Indonesia Raya*, Gerindra), the Patriot Party (*Partai Patriot*, PP), and the Peoples’ Conscience Party (*Partai Hati Nurani*, Hanura).
capitalism in complex societies, the school usurped this work of sanctification of social divisions. This meant that not one, but two species of social capital, namely cultural (religious) and educational institutions, now provide for access to positions of power, define the structure of social space, and govern the life changes and trajectories of groups and individuals: economic and cultural (religious) capital. Unlike Bourdieu’s studies, this project will not look at elite schools but instead pesantren, which serve to inculcate a santri habitus with a special function in the reproduction of Javanese Islamic culture, and political culture, which perpetuates NU and Muhammadiyah identities. Kyai are the moral guardians of the umat and influence people’s religious and ethical behaviour. NU consider kyai a source of good fortune and blessing (barakah), and Allah will reward santri if he/she is faithful to his kyai’s guidance, and always pays respects to the kyai (Dhofier 1999: 39). Further, the concept of barakah preserves an everlasting bond between santri and their kyai (Dhofier 1999: 39). Although Muhammadiyah followers are not so dogmatic, they remain devoted and respectful of their kyai’s teachings, which they believe will guide them to better life in this world and in the afterlife. Later, this study will elaborate on how Bourdieu’s conceptual system can clarify how kyai and their pesantren reproduce values and political culture, which are hierarchical, in Lamongan.

**Political Islam**

Political Islam is the organised political agenda for the empowerment of the umat. Political parties are central to advancing Muslim aspirations and agendas through electoral mandates, policies, and state laws, which are enforced by state institutions. Islamic movements and pressure groups also contribute to this process by lobbying political parties and governments to consider religious interests. Islamism refers to political parties and non-party organisations that specifically hold Islam as their central political ideology. Like other ideologies, political Islam is used to interpret the present and view future desired goals, which follow a list of steps to achieve within a single lifetime (Baradat 1988: 1-2). There is no consensus anywhere in the Muslim world on what these objectives are, as they range from small changes, to radical reforms in society, including introducing Islamic law, or shari’ah, and changing the foundation of the state.
The situation is complicated further in Indonesia by the state ideology, Pancasila, requiring at least a basic commitment to religion. This guarantees that the nation’s dominant faith, Islam, receives special consideration in laws and policies. Pancasila was designed strategically to appease the Islamists by requiring the state to acknowledge the role of religion in state affairs, while attempting to embrace secularism through excluding shari’ah law, Islam as the state religion, and a religious figure as titular head of state. However, Pancasila cannot be defined as secular, and Indonesia, based on its constitution, does not recognise atheism or religions other than Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestant Christianity, and since Gus Dur’s presidency, Confucianism. All the major political parties adhere to Pancasila as their ideological party platform, or sole basis (asas tunggal), and following reformasi in 1998 several minor parties have held Islam as their ideological basis. In this way, it is not merely the Islamic parties that promote Islamic empowerment, but also those that adhere to Pancasila.

Islamic revivalism, which seeks to purify Islam and for Muslims to live according to the Qur’an and Hadith, achieved international prominence outside the Muslim world when Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini established an Islamic theocracy in Iran in February 1979. Prior to this, political scientists regarded religion as irrelevant to socio-political developments in the Muslim world. However, by the late 1980s, these experts regarded Islam as the most potent political force in the Muslim world (Hunter 1988: ix). Three decades later, the cyclical journey of Islam has adopted moderate and extremist forms around the world. In brief, an orthodox understanding of these systems includes moderates who usually provide a basic commitment to religious considerations as they embrace pluralism and tolerance in politics and social behaviour (but not usually blasphemy), while extremists are dogmatic towards Islamism, particularly in governing according to shari’ah. In Indonesia, Islamic revivalism came to life during the collapse of the New Order regime. However, their supporters have been disappointed with election results in 1999, 2004, and 2009, producing parliaments dominated by parties that base their ideology on Pancasila, rather than Islam. This predicament is likely to continue, and until Islamic parties promote policies that are acceptable to the broader community, apart from religious issues, this situation will remain unchanged (Fealy 11 May 2009).

Following Indonesia’s independence, political Islam was given impetus through the nation’s religious organisations, most of which grew rapidly in the early twentieth century, including
Muhammadiyah, NU, and the High Indonesian Islamic Council (*Majlis Islam A’laa Indonesia, MIAI*; later Masyumi), which played decisive roles during the Dutch colonial period, Japanese occupation, and war of independence (1945-9). At the first election in 1955, the NU party and Masyumi performed well, providing robust debate regarding Islam and the state, before they were subverted and controlled by President Sukarno, and later Suharto. Muslim parties and groups lobbied successive governments to incorporate Islamic clauses into the constitution, including *shari’ah* law and adopting Islam as the state religion, while others have pursued the establishment of an Islamic state (Baswedan 2004: 670). Some continue to demand stronger laws to curtail blasphemy and disband deviant groups, like the minority Muslim sect Ahmadiyah because of its recognition of a prophet postdating Muhammad. *Pesantren* leaders advocate Islamic values, but few demand the implementation of *shari’ah* law, or the creation of a Caliphate.

The idea of implementing *shari’ah* law is disputed, and *kyai* understand that there are differing opinions regarding it. Islamic political parties are in disagreement as to the implementation of *shari’ah* law, much less its interpretation, which is never openly debated for fear of differences and disunity, which makes the concept lack appeal to voters. Most recently, in 2002, there was a proposal in the MPR to amend the Indonesian constitution to include *shari’ah*, but this only received support from PBB and PPP, whereas the PKS abstained, and PAN, PKB, PDIP, and Golkar rejected it (Baswedan 2004: 689). Notwithstanding such divisions, *kyai* are concerned with enhancing people’s knowledge of Islam and fulfilling their religious obligations, together with ‘Islamic-friendly’ policies, they believe that social and economic development can be achieved within a pious umat.

The nature of the Indonesian electorate, particularly the appeal of the Islamic vote, has led Indonesia’s political parties to become catchall-parties, which is not necessarily a major policy shift since those parties that adhere to the state ideology Pancasila already have an obligation to religion. Parties that prioritise Islam remain generally unpopular, which has caused the PKS, for example, to downplay Islamisation and instead focus on the fight against corruption and to improve socio-economic equality (Bubalo & Fealy October 2005: 30). PDIP was one of the least accommodating towards political Islam, and was formerly known as the ‘nominal group’ (*kaum abangan*), but it has enhanced its religious appeal gradually. Most significantly, PDIP included NU’s chairman, Hasyim Muzadi, registering his candidacy for vice-presidency...
in 2004 with Megawati, and in 2007, the party established an Islamic proselytisation wing, Bamusi (*Baitul Muslimin*, House of Muslims).\(^{16}\) In 2004, the Megawati-Muzadi presidential duo was defeated by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Yusuf Kalla in a run-off election after the latter pair was supported by a coalition of all the major Islamic parties and several Pancasila-based parties.\(^{17}\) In 2004 and 2009, SBY won the presidency through a successful campaign promoting ‘nationalist and religious’ values, which mirrored society, which had become ‘more uniformly religious’ (Ricklefs 2012: 277).

**Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama**

The development of political culture and Muslim politics was stimulated by the establishment of organised Islamic movements, the most significant of which include Muhammadiyah and NU, which have existed since the early part of the twentieth century. In 1912, Kyai Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923) founded Muhammadiyah in the Central Javanese city of Yogyakarta. In 1890, he studied in Mecca, and upon returning to Indonesia he felt the need to purify Islam and resist against Christianising efforts by western missionaries (Ricklefs 1993:171). Muhammadiyah was established as a reformist and socio-religious movement that espoused *ijtihad*, or individual interpretation of the Qur’an. Indonesian Muslims were relatively isolated from the Middle Eastern countries following the spread of Islam in Indonesia in the fourteenth century and during much of the Dutch colonial occupation until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Travel to the Middle East became easier and quicker after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The canal also allowed more Indonesian Muslims to study in Middle-Eastern universities and fulfil their religious obligation of performing the *haj*, or religious pilgrimage, to Mecca.

Contact with the Middle East inspired Indonesian Muslim intellectuals like Ahmad Dahlan to re-evaluate Islam in Indonesia compared to the Holy Land, Saudi Arabia. Subsequently, Ahmad Dahlan created Muhammadiyah which was opposed to Islamic syncretism with its intermix of animism, local superstition, and Hindu-Buddhist elements. Muhammadiyah

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\(^{16}\) Five years earlier, Megawati formed an alliance with Gus Dur. In 1999, the People’s Consultative Assembly elected Gus Dur over Megawati, but he was impeached in July 2001 and Megawati became president; she chose to appease the Islamic vote by choosing Hamzah Haz, an Islamist from PPP, as deputy president.

\(^{17}\) According to survey data in October 2004 from the Indonesia Survey Institute (*Lembaga Survei Indonesia*, LSI), SBY was able to attract 84.7 per cent of voters who had chosen Golkar in the April parliamentary election, 79.5 per cent from PKB, 83.5 per cent from PAN, 89.2 per cent from PKS, 78.8 per cent from PPP, and even 32.6 per cent from PDIP (Liddle & Mujani 2005: 121-2).
sought to educate through formal educational institutions, like schools, colleges, and universities, and therefore *pesantren* were not integrated into their agenda. Generally, Muhammadiyah and the modernists, have little, if any affiliation with *pesantren*, which is supported by the scholars Noer (1973) and Peacock (1978). However, in Lamongan Muhammadiyah’s affiliation with the *pesantren* system is profound and important to the organisation’s existence.

On 31 January 1926, Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy’ari (1871-1947) and Kyai Haji Chasbullah (c.1883-1971) founded NU to defend the interests of orthodox Muslims; other eminent *kyai* from East Java soon joined (Fealy 1996: 12-3; Ricklefs 2008: 212). Nahdlatul Ulama translates as the ‘awakening of Islamic scholars’ and its traditionalist nature is apparent in the name *ulama*, referring to the scholars of Islam learned in Qur’anic studies. In 1952, NU became an independent political party, but in 1984, the NU leadership under Gus Dur decided to return to the charter of 1926 based on its founding principles as a socio-cultural and religious organisation; a decision known as ‘*kembali ke khittah 1926*’. Presently, the organisation is concerned mainly with socio-religious affairs and maintaining the traditionalist and syncretistic style of Islam. NU is conservative and is a strong opponent of radical Islamic groups that push for change in the state’s formation to that of a religious state. NU leaders argue that the organisation existed before it was officially founded in 1926, only that the type of Islam NU espoused had not been identified prior to the founding of NU as an organisation. Throughout its history, NU has been identified with the *pesantren* system.

**Methodology: Approach to the Study**

Participant observation was given priority in the fieldwork to investigate the *habitus* of the *pesantren* and the interrelationship between the local community and political Islam in Lamongan. At Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem, I conducted research from December 2006 until December 2007. I returned to Lamongan in May to August 2008, and had the chance to observe these *pesantren* communities in the lead up to the East Java Gubernatorial election on 23 July; no clear winner was produced and a runoff-election was held on 4 November 2008. I visited Lamongan for a month in November 2009 to conduct interviews regarding involvement of *kyai* in the national legislative and presidential elections.
held earlier that year, as well as their role in the forthcoming Lamongan Pilkada on 23 May 2010. My final trip to Lamongan was in June 2010 to follow up on data from the Pilkada.

I regularly conducted formal and informal interviews with kyai, ustadz, ulama, as well as santri, at Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem. Other people interviewed included former Lamongan bupati, Faried, the then Lamongan bupati, Masfuk and the then Lamongan deputy bupati, Tsalits, as well as NU and Muhammadiyah leaders, and members of political parties and politicians. I made two visits to the Australian National University to consult unpublished theses and other material related to this study. I also searched through relevant material at the Indonesian National Archives in Jakarta. The gender bias in this thesis was not intentional, rather it was the consequence of being a male researcher and so access to females in pesantren was difficult, so unfortunately, but unavoidably, there is limited commentary about Muslim women and girls.

During my residence at Kyai Ghofur’s home at Pesantren Sunan Drajat, I attended often the 6:30am public pengajian he conducted with his senior santri, except on Fridays as it was their Sabbath. Local villagers also hear these sermons as they are broadcast on speakers and over the radio. In May 2007, I travelled to Pesantren Karangasem daily when it became the focus of study. Kyai Mu’rob only conducted public pengajian on Fridays at 4:30am, immediately after morning prayer (subuh), which was broadcast on mosque speakers out into the surrounding village, and in attendance were santri, as well as older villagers from the surrounding area. Later that morning, at 6am, he would listen and correct his senior santri in a Qur’anic recitation method known as sorogan. I accompanied Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu’rob to remote villages (desa), hamlets (kampung), and cities, to observe a different type of pengajian that was more like a religious rally or public sermon (ceramah) than a Qur’anic exegesis. This is how both kyai preach directly to the common people (orang awam) and it provided a valuable source to understanding the worldviews of these kyai.

As I developed an in-depth understanding of the two pesantren, the similarities and differences between NU and Muhammadiyah were clarified. It was evident that both pesantren performed an important role in propagating their styles of Islam in the surrounding community. When these kyai did express political opinions, it was usually carefully considered and selective, and always sensitive to accepted religious, cultural, and even
political nuances. Both Kyai Mu’rob and Kyai Ghofur stated that they were obligated to become involved in political matters when it concerned religious issues. For example, both kyai warned the community of deviant Islamic groups, such as Ahmadiyah and Al-Qiyadah Al-Islamiyah, and urged the government to curtail their spread and even disband them; while the former remains in existence, the latter was disbanded. Sometimes commentary from these kyai concerned government funds with calls for more support for their pesantren and their respective organisations, Muhammadiyah and NU. Differences over religious interpretation were also mentioned, such as the determining of the beginning and end of Ramadan, support for, or denunciation of Javanese rituals, including discussion of what constituted an innovation (bid’a), as well as differing opinions over ‘authentic’ (sahih) texts as acceptable sources of Islam. Normally, in front of large crowds, opinions were presented as advice, rather than as direct instructions to the local community, but in front of fewer people and in more private settings, instructions were more direct.

Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu’rob read the Jawa Pos, an Indonesian-language newspaper, to remain up-to-date with local and international news. In Lamongan, it has a regional section, called Radar Bojonegoro, with news from the districts of Bojonegoro, Lamongan, Tuban, and Blora. Santri at both pesantren have the opportunity to read parts of the Jawa Pos and Radar Bojonegoro because its main pages are exhibited in glass display booths. Kyai Ghofur used to read NU’s fortnightly Khittah and monthly Aula, but stopped reading them because he believes such material can cause internal conflict as disagreements and criticisms are publicised, which should be dealt with privately. Kyai Mu’rob regularly reads the Islamic magazines, including the Suara Muhammadiyah and Dakwah, which are produced fortnightly, as well as the monthly Hidayatullah. In addition, senior santri at Pesantren Karangasem would sometimes read the weekly Sabili. Both Hidayatullah and Sabili express anti-Western sentiment with radical promotions of jihad and martyrdom, including views from hardline and extremist Muslims, including Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, Habib Riziq, the Bali Bombers, militant

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18 In 2007, Al-Qiyadah Al-Jamaah was deemed heretical by the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI). Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu’rob explained to their santri and the community that Al-Qiyadah was a deviant (sesat) form of Islam and demanded that it be disbanded because the sect believed the five daily prayers and the fast were not obligatory, and recognised a prophet postdating Muhammad.
19 Blora is actually located within the province of Central Java on the border with East Java.
20 Few publications were available in Paciran, Lamongan, not even Kompas or The Jakarta Post newspapers were for sale.
Hamas leaders, and even Osama Bin Laden. I would read all the above publications when I could obtain a copy.

A survey was undertaken for this thesis to ascertain a profile of santri and their family, and to understand their perception of kyai and politics. A total of 390 surveys were distributed with 240 given to santri at Pesantren Sunan Drajat and 150 at Pesantren Karangasem. A larger number were circulated at Pesantren Sunan Drajat because it has more students than Pesantren Karangasem. It was conducted in June and July 2008, before the East Java Gubernatorial election on 23 July; some questions regarded this election. Only 111 completed surveys were returned, 55 from Pesantren Sunan Drajat and 56 from Pesantren Karangasem, but it still provided a considerable body of data that served as the empirical basis of this study.21

The pesantren system, NU, and Muhammadiyah, remain firmly etched into the local culture and psyche of Javanese life despite rapid social and economic development and a burgeoning educated middle-class. The fact that these Islamic institutions continue to flourish reflects a relatively conservative constituency, who are ever more conscious of their religious obligations. From the Islamisation of Java in the fifteenth century, the creation of Muhammadiyah and NU, the authoritarian regimes of Sukarno and Suharto, to reformasi and beyond, the process of Islamisation and the spread of the pesantren system remains on-going. These factors underscore a culture and history that has inextricably influenced the umat, and a review of the literature bears this out.

**Literature Review**

This project was considered relevant for detailed research because there are few English language studies that focus on the pesantren system, and none that specifically investigates the Lamongan district or pesantren affiliated to Muhammadiyah. Lamongan was chosen because of its large NU and Muhammadiyah membership, and because both have a strong pesantren culture in the district. It is also timely, as reformasi and regional autonomy have allowed local elections to reflect the demography of their constituencies. Lamongan is a place that assumed international prominence after several of its residents were implicated in the 2002 Bali

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21 After speaking to some santri, the low response was because the survey had to be taken home and given to a parent to fill out. This led to some surveys being lost or ruined, while some parents were illiterate or declined to participate.

Chapter One: Introduction
Bombing, but what is not known is how political Islam and the pesantren system operate in the district, which is the focus of this thesis. Numerous anthropologists, historians, and political scientists, have produced scholarship that pertains to pesantren, political Islam, and Indonesian history, which are pertinent to this study. Therefore, a literature review is necessary to map the existing field of scholarship, upon which this thesis will contribute new knowledge.

As mentioned, Hefner and Dhofier maintain that the NU-Muhammadiyah approach provides limited insight into political Islam. Dhofier contends that it does not advance our understanding of the content of religious thought and action in Java (Dhofier 1999: 181). Although members of NU and Muhammadiyah should not be assumed as automatic supporters of political Islam, their worldview and moral values are influenced by these organisations, particularly those who have studied at their educational institutions. Further, the NU-Muhammadiyah dichotomy has encumbered the development of political Islam particularly when a consensus on an issue cannot be achieved. This thesis focuses on the pesantren system, thereby offering a bottom-up approach to explore Islamic aspirations from the perspective of kyai and the pesantren system. As this study found, NU-Muhammadiyah bona fides continue to have electoral appeal in areas with strong religious identity, including Lamongan.

One of the most influential scholars on Javanese Islam is Geertz who produced The Religion of Java (1960), which categorised Javanese society into three groups (aliran); abangan, who are nominal and village animists; santri, devout Muslims; and priyayi, the nobility who continue to maintain their aristocratic traditional self-identity of syncretic, Hindu-Buddhist influenced Islamic traditions. This stratification is accepted by most academics, however, Ricklefs, who accepts the abangan and priyayi identities, makes the compelling argument based on his research of Dutch records on Islamic groups that santri is more appropriately termed putihan, meaning the ‘white ones’ (Ricklefs 2007:84-6).22 This thesis will employ the term putihan and will segregate it into traditionalists and reformists, otherwise referred to as

22 Interestingly, during research for this project, locals in Lamongan often used the terms kota santri (city of santri) or daerah santri (area of santri) to describe subdistricts like Paciran; I assumed that this meant ‘city of students’ or ‘area of students’ because of its many religious schools, madrasah, and pesantren. I asked Kyai Ghofur’s son, Anwar Mubarok (Gus An) what this meant, he replied that these places were known for their ‘citra alim’ (learned devout/pious image) and because there were lots of Muslim students there. Accordingly, an argument can be advanced that santri refers to pious and devout Muslims.
NU and Muhammadiyah respectively. This thesis also contests Geertz’s view that Islam failed to propagate in Java except among a small community of merchants. Hodgson argues that Geertz identified Islam with reference to what only modernists approve, while ascribing everything else to an aboriginal or Hindu-Buddhist background, and labelling one form of Muslim religious life as ‘Hindu’ (Hodgson 1974: 551).

In Geertz’s article ‘The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker’ (1960), he explores the influence of the kyai on rural Java as a broker between the nationalist forces and the rural Islamic masses. Geertz posits that since the early twentieth century the role of the kyai has been changing to combine the responsibilities of a ‘traditional religious scholar’ and that of a ‘nationalist politician’. He describes the position of a kyai as cultural broker who is ‘a specialist in the communication of Islam to the mass of the peasantry and the nationally central, metropolitan-based, intelligentsia-led “New Indonesia”’ (Geertz January 1960: 230). The relevance of kyai is described by the Sundanese aristocrat, Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat, who stated that ‘He who has never been a student in a pesantren … can scarcely realize how great the moral power of the scholar over the mass of the population is’ (Geertz January 1960: 234). Geertz concluded that, ‘At the very heart of his broker role the kijaji now comes up against an internal contradiction, and finds it difficult to decide whether it is more dangerous to stand still or to move’; but increased participation by kyai in the affairs of the secular state could detract from their basis of power (Geertz January 1960: 242).

Dhofier in The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java (1999) focuses on the theoretical intricacies of pesantren in Java. He used two case studies, namely Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang, East Java, and Pesantren Tegalsari in Salatiga, Central Java. Dhofier refutes Geertz’s argument that these institutions have little knowledge about Islamic education, and affirms that pesantren are deeply rooted in the study of Islamic texts and are the foundation for instilling Islamic values in their students (Dhofier 1999: xii). Extending upon Dhofier’s study, Turmudi’s PhD thesis ‘Struggling for the Umma: changing leadership roles of kiai in Jombang, East Java’ (1996), examines the relationship between kyai in Jombang to the wider social and political situation. He noted that kyai are independent of each other and that therefore Muslims were socially fragmented along the lines

23 Santri are likely to fulfil their religious obligations; five daily prayers, fast during Ramadan, giving of alms (zakat) and, if capable, perform the haj pilgrimage to Mecca (Fealy & Hooker 2006: 39).
24 Kijaji is the old form of kyai, before the standardisation of Indonesian spelling in 1972.
of allegiance to various local kyai-ship, and as such kyai authority is constrained. Turmudi cites Kyai Musta’in’s defection from PPP to Golkar prior to NU’s withdrawal from politics in 1984 as an example of how politics can cause people to abandon their local kyai.

Mulder’s *Inside Indonesian Society: Cultural Change in Java* (1996) explores the cultural changes between the late 1960s to the early 1990s, including the role of Islam in Java. In it he describes the shift in Javanese traditions in favour of popular western and consumer culture, which influences people’s dress habits, as traditional attire was replaced by western or Islamic clothing, particularly the suit and the Muslim *jilbab* covering a woman’s head apart from the face. He describes the growing international consumer culture in Indonesia as ‘plastic’ and ‘devoid of depth’, which ‘may make religion attractive to many’ (Mulder 1996: 48). The author probes some of the traditional cultural facets of Java, including *kejawen* and Javanese Chronograms, or *candrasengkala*, in which numbers are indicated by words or hold hidden meanings (Mulder 1996: 57). Mulder’s book helped to understand Pesantren Sunan Drajat and its kyai featured in this study.

Hefner has produced many works relevant to this study. In the text *Civil Islam: Muslims Democratization in Indonesia* (2000), he supports the secular movements in the country and the liberal intellectuals, including Abdurrahman Wahid and Nurcholis Madjid, for their efforts to make Islam more open, tolerant, and socially progressive. He opposes the advocates for a Caliphate, or Islamic state, by arguing that this concept ‘ignores the lessons of Muslim history itself’ (Hefner 2000: 20). In *Schooling Islam* (2007) and the *Making of Modern Muslims* (2009), Hefner provides illuminating insights on Indonesian Islamic institutions and their role in modern society.

Baswedan’s journal article, ‘Political Islam in Indonesia: Present and Future Trajectory’ (2004), provides analysis of the development of political Islam before *reformasi* in 1998 and preceding five-year period. Baswedan describes how Muslim leaders and Islamic political parties promoting *shari’ah* law have met persistent failure since independence in 1945. He explains that the movement lacks support from the masses and the powerful political parties. In addition, its advocates are divided as to its implementation and the issues have never been resolved. He provides an overview of the parties that are ‘Islamic-friendly’ or ‘inclusive’, and those that are ‘exclusive’ (Baswedan 2004). The failures of the Islamic parties are further
examined in Platzdasch’s book, *Islamism in Indonesia: Politics in the Emerging Democracy* (2009). Platzdasch also discusses the beliefs and behaviour of Islamist political parties and organisations. He probes the Islamism theme to give a detailed account of the three major Islamic parties, PBB, PPP, and PK (now PKS), and their relatively low, rather inconsistent, commitment to pursuing a *shari’ah* based agenda.

Two important Indonesian language texts on Lamongan relevant to this study, include *Konflik dan Rekonsiliasi NU – Muhammadiyah* by Sjamsudduha (1999), and *Purifikasi dan Reproduksi Budaya di Pantai Utara Jawa: Muhammadiyah dan Seni Lokal* (2003) by Chamim and his research team. The first discusses the conflict between NU and Muhammadiyah in the southern Lamongan subdistrict of Pucuk. The second probes Muhammadiyah’s penetration of the Lamongan community and its effort to purge Islam of superstition, innovation, and myth (*takhayul, bid’a, dan churofat, TBC*). 25 Both texts provide detailed insights into the socio-religious situation in Lamongan, and in particular how reformists have adapted to the local milieu, including adopting the *pesantren* system.

Headley’s *Durga’s Mosque: Cosmology, Conversion and Community in Central Javanese Islam* (2004) poses the question: What is the *umat*? 26 He explains that the *umat* is not a congregation (*jemaah*), but rather the entire community of the faithful. He suggests that it is difficult to judge the boundaries of such a community since it is metropolitan and can encompass various ethno-linguistic, national, and other differences. To simplify the task of identifying the *umat*, Headley concentrated on Kaliasa in Central Java. In a similar way, this PhD focuses on Lamongan. *Durga’s Mosque* is relevant to understanding Javanese insular traditions and the values of their ancestral praxis, which Headley terms ‘Javanism’ (Headley 2004: 2). He provides a thorough explanation of Javanese syncretic Islam and its ritualised components. His analyses are often contrasted with the modernists’ position, which rejects many of the Javanese innovations (*bid’a*), and even though the make-up of the *umat* in Java includes modernists and non-Javanese, as well as traditional Javanese, it remains very self-reflective and Javanese in spirit (Headley 2004: xvi).

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25 Islam reform dictates that TBC practices and beliefs derived from non-Islamic traditions and unproved sources, must be removed from Islam.

26 Headley prefers to use the spelling *umma* to refer to the *umat*.
This study draws upon numerous works by Ricklefs, who is one of the world’s foremost scholars on Indonesia, including Islam in Java. He provides us with many thoroughly researched books and articles concerning the spread and development of Islam in Indonesia, wars in Java, the rise and fall of Hindu/Buddhist and Islamic empires, Javanese religious and political thought during and after the Dutch occupation of the East Indies, indigenous histories and folklore, as well as contemporary social, political, and religious matters. His *History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200* (2008), provides a detailed chronological overview of modern Indonesia, and has a particular focus on its Islamisation commencing in the twelfth century. His most recent works provide meticulous research and analysis of Islam in Java, including *Mystic Synthesis in Java* (2006), *Polarising Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions (c.1830-1930)* (2007), and *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Social, Cultural and Religious History, c.1930 to the Present* (2012). In his *Mystic Synthesis*, he developed the concept of mythic synthesis to describe the combination of Javanese and Hindu/Buddhist culture with Islam, while the latter two, particularly the last one, explores the development of Islam in its more recent history, including politics and the state, as well as hardline Islam.

Fealy, Barton, and Liddle and Mujani, provide insights into NU, Indonesian politics, and religious matters, and their scholarship was particularly helpful for this study. Fealy is a specialist on NU, including the history of the organisation, and has co-authored books, as well as written book chapters and articles on Indonesian politics and political Islam (Fealy 11 May 2009, 1996, 2004, 2008; Fealy, Borgu & Australian Strategic Policy Institute. 2005; Fealy, Hooker & Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. 2006). Barton offers an insight into the presidency of Abdurrahman Wahid in *Abdurrahman Wahid: Muslim Democrat, Indonesian President* (2002), and he has published numerous articles and book chapters on Islam and politics (Barton 1997, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2008, 2010). Liddle has produced books and articles on Indonesian political Islam, including *Ethnicity, Party, and National Integration* (1970), ‘The Islam Turn in Indonesia’ (1996), and he has co-authored a number of other articles, many with Mujani, related to politics, the role of religion, and voting behaviour (Liddle 2003; Liddle & Mujani 2005; Mujani & Liddle 2004, 2009, 2010; Pepinsky, Liddle & Mujani 2012).
Nilan used a similar theoretical approach to the *pesantren* system as the one used in this thesis. She authored ‘The “spirit of education” in Indonesia *Pesantren*’ (2009), which applies Foucauldian theory to analyse *pesantren* education in Indonesia. She maintains that *pesantren* institutions practise a ‘regime of truth’ that ideally produces a particular kind of citizen or member who operates through evaluative norms; supported by religious and pedagogical practises, shaping the way pupils themselves assign meaning and value to their conduct, responsibly, pleasures, and aspirations (Nilan 2009: 226). The primacy of *pesantren* culture is the ‘spirit of education’, which is a culture of lifelong learning, both religious and secular. Nilan posits that the lack of comforts, freedoms, and other worldly pleasures in the *pesantren* system, may have the combined effect of making pedagogical relationship and knowledge offered by teachers the primary pleasure/symbolic riches to be gained (Nilan 2009: 226); which Bourdieu would define as a pursuit of *symbolic capital*.

The theoretical aspect of this dissertation is grounded in the work of Bourdieu. Bourdieu wrote dozens of texts on cultural reproduction, education, and politics. A valuable text, *The State Nobility* (1998), is laden with empirical data and statistics obtained from large-scale surveys and research regarding the French educational system. This text provides an understanding of how reproduction and inculcation occurs within the educational field, particularly the ‘*habitus*’. *Habitus* is at the basis of strategies of reproduction that tend to maintain separations, distances, and relations of order, hence concurring in practice (although not consciously or deliberately) in reproducing the entire system of differences constitutive of the social order (Bourdieu 1998: 3). Other important texts by Bourdieu include, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), *The Field of Cultural Production; Essays on Art and Literature* (1993), *Language and Symbolic Power* (2003), *Reproduction: In Education, Society and Culture* (Bourdieu & Passeron 2000), and *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

### Chapter Outline

Chapter two examines the theory, approach, and methodology used during research. It explains the applied theory, which has been constructed upon Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological work regarding the educational and cultural field, and in particular inculcation and reproduction. Chapter three discusses political Islam and analyses the major political parties
in Indonesia with particular focus on their attitudes towards religion and Muslim-based policies. Chapter four covers the history of Lamongan, including its Islamisation, its demography and economy, and the colonial period. Chapter five extends upon chapter four with a focus on NU and Muhammadiyah, as well as their impact on local politics, which is mapped through election results. The chapter also probes the Islamic Defenders’ Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI) to understand radical attitudes regarding the role of religion in society.

The focus of chapter six is Pesantren Sunan Drajat and its leader Kyai Abdul Ghofur, including his relationship with the local community. It covers beliefs, values, and traditional Islamic customs, including how Kyai Ghofur ritualises social habits to shape the culture of his pesantren. Examination of the political dimensions of Pesantren Sunan Drajat is the focus of chapter seven, which Kyai Ghofur sees primarily as an avenue for advancing his interests and that of the NU constituency.

Pesantren Karangasem and its leadership, as well as their interrelationship with the local community, are brought into full focus in chapter eight. It provides detailed analysis of this pesantren and how its pedagogy inculcates students in modernist Islam in a reformist ‘santri habitus’. Chapter nine continues to investigate Pesantren Karangasem from the perspective of political Islam. The chapter also examines the pesantren’s connection to the radical FPI, and includes a discussion of the regional terrorist organisation Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which recruited members from Lamongan.

The Conclusion posits that the political culture of Indonesian voters will remain pluralist and committed to supporting those parties that uphold the Pancasila ideology. At the same time, governments and politicians will continue to accommodate Muslim aspirations because of the appeal of Islamic vote and because they have an obligation to religion in state affairs according to Pancasila. To this end, most NU and Muhammadiyah pesantren educators are moderate Muslims who are satisfied with parties that accommodate Islamic values and maintain good relations with pesantren. As this study found, the symbolic capital produced through the pesantren system and kyai who conduct public sermons ensure that NU and Muhammadiyah identities and Islamic values will remain in the social consciousness of santri, ordinary villagers, as well as politicians and local ruling elites. However, translating this symbolic capital into specific political outcomes through the conventions of symbolic violence
is difficult as *kyai* are not united and hold a variety of political views, and people have shown they can vote independently of *kyai* religious authority.
Chapter Two: Pesantren Pedagogy and the Inculcation of a ‘Santri Habitus’
Chapter Two: Pesantren Pedagogy and the Inculcation of a ‘Santri Habitus’

*Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specific symbolic force to those power relations.* (Bourdieu 1977: 4)

This chapter employs Bourdieu’s theory of *symbolic capital* to examine how social reproduction occurs within the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) system and how they contribute to Islamising society. For Bourdieu, religion is ideology, and it is the contention of this study that the *pesantren* system serves as a mechanism of social reproduction that preserves and inculcates Islamic ideologies and values. These values give life to political Islam, which although presented as a monolithic ideology, is quite diverse. Its advocates share a common objective to empower Muslim society through policies and laws; the subject of chapter three. Bourdieu produced a wide selection of books, and many of his studies were specifically concerned with the system of class, culture, and education, particularly in France (Bourdieu 1962, 1967, 1977, 1979, 1984, 1991, 1993, 1998, 2003; Bourdieu & Passeron 2000; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). As Mauss (1989) stated, the principles that Bourdieu observed are equally operative in other countries and epochs (Mauss 1989: 7 English translation in Wacquant 1998: ix). Although Bourdieu’s studies on elite French schools are radically different to the Javanese *pesantren* system, and he devoted limited attention to religion, his works on the sociology of culture provide useful theoretical tools to understand reproductive mechanisms of society and social domination.

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) was a French sociologist who first began his ethnographic and anthropological studies on the Sunni Muslims in Kabylia, a region in northeast Algeria, during the Algerian War (1958-1962) (Bourdieu 1962; Bourdieu & Passeron 2000: xxvii). His work was principally focused on the reproduction of social patterns in relation to power, the strategic power of individuals and groups, and the improvisation implicit within social constructions. Bourdieu examined the educational *field* from different angles to understand how it contributed to the reproduction of different forms of inequality and domination, with a particular focus on the relationship between ‘culture’, ‘power’ and ‘politics’. According to Bourdieu, once we identify the principles ‘behind these variations in the particular aspects of the structure of the field of power that characterize the different national traditions’, then we
can use this approach to examine ‘virtually any activity in producing distinction’ (Bourdieu 1998: 74).

For the study of the two largest Islamic groups in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, and their pesantren types, this thesis has adapted Bourdieu’s theory of reproduction and his notions of field, habitus, symbolic power, cultural and religious capital, and symbolic violence. For Bourdieu there are different types of capital, cultural capital and social capital include knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications; symbolic capital is accumulated prestige, reputation, fame, etc.; all types of capital that are perceived and recognised as legitimate make them powers in a particular field (Bourdieu 2003: 230). Using this, one can ‘construct a simplified model of the social field as a whole, a model with allows one to plot each agent’s position in all possible spaces in the game’ (Bourdieu 2003: 230). This approach provides a sociological and metatheoretical framework to understanding the pesantren system, and helps us to analyse the relationship of pesantren and their headmasters (kyai) with their students (santri), as well as the local community and politics, and so develop a conceptual framework within which to understand the religiously orientated phenomenon of political Islam.

Applying Bourdieuan theory, this study categorises political Islam as the field and pesantren as the source of habitus. Research was conducted at two case study pesantren, namely Pesantren Sunan Drajat which is affiliated to NU and Pesantren Karangasem associated with Muhammadiyah. Both are large and prominent pesantren in East Java. This provided the opportunity to compare two different types of habitus. Since field is linked to habitus, investigations looked at the link between the pesantren system (the institutions whose pedagogy supports the development of a particular santri habitus) and political Islam (field), and how pesantren pedagogy inculcates historical and cultural practices, as well as rules and ideologies, which are critical to the process of reproduction. The political field is the social area in which actors operate and struggle to pursue desired objectives (Bourdieu 2003: 171); including political Islam. The ‘cultural capital’ common to both field and habitus in this setting is Islam.

The products offered by the political field are instruments of perceiving and expressing the social world, including the principles of division. Further, ‘the distribution of opinion in a
given population depends on the state of the instruments of perception and expression available and on the access that different groups have to these instruments’, which determines the interests and nature of the game (Bourdieu 2003: 172). Hage, who is a specialist on Bourdieuan thought, explained this scenario, where for example, a toddler starts to run after a plastic lid from a pen. Normally such a thing is useless, but when another toddler also begins to chase after the lid, soon both are rushing for the item. Their perception of it, and compounded by the other’s struggle for it, gives it symbolic significance (Hage March 2009). This analogy, *mutatis mutandis*, can be applied to NU and Muhammadiyah, as one side begins a campaign to attract followers to their cause, including support during an election for their preferred candidate, the opposing side intensifies its efforts to win over more supporters. Moreover, as ‘pressure groups or party associations, they need parties, understood as *permanent* organizations whose aim is to win over, and offering their militants and their electors not only a doctrine but a *programme* of thought and action, and thereby demanding in advance total support’ (Bourdieu 2003: 174).

The *field* of political Islam has become more localised through regional autonomy. This took effect in 2001 (Karim 2008; Vel 2005). This has encouraged some *kyai* to pursue political favouritism from local governments and parties by influencing voters during elections, particularly at the district (*kabupaten*) level. Although some tried long before decentralisation, they can now do so without the constraints of a totalitarian regime. However, the development of politics in Indonesia remains on-going, with a multiparty system, random coalitions, a lack of party loyalty, combined with political disunity amongst *kyai*, such factors have complicated predictions and generalisations. *Kyai* are able to provide religious credibility and prestige to candidates and politicians, and those they choose to support are to a certain extent based on party principles and ideology. However, it was discovered that *kyai* would endorse political candidates based on image (*kefiguran*) and religious orientation, i.e. NU or Muhammadiyah, providing a tangible approach to conduct research.¹ *Kyai* have unique access to the masses through their frequent sermons and performing Qur’anic discussion and recitation (*pengajian*) in the community, often using the opportunity to spread political

¹ Platzdasch also identified that ‘a significant number of voters remain fixated on “leader”-figures’ (2009: 334).
messages. Through this, and the *santri habitus*, they perpetuate NU-Muhammadiyah identities as they teach and represent their respective understandings of Islam.

Notably, Bourdieu’s work on religion was limited, but his sociology of culture provides some useful tools of analysis. Important characteristics of his approach to the study of culture find inspiration in the theories of Durkheim’s foundations of power, Marx’s materialism, and Weber’s sociology of education and religion (Bourdieu 1977: 4-5; 2003: 164-7). Bourdieu, in manner of Antonio Gramsci, sought to broaden materialist Marxist conceptual framework to include cultural and ideational elements. Directly related to our concern on Javanese *pesantren* is Bourdieu’s sociology of *symbolic power*, which is connected to the trichotomy between culture, stratification, and power. He argued that the contest for social recognition is a fundamental element of all social life. In this contest, cultural resources, processes, and institutions are instruments that preserve individual groups in competitive and self-perpetuating hierarchies of domination (Bourdieu 2003: 166-8). For Bourdieu cultural symbols and practices, ranging from artistic interest, clothing attire, and eating habits, to religion, science, and philosophy, including language, education, upbringing, environment and social origin, all contribute to promulgate interests that function as social markers to enhance social distinction and class, which perpetuate identity. Consequently, identity is also the expression of political content. Using this, we can analyse the *pesantren* system since *kyai* preserve cultural symbols, practices and other paraphernalia of the Javanese and Islamic world, as well as NU and Muhammadiyah identities.

**Field and Habitus**

Bourdieu examined societies through the prism of the social arena in which they operate and struggle to pursue desired objectives, which he called the *field* (*champ*), as opposed to treating them in terms of classes. Bourdieu’s concept of the *field* is of particular importance to this thesis because it is the most relevant of Bourdieu’s concepts concerning cultural and religious studies. *Fields* are structured spaces of dominant and subordinate positions, which are predicated on types and amounts of *capital*, like a political field, which is both a *field* of forces and a *field* of struggles aimed at transforming or conserving the *field* of forces (Bourdieu

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2 In East Java, *pengajian* refers to sermons and discussion of the Qur’anic and its teaching, but also includes recitation. In other parts of Java and most of Indonesia, *pengajian* specifically refers to Qur’anic recitation and normally the word *ceramah* is used to describe a public sermon.
A field is a system made up of positions that are internally structured and based on power relations (Bourdieu 1993: 46). It is a site for struggle where individuals seek to maintain the status quo or change it, with differing changes to win or lose, depending on where they are located within the structured spaces of positions (Thompson 2003: 14). It consists of a set of objectives and historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power or capital. Webb simplifies Bourdieu’s cultural field as comprising of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles that constitute an objective hierarchy, and which produce and legitimise certain discourses and activities (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2002: 21). The struggle to determine and maintain what constitutes capital within a cultural field, including in this context the santri habitus of the pesantren system, by individuals and groups is important to its existence. For Bourdieu, the cultural field is fluid and dynamic, as opposed to static entities. Moreover, cultural fields are more than institutions and rules, being also interrelationships between institutions, rules and practices (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2002: 22).

The field places those in subordinate positions against those in superordinate positions that struggle for a position in a field. Fields reconcile relations between social structures and cultural life. Drawing upon this, pesantren and their headmasters (kyai) help reconcile the interests of the local community with the political apparatus of the state and government by reminding politicians of their obligation to serve the umat and its religious interests, while encouraging the common people (orang awam) to support political representatives who uphold the religious values of the umat. Ideology requires symbolic producers who legitimate the social order by producing symbolic capital through symbolic labour (Swartz 1996: 77). Kyai are symbolic producers, and produce ideology, which requires active construction.

Field is also linked to habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 16). The habitus is a property of, and made up by, individuals. It is set of dispositions and is ‘at the basis of strategies of reproduction that tend to maintain separation, distances, and relations of order(ing), hence reoccurring in practice (although not consciously or deliberately) in reproducing the entire system of difference constitutive of the social order’ (Bourdieu 1993: 3). The habitus is comprised of a cognitive and motivating structure, made up of durably installed generative principles and practices which reproduce the structures that make up the habitus (Bourdieu 1977: 78). It provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their
daily lives. These dispositions are acquired unconsciously through a gradual process of inculcation, beginning in the earliest years of life through the habitus which generates practices, perceptions and attitudes, and history turned into nature (Bourdieu 1977: 15 & 78-9).

The dispositions which constitute the habitus are inculcated, structured, durable, generative, and transposable; features that need brief elaboration, aptly provided by Thompson (2003: 12-3). Through a myriad of mundane processes of training and learning, such as those involved in the inculcation of Javanese and Islamic values (speak politely to your elders, use Islamic greetings, pray five times a day, fast during Ramadan, etc.), these literally mould the mind and become second nature. The dispositions are structured in that they unavoidably reflect the social condition within which they were acquired, and in this case the pesantren system. An individual from an NU background, for instance, will have acquired dispositions that are different in particular ways from those acquired by individuals who were brought up in a Muhammadiyah milieu. Structured dispositions are also durable since they are ingrained into the body and mind to the point they endure throughout the lifetime of the individual. Finally, the dispositions are generative and transposable in that they are able to generate a multiplicity of practices and perceptions in different fields to those where they were initially acquired (Thompson 2003: 12-3). The habitus generates practices and perceptions, works and appreciations, which correspond with the conditions of the existence of which the habitus is itself the product. The habitus provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives, as ‘it orients their actions and inclinations without strictly determining them’ (Thompson 2003: 13).

Habitus can be understood as the historical and cultural production of practices, since laws, rules and ideologies all speak through individuals, who are never entirely aware that this is happening. It can be further understood as the individual production of practices, since the individual always acts from self-interest (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2002: 15). Habitus is a system of dispositions, where agents develop such dispositions when reacting to objective conditions they encounter, and it consists of a set of historical relations ‘deposited’ within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 16).
Bourdieu’s epistemological argument is that the field is objective, while habitus is subjective. Moreover, the field is made up of agents participating in it, and habitus represents the transposition of objective constructions of the field into the subjective structures of action and thought of the agent. Those that constitute the habitus are parallel to the objective structure of the field, and are inclined to reproduce the structures of the field. According to Bourdieu, habitus is the key to social reproduction as it is central to generating and regulating the practices that make up social life (Bourdieu 1977: 78).

**Cultural Capital and Symbolic Violence**

*Fields* are arenas of struggle for control over valued resources, or over particular forms of capital (Bourdieu 2003: 171 & 230). This includes economic, cultural, scientific, or religious capital (Bourdieu 2003: 171 & 230); and in the context of this thesis, religion (Islam). Cultural capital is the important property in the intellectual field. Economic capital is the important property in the business world. Similarly, religious capital is the important property for the belief world, and this, as argued here, is true not only for pesantren, but also the umat, as well as politics and political Islam. In Indonesia, these fields are arenas of struggle for legitimatising power relationships, which is the objective of achieving the right to monopolise the exercise of symbolic power, which is a type of influence (Bourdieu 2003: 168-70). This can be achieved as people accept dialectical cultural class positions or symbolic violence, that is ‘violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 167). For example, gender relations, both men and women agree that men are superior to women in terms of physical strength, intelligence, work ethic, etc., in class relations, working-class and middle-class people agree the middle-class are better educated, deserve better jobs and earn higher wages, etc. (Lawler 2011). In the community of the believers, kyai and orang awam, including santri, agree that kyai know best about religious issues, worldly matters, and Muslim politics.

For Bourdieu religion can be analysed as a system of symbolic power with properties similar to other cultural domains, such as art, philosophy, science, or consumer fashion. This fits Bourdieu’s principal claim that the modern social world is divided into fields. Moreover, as Swartz (1996: 71) noted, the division of social activities lead to the constitution of various, relatively autonomous, social spaces where competition centres on particular types of capital.
These *fields* are hierarchical where the machinations stem from social actors trying to occupy dominant positions in the field. The struggles within each social field are not economic, but have unique characteristics stemming from those *fields* that involve social relationships.

Society is a system of relatively autonomous, but structurally, homologous *fields*. The theoretical comprehending of *fields* of symbolic production and consumption is similar to the theoretical understanding of the economy (Brubaker 1985: 748). Power in the form of *symbolic capital* is not perceived as power, but as a source of legitimate demands on the services of others, including material, for example in the mobilisation of unpaid labour and materials used in helping to build facilities at a *pesantren*. It may also include the expression of deference (Brubaker 1985: 748). In the *pesantren* system, respect (*hormat*) is a principal element of this *symbolic capital*. Purely religious power is powerless, and must be converted into *symbolic power* for it to be misperceived, legitimated, and finally exercised. *Cultural capital* denotes the ensemble of cultivated dispositions that constitute such schemes of appreciation and understanding (Brubaker 1985: 757). Once people accept *kyai* dominance and authority, *symbolic violence* defines the relationship.

The accumulation of non-economic goods and resources is vital for the exercise and perpetuation of power, including religious power. Bourdieu argued that the role of ‘false belief’, as he called it *méconnaissance*, or misrecognition, (akin to ‘false consciousness’ in Marxism) is instrumental to maintaining the power and privilege of dominant classes. Bourdieu developed the theories of *symbolic violence*, *symbolic goods* and *symbolic capital*, and of agents’ representation of social reality, rolling them into one metatheory he defined as ‘economy of social being’ to explain the symbolic, cultural, religious, and cognitive aspects of the exercise and reproduction of class-based power and privilege (Hage March 2009). The *symbolic capital* is embedded in the reproduction of the social order (Bourdieu 1977: 171). Self-interest in the *pesantren* domain cannot be reduced into simple terms of material interest. Rather, self-interest extends to all goods, including material and symbolic, expressed, as exemplified by Bourdieu, in ‘fair words’ or smiles, handshakes or shrugs, compliments or attention, challenges or insults, honour or honours, powers or pleasures, etc. (Bourdieu 1977: 178). Referring to Mauss, who stated that ‘what may appear as futile detail is in fact a condensation of principles’, Bourdieu argued that such aspects are equally operative in other
countries and epochs (Mauss 1989: 7 English translation in Wacquant 1998: ix); these same forces are evident in Java and the pesantren system.

In the habitus of the pesantren system, such symbolic behavioural practices are part of everyday life. Since habitus is inherently and structurally ‘linked to a position, it always tends to express, through schemata that are its embodied form, both the space of the different or opposed positions constitutive of social space (for example, top/bottom) and a practical stance toward this space (e.g. “I’m at the top or the bottom and I’d better stay here”)’ (Bourdieu 1998: 2). Habitus is ultimately the location for strategies of reproduction that tend to maintain separations, distances, and relations of order, and thus in the practical sense in reproducing the entire system (Bourdieu 1998: 3).

As Bourdieu (& Passeron 2000: xxiv) explained, the agents involved in a particular field share a ‘misrecognition’ of the true relations between the structure of that field and the structures of economic and political power. As mentioned above, in the religious field this misrecognition of power relations and classification system is the foundation of experience and common opinion, or belief (Greek: doxa), a concept that is able to transfer into the analysis of other fields (Bourdieu 1977: 164). Applying this concept, although Muhammadiyah and NU share many elements in common there are distinct differences, and the culture produced by this structure of differences actually helps to maintain both sides in opposition. Both organisations seek to expand their support base, while tolerating, but differentiating themselves from one another. The habitus at the grassroots pesantren level ensures that santri uphold the respective interpretation of Islam of these organisations, and that of their parents, as we shall see below. The habitus is maintained through the position of the kyai, which can be strengthened by increasing both the quantity and quality of santri. Successfully doing so can attract politicians who seek a kyai’s blessing and support during elections.

The process of cultivation through which cultural capital is accumulated begins in the family and requires an investment of time (Bourdieu & Passeron 2000: 5 & 32). Pedagogic work, which is ‘a process of inculcation which must last long enough to produce durable training, i.e. a habitus…’, and a lasting habitus, which is capable of perpetuating itself after pedagogic action, like education for example, has ceased (Bourdieu & Passeron 2000: 31). Pedagogic work can perpetuate the values and actions it inculcates more lastingly than political coercion.
(except when political power itself resorts to pedagogic work) (Bourdieu & Passeron 2000: 33). ‘Religious power lastingly informs practices to the extent that it is incarnated in a church [or pesantren], performing pedagogic work directly or indirectly, i.e. through the medium of the family and a Christian [or Islamic] upbringing’ (Bourdieu & Passeron 2000: 33). In other words, the power of symbolic violence of the pedagogic agency through pedagogic work is long-term, in contrast to the authority of political power, which is always confronted with the problem of its own perpetuation (succession)’ (Bourdieu & Passeron 2000: 33).

The on-going Islamisation of Indonesian society is linked to identity and cultural capital. Since reformasi, Islamisation has deepened through Islamic symbols and Islamic concepts in political affairs, government, education, literature, popular culture, fashion, business, and banking (Ricklefs 2012: 274-5). In addition, tens of millions of Indonesian Muslims continue to identify with NU and Muhammadiyah. Using data collected from the survey conducted in East Java, at Pesantren Karangasem, 88 per cent of santri and 93 per cent of their parents identified with Muhammadiyah. Similarly, at Pesantren Sunan Drajat, 85 per cent of santri and 80 per cent their parents identified with NU. When asked about their criteria for pesantren selection, at Pesantren Karangasem, parent responses included 26.8 per cent for quality of education and 62.5 per cent to study religion, while their santri children recorded 23.2 per cent and 51.8 for the same reasons. At Pesantren Sunan Drajat, parents indicated 43.6 per cent for quality of education and 38.2 per cent to study religion, and their santri children chose 43.6 and 34.5 for the same reasons. Although ideological considerations for selecting which pesantren to study at, in terms of religious teaching and religious affiliation, were not specifically asked, the religious identity of the pesantren remains highly correlated to the religious membership of the family; at least 80 per cent. These pesantren provide a habitus with a prolonged process of inculcation that will transmit Islam that is respectively 3 For further reading on the deepening Islamisation of Indonesia see Ricklefs (2012: Chapter 8).
4 Robin Bush’s research based on surveys conducted from 18 to 30 August 2010, in Yogyakarta and East Java with a sample size of 1,850, found that 78 per cent of Muhammadiyah respondents sent their children to state (public) school rather than Muhammadiyah schools because public schools had improved in quality over the past decade. Further, of those that did attend pesantren, 53.9 per cent of Muhammadiyah members chose to send their children to traditionalist (NU) pesantren rather than modernist (Muhammadiyah) pesantren; whereas 81.4 per cent of NU member chose to send their children to traditionalist pesantren. Bush suggests that this might indicate ‘an element of religious education and/or guidance that is not being met by the modernist Muhammadiyah institutions’ (Bush 29 Nov-2 Dec 2012). In this regard, Muhammadiyah’s institutions in Lamongan are fulfilling the needs of its constituency because of its extensive and developed pesantren and kyai network, accommodating the local milieu and its members who are mostly rural villagers, farmers, fisherman and labourers; as opposed to the metropolitan and urban based areas with a membership more inclined to be professional, technically skilled, and bureaucratic in nature.
Muhammadiyah or NU in nature. *Santri* studying in these *pesantren* are acquiring *cultural capital*, or in this case *religious capital*, in line with their parents’ religious views and their Islamic upbringing, thus continuing the cycle of reproduction.

Education is particularly important to the process of social and cultural reproduction, since various forms of *cultural capital* transfer from one generation to the next. Institutions of education transfer a range of cultural behaviour, also encompassing non-academic features, such as social markings, including gait and accent (Bourdieu 1998: 294-5). Language itself is more than a medium of communication, since it is also a mechanism of power. Linguistic interactions are manifestations of an agent’s relative position in a social space and tend to reproduce the objective structures of the social *field*. This determines who holds the *symbolic power* to be listened to, to interrupt, to ask questions and lecture (Thompson 2003: 21-2). This is the case in the Javanese tradition, and more so in the *pesantren* system. It should be noted here that despite the reformist-orientation of Muhammadiyah to encourage open debate and criticism, Pesantren Karangasem continues to perpetuate the positions of *kyai*, *santri*, and the *pesantren* system in general with *symbolic capital* and final authority resting with its *kyai*.

Structures of a social *field* depend upon a vital source of power derived from *capital*, which can be prestige, honour, the right to be listened to, and so on. When an agent imposes his *symbolic capital* upon an agent who holds less, and seeks to alter their actions, this is exercising *symbolic violence*, which ‘is the power to impose (or even to inculcate) the arbitrary instruments of knowledge and expression (taxonomies) of social reality’ (Bourdieu 2003: 168). Borrowing ideas from Nietzsche and his book *The Antichrist*, Bourdieu created the term the ‘*oracle effect*’ in describing the function of religious figures, which turn themselves into God or the People, through synonyms that they use for themselves as they monopolise notions of God, Truth, Wisdom, People, Message, Freedom, etc. (Bourdieu 2003: 210-1). Whereas Bourdieu was referring to priests, in Java this could be the equivalent to *kyai* who hold a significant amount of *symbolic capital*, and a position that is given further importance as Islam encompasses all worldly affairs. Therefore, the *kyai* can also use his *symbolic capital* to exert influence over the *umat* since religion is central to the Muslim identity. Consequently, Islamic leaders and *kyai* are granted a privileged position in the Indonesian *umat*. 

Chapter Two: Pesantren Pedagogy and the Inculcation of a ‘Santri Habitus’
Reproduction

As forms of cultural production develop, they generate arenas of struggle by specialists for the monopoly over their administration. *Fields* designate arenas where specific forms of *capital* are produced, invested, exchanged, and accumulated. This can be seen in the struggle between NU and Muhammadiyah, and also political parties, which aim to expand their constituent powerbase. Weber’s sociology of religion discusses the relations between priest, prophet, and sorcerer. He identifies the specific and opposing interests of these principal types of religious leadership and the structures of the ‘competition which opposes them to one another’ (Bourdieu 1990: 107). Bourdieu proposes a structuralist reinterpretation of Weber’s analysis by their opposing interests and how these interests are in turn related to broader power structures (Swartz 1996: 78). If this is applied in the context of the *pesantern* system, *kyai* channel their power and influence into related branches of power structures. Concurrently, this influence and power (capital) may be transmuted into support for a political party or candidate.

Although this thesis is not primarily concerned with linguistic theories it is important to discuss briefly the role of language. Philosophers of language and theorists of society, including Bourdieu, recognise that language is a central, but not the only, medium of social reproduction (Thompson 1984: 42). Acceptance of a linguistic norm helps to secure a minimum level of communication between all members of a linguistic community, which is a prerequisite of economic and symbolic reproduction (Thompson 1984: 44). In the context of the *pesantern* and rural communities of Java, it is religious reproduction, which is conducted through Islamic proselytisation (*dakwah*).

In France, in the fourteenth century, the dialect of *Ile de France* became the official language, and two hundred years later it became the Parisian dialect, while regional dialects degenerated into *patois* (regional dialect or language of a particular group) (Bourdieu 2003: 46-7). Similarly, in Indonesia during the early twentieth century, *bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language) was promoted as the official national language and regional dialects and languages (*bahasa daerah*) were relegated to the status of *patois*. As intended, a situation of bilingualism developed in Indonesia and helped to produce national unity while preserving the
diverse ethnic identities and cultures. Most kyai in Java are able to speak Indonesian, Javanese, and limited Arabic. Multilingual ability is vital to a kyai because it empowers him with the capital to communicate with elites and government officials in metropolitan and rural areas, while being able to converse with the urban middle-class as well as the rural peasantry and proverbial ‘small people’ (wong cilik). Providing further legitimacy, kyai are able to discuss worldly (dunia) affairs within a religious and spiritual (batin) context, giving them some influence over matters outside of religion.

Bourdieu provides us with explanations for understanding ideologies. He posits that ‘ideologies owe their structure and their most specific functions for the social conditions of their production and circulation, that is, first, to the functions they perform for specialists competing for a monopoly over the competence under consideration (religious, artistic, etc.); and second, and as a by-product of this, to the functions they perform for non-specialists’ (Bourdieu 2003: 169). Further, ideologies are always ‘doubly determined’, reflecting specific characteristics of both the interests of the classes or class fractions they express (the function of sociodicy), as well as the ‘specific interests of those who produce them and to the specific logic of the field of production (commonly transfigured into the form of an ideology of ‘creation’ and of the ‘creative artist’)’ (Bourdieu 2003: 169). This provides us with a means of avoiding the brutal reduction of ideological productions as self-sufficient, self-created totalities amenable to a pure and purely internal analysis (semiology) (Bourdieu 2003: 169).

For Bourdieu, the idea that action is interest-oriented is a fundamental presupposition, and not a hypothesis for testing. The concepts of religious capital and cultural capital refer to irreducible forms of power and can be interchangeable with economic capital (Bourdieu 2003: 230-1). We can conceptualise resources as capital when they function as the objects of struggle as valued resources. Bourdieu’s concept of ‘religious capital’ is similar to Weber’s idea of religious ‘qualification’ (Bourdieu 1991: 9). It represents ‘accumulated symbolic labour’ and is connected to the ‘constitution of a religious field’ where a group of religious specialists are able to monopolise the administration of religious goods and services (Swartz

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5 From my own experience in Indonesia, state schools often teach the local language of the area. During a high school exchange to Bali in 2000, we studied Balinese language as a subject. I have observed similar situations first-hand in Lombok with the teaching of Sasak language and in Java with Javanese language. This is part of Indonesia’s motto of Unity in Diversity (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika). Although there still remain some pockets of the community who do not speak Indonesian, these people are principally those who are of the older generation, and those with limited or no education, and speak only their local language.
Bourdieu argued that by insisting on the ‘this-worldly’ character of behaviour motivated by religious factors, referring to Weber who provides a way of linking the contents of mythical discourse to the religious interests of those who produce it, diffuse it, and receive it. In this way, it is possible to connect religious beliefs and practices to the interests of those who produce and administer them (Swartz 1996: 74).

Bourdieu’s understanding is that agents pursue investment strategies in cultural goods just as they do with economic goods. Individuals, families, and groups can accumulate cultural and economic items. Further to this, Bourdieu draws from Max Weber’s notions of charisma and legitimacy in his development of the theory of symbolic power (Swartz 1996: 76). This theory stresses the maintenance of power relations since symbolic power is a power given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world. Thereby, action in the world itself is an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (whether physical or economic), by virtue of the specific effect of mobilisation, but this power can be exercised only if it is recognised, that is misrecognised as arbitrary (Bourdieu 2003: 170). As such, symbolic power does not reside in ‘symbolic systems’ in the form of an ‘illocutionary force’ but is defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit to it, i.e. in the structure of the field in which belief is produced and reproduced (Bourdieu 2003: 170); for example in the pesantren system. What creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them, who are kyai in this context. However, Bourdieu qualifies this as ‘words alone cannot create this belief’ (Bourdieu 2003: 170). Essential agents in the pesantren system are kyai, who are charismatic, and part of the local elite, tied into the Javanese traditional framework of cultural respect as well as cultural and religious submissiveness, kyai are also able to create belief.

Symbolic power is the use of power as routinely used in social life. However, in day-to-day life power is rarely exercised through physical force, rather, it is transmitted into a symbolic form. This endows a form of legitimacy that it would otherwise not have. This symbolic power is ‘invisible’ power which is ‘misrecognised’ as such and in fact recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu 2003: 163-4). Drawing upon this, kyai fit Bourdieu’s definition of individual agents. Bourdieu describes these agents as individuals who construct social reality.
and enter into transactions which serve to impose their vision that is conducted with respect to their points of view, interests, and principles of vision determined by the position they occupy in the very world they intend to transform or preserve (Bourdieu 1998: 2).

Bourdieu emphasised that ideology is not a given but requires active construction, contending that most everyday practices would not be possible without misrecognition of their objective interests (Swartz 1996: 77). Relevant to this study is political Islam, which is an ideology that requires active construction, but the role of Islam in politics is still developing in Indonesia after political freedoms were suppressed by the introduction of Guided Democracy (*Demokrasi Terpimpin*) in 1959 until *reformasi* in 1998; which is discussed in the following chapter. As a simple definition, political Islam is the promulgation of an Islamic agenda ranging from Islamic, or *shari’ah*, based laws to changing the basis of the state from secular to religious. At the rural village level, the *pesantren* system facilitates the propagation and inculcation of Islamic values that is a central ingredient for the existence of political Islam. The existence of NU and Muhammadiyah also provide momentum for Muslim politics.\(^6\) In terms of the political advantages, as Bourdieu (2003: 174) contends, those who dominate the party are able to protect and gain specific profits, and through the freedom they gain through their monopoly of the production and imposition of instituted political interest, they are granted the possibility of imposing their own interests as the interest of those whom they represent. Hence, it can be in the interests of all *pesantren* leaders, from both NU or Muhammadiyah, to have some influence over political parties.

**Comparing French Elite Schools and Javanese Pesantren**

Bourdieu’s studies concerning French elite schools, known as *École Normale Supérieure* (ENS), provided an interesting insight to how people view their capabilities. The majority of *pesantren* are not elite schools, but as Dhofier argues, *kyai* and their families that run the schools are part of the local elite community (Dhofier 1999: 34-5); although different to French elite, they are seen as elites in their Javanese communities. Students of ENS, known as

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\(^6\) Drawing upon Marx’s comments in *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847), it is possible to date the birth of a social group from the time the members of its representative organisations struggle for the defence and the development of their organisation (Bourdieu 2003: 174). The formal creation of Muhammadiyah in 1912 and NU in 1926 can be accepted as the technical point where these organisations struggled for their respective goals, the former to purify Islam, and the latter to protect traditionalist Islamic syncretism. Using this argument above, and what we know about Muhammadiyah and NU, the two organisations are defending themselves against one another.
normaliens, are highly trained in various disciples, such as humanities, pure and applied sciences, sociology, economics and management, as well as English language. In contrast to the ENS schools, pesantren are Islamic boarding schools, which are often poorer and less equipped than state-run public schools. Students, or santri, in pesantren are taught subjects based on Qur’anic studies. Santri are also taught secular subjects, like English, mathematics, computer studies, etc., but emphasis on Qur’anic studies is of principal concern. Despite a lack of resources, santri have a strong passion for pursuing education\(^7\).

The normaliens are expected to maintain a level of excellence in the various disciplines in which they are trained. Some comparisons can be made with santri of the pesantren system as they are highly trained in religious texts. Normaliens are considered civil servants in training, and ENS graduates do not receive degrees, but rather the focus is to groom them to occupy high-level careers. Comparatively, some santri are considered religious scholars in training to become ulama or leaders of Islamic organisations, but many are also destined to become civil servants and occupy other mainstream jobs in the government and private sector. The minimum function of the pesantren is to discipline santri in Islamic values and ethics (akhlaq) and for them to bring these attributes to their daily lives and occupations. The ENS is a higher educational institution outside the mainstream network of public universities, while pesantren are institutions of Islamic education outside the government-run public schools.\(^8\)

The ENS is made up of a small attendance, usually focusing on future academics in a variety of fields intended for normalien graduates to become researchers, professors, high-level civil servants, businessmen and politicians. The two case studies, Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem, follow moderate Islam allowing for a combination of Qur’anic studies with modern subjects. Dissimilar to normalien, the santri are large in number and a majority of santri are not guaranteed to obtain high-level jobs. However, the copious numbers of santri that graduate provide the chance for some to reach prominent positions, not merely in the pesantren system, but in academia, the bureaucracy, and politics. The term normalien in French society has certain connotations that indicate elitist and upper class. Similar to this, santri, meaning student, infers ascetics, discipline, loyalty, and dedication, and like the

\(^7\) For further reading on the santri passion for education see Nilan (2009).

\(^8\) ENS is also comparable to reputations of the elite preparatory schools (prep schools) in the United States, or Eton and Harrow in the United Kingdom. Similarly, Dhofier makes the comparison that some pesantren in Indonesia rival Islamic educational institutions of the Middle East and South Asia (Dhofier 1999: xi).
normalien classification, can provide important credentials necessary for public life and important jobs, including positions in NU, Muhammadiyah, religious advisory councils, such as the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI), political parties, and so on. However, santri and former santri must reconcile their knowledge with modernity, or they could be seen as merely religious figures who are out of touch with mainstream society.

Some pesantren in Indonesia are similar to the western style ‘intellectual schools’ that are the seedbed of a country’s high intelligentsia. For example, Pesantren Tebuireng and Pesantren Gontor, both in East Java, have produced prominent Indonesian figures. Pesantren Tebuireng alumni include: former Indonesian president Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), his brother, Salahuddin Wahid (Gus Solah), who currently heads Pesantren Tebuireng and was a vice-presidential candidate in 2004, and their father Wahid Hasyim, who was a former Minister of Religion (Interview with Gus Dur 20 March 2007). From Pesantren Gontor there are: the former NU Chairman, Hasyim Muzadi, Muhammadiyah Chairman, Din Syamsuddin, the former speaker of the People’s Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, MPR), Hidayat Nur Wahid, the renowned Muslim intellectual and proponent of modernising Islam, Nurcholish Madjid (Cak Nur), and others (AlumniGontor.com 2004). In the East Java district of Lamongan, where research for this thesis was conducted, Pesantren Sunan Drajat headmaster, Kyai Abdul Ghofur, mentored Tsalits in his transition from NU to politics, and on to become deputy district head (wakil bupati) in 2005-2010. Meanwhile, Pesantren Karangasem alumni have taken up important positions in Muhammadiyah, including Syafiq Mughni and Nadjib Hamid from Pesantren Karangasem who went on to become, respectively, the Provincial Chairman and Provincial Secretary of Muhammadiyah in East Java. Just as there are elite schools in Europe and America whose students are overrepresented in the upper echelons of the European and American states, pesantren in Indonesia have alumni that occupy important positions within religious organisations, political parties, and government.

**Kyai and Symbolic Violence**

The concept of symbolic capital and symbolic violence should not be understood only within the context of the physical means and ability of a kyai through pesantren to influence not only those within the pondok, but also affairs outside the compound walls. This can be achieved
through a number of means. In the first instance, it is dependent on the prominence of a kyai, and second, his ability to connect with the local community. To use the example of Kyai Ghofur, the headmaster of Pesantren Sunan Drajat, an effective and direct method of reaching the most remote parts of rural Java is through his sermons and Qur’anic recitation (pengajian). This is one of the most common and important activities for all kyai. Almost every night Kyai Ghofur performs one or two pengajian outside his pesantren. This is a form of symbolic capital which allows him to express his opinions and beliefs to remote and metropolitan audiences. Although this is a religious sermon, it also includes advice on ethics and principles in society, including politics.

Kyai Mu’rob, the headmaster of Pesantren Karangasem, performs pengajian outside the pesantren less frequently. As a result he is less well-known by villagers beyond the local area, but is relatively well-known within the Muhammadiyah community throughout East Java. In fact, the charismatic founder of Pesantren Karangasem, Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri, is still often thought of as the leader of this Muhammadiyah pesantren to people who are not aware he died in 1997. Locals remember when Kyai Syamsuri led the Friday jumatan prayer at the biggest mosque in the village, Masjid Jami’At Taqwa, by the beach. One villager described how men would be spilling out on to the road prostrating on their prayer mats, while cars would have to wait for them to finish before the road was cleared and traffic could pass (Interview with local villager 25 July 2007). Occasionally, Kyai Mu’rob leads the prayer sessions there, but has never attracted a gathering as large as his predecessor. Tying back to the two case study pesantren, locals perceive that on an individual level within Lamongan, the influence that Kyai Ghofur is able to exert is greater compared to that of Kyai Mu’rob.

The quotation below provides a relevant understanding of the development of education and its impact on the role of social divisions in the western experience, which is also applicable to Javanese society:

‘The first principle is the vexing yet obdurate relationship of collision and collusion, autonomy and complicity, distance and dependence, between material and symbolic power. As Weber noted well, in every structure of domination, those “privileged through existing political, social, and economic orders” are never content to wield their power unvarnished and to impose their
prerogatives naked. Rather, they, “wish to see their positions transformed from purely factual power relations into a cosmos of acquired rights, and to know that they are thus sanctified.” In feudal society, the Church was the institution entrusted with transmuting the lord’s might, founded as it was upon control of weaponry, land, and riches, into divine right; ecclesiastical authority was deployed to justify and thereby solidify the rule of the new warrior class. In the complex societies spawned by late capitalism, Bourdieu maintains, the school has taken over this work of sanctification of social divisions. So that not one but two species of capital now give access to positions of power, define the structure of social space, and govern the life chances and trajectories of groups and individuals: economic capital and cultural capital.’

(Wacquant 1998: ix)

Fifteenth century Java can be compared to feudal Europe in the statement above. The kingdoms of Java through their courts and vassals would wield power over the rural peasantry. Their legitimacy was often granted and protected by religion, first Hindu-Buddhism and later Islam, and it was the courts that projected the ruler’s might. Following Islamisation, in Java during the nineteenth century, the pesantren system ‘became a significant feature of Javanese life’ and played an important role in the social structure of education (Ricklefs 2012: 14-5). In modern-day Java, especially East Java, the pesantren system remains an integral part of rural society, and local culture continues to sanctify social divisions; a quarter of Lamongan’s 200,000 students attend pesantren. Credentials help define the contemporary social order, and the concept of orang besar, or big person, typifies that social order where positions and titles are particularly important in Javanese social relations, for example, kyai meaning religious scholar; or Raden, the title of Javanese nobility; or even Haji, the title a male receives after he has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Bourdieu argued that the generalisation of educational titles as a prerequisite for ascent to the apex of private corporations and public bureaucracies signals the consolidation of a new mode of domination and a corresponding transformation in the system of strategies. In doing so, the ruling class maintains and masks itself, at the cost of swift and continual self-metamorphosis (Wacquant 1998: x-xi). In Javanese society, ‘titles of nobility, profession and academic achievement are also used by many people to express respect’ (Poedjosoedarmo October
This also applies to a public context where individuals will use polite terms and respectful speech to refer to a respected third person (Poedjosoedarmo October 1968: 69).

Javanese society is divided socio-linguistically with three forms of Javanese language, which correspond to social level and personal intimacy; refined, common, and coarse, known in Javanese as kromo, madyo, and ngoko (Indonesian: halus, sedang and kasar). Speaking is often accompanied by particular mannerisms relevant to each level of language, as all aspects of conduct are subject to interactional norms and aesthetic evaluations as relatively halus or kasar (Errington 1988: 3). The stratification of Javanese society is reflected in their language as speakers employ the appropriate level of respect to those who are lower or higher in social rank, older or younger, and are on intimate or unfamiliar terms (Poedjosoedarmo October 1968: 54). A santri speaking to his or her kyai would invoke as much halus language as possible, and if he or she were unable to do so competently, the santri would prefer not to speak in order to avoid offence and embarrassment. However, kyai themselves believe that everyone, regardless of social status or competency in Javanese halus language, should be able to speak to a kyai (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 17 March 2007; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 21 July 2007).

With reference to the above, Bourdieu discusses the use of language and actions. He suggests that to account fully for the power of discourse, it is necessary to connect language to the social conditions of its production (Bourdieu 2003: 172). In addition, we must look at the mechanisms that produce both words and the people who emit and receive them, as the basis of the power which certain words cause one to mobilise (Bourdieu 2003: 188-9). The conventional use of language is only one of the preconditions for efficacy of symbolic power, and it operates under certain conditions. The power of words can be exercised on agents when the social conditions of their production predispose them to recognise them absolutely (Bourdieu 1998: 41; 2003: 171-2; Bourdieu & Passeron 2000: 110).

Politics is a contest over the ‘symbolic power of making people see and believe, and of predicting and prescribing, of making known and recognised, which is at the same time a struggle for power of the “public powers” (state administration)’ (Bourdieu 2003: 181). In democracies, the contest to attract the support from citizens (their votes, their party subscriptions, etc.) is also a contest to maintain or subvert the distribution of power over
public powers to achieve a monopoly of the legitimate use of state resources and institutions, such as the law, the army, police, public finances, etc. (Bourdieu 2003: 181). It is Bourdieu’s view that ‘The most important agents of this struggle are the political parties, combative organizations specifically adapted so as to engage in this sublimated form of civil war by mobilising in an enduring way, through prescriptive predications, the greatest possible number of agents endowed with the same vision of the social world and its future’ (Bourdieu 2003: 181).

Summary of the Theory

Bourdieu maintains that educational institutions can resemble an immense cognitive machine continually redistributing students submitted to its examination according to their positions in the system. Its classificationary action is the outcome of thousands of actions and effects produced by agents who themselves act like so many independent, yet objectively orchestrated, cognitive machines (Bourdieu 1998: 30-3). Individuals ‘perform the institution’s every wish because they are the institution made-man (or woman), and who, whether dominated or dominant, can submit to it or fully exercise its necessity only because they have incorporated it, since they are of the one body of it and they give body to it’ (Bourdieu 1998: 3). In this way, the pesantren system specifically produces the santri habitus. The santri are the body of the pesantren, and even etymologically, santri is the base word for pesantren, meaning ‘place of the santri’. Santri remain connected to their pesantren forever, even after they have graduated. In fact, it is forbidden for a santri to consider himself a former student of a kyai, as he is the kyai’s student all his life. Even if his kyai has died, the santri is obliged to show his respect by maintaining connection with the pesantren where he once studied (Dhofier 1999: 61). The field of power is a field of forces structurally determined by the state of the relations of power among forms of power, or different forms of capital. It is also, and inseparably, a field of power struggles among the holders of different forms of power, a gaming space in which those agents and institutions that possess enough specific capital are able to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields that confront each other using strategies aimed at preserving or transforming these relations of power (Bourdieu 1998: 264). This is also enforced by symbolic violence. Reproduction is particularly influenced by the structure of
agents’ patrimony. Since most santri come from relatively poor families, they do not rely on economic capital for their reproduction, but rather the religious institution of the pesantren system. This leads one to ponder, to what extent do Indonesians expect religion to play a role in state matters and politics, but simple conclusions are not easy and a robust parliamentary democracy has changed expectations of what political Islam has to offer, notwithstanding the state ideology Pancasila continues to satisfy enough religious interests to please most voters.
Chapter Three: Political Islam
Chapter Three: Political Islam

Political Islam is employed in this study to describe efforts that promote Muslim aspirations and champion an Islamic agenda through laws, regulations, and government policy. Political parties that are considered ‘Islamist’ have a formal ideological basis (asas) in Islam. Consideration is also given to parties that were founded with an ‘Islamic flavour’ and Muslim identity, while maintaining a commitment to pluralism and the state ideology Pancasila, such as the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) and the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN).\(^1\) Pancasila requires at least a basic commitment or acceptance of the role of religion in state affairs, and parties differ in the degree to which they prioritise the role of religion in politics.

Political Islam derives inspiration from its holy texts, the Qur’an and Hadith (verified prophetic stories of Muhammad), and a millennium and a half of Islamic history. However, history has shown that what constitute Muslim aspirations and agendas varies. In Indonesia, because all political parties accommodate Islam to varying degrees, this complicates the process of defining them.\(^2\) Islamic political ambitions range from: changing the state’s foundation, introducing shari’ah (Islamic) law, and making Islam the national religion, to pressing for government policies that deepen Islamisation while combating immoral behaviour and outlawing blasphemy and heresy. On the fringe of political Islam, extremist groups resort to violence to achieve their objectives, including the establishment of a theocratic state, or Caliphate, and the enforcement of shari’ah law.\(^3\)

Presently, 1.3 billion people profess Islam, the second largest religion in the world after Christianity. The majority of Muslims live east of the Persian Gulf, and not in the Middle East where the religion originated. In fact, Indonesia is the world’s most populous Muslim nation, and according to the 2010 census, its population stood at almost 238 million and 87.2 per cent

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1. The five tenets of Pancasila are: 1) The belief in one Supreme God; 2) A just a civilised humanity; 3) The unity of Indonesia; 4) Democracy led by the wisdom of unanimity arising from deliberations among representatives of the people; 5) Social justice for the whole people of Indonesia.

2. For example, Baswedan (2004) employs taxonomies to describe Indonesia’s political parties as Muslim-inclusive and Muslim-exclusive, and although this is useful to a certain extent, his classifying of PDIP as ‘secular-exclusive’ is no longer accurate since it now has a Islamic proselytisation (dakwah) branch, and in various districts introduced local regulations (peraturan daerah, Perda) that encourage Islamisation.

3. Although violent religious struggle is sometimes associated with political Islam, this can be somewhat misleading, as it does not define its core political characteristics. Perhaps ‘terrorism’ or ‘militant jihadism’ might be a more appropriate terms when religious-based violence is involved.
were Muslim (BPS 2010). Various Islamic sultanates existed in Aceh, Java, and South Sulawesi, before Dutch colonial ambitions began in the seventeenth century. By the time Islam spread to the Indonesian archipelago, it had already undergone a synthesis of non-Islamic Indic elements from the Asian Subcontinent. As early as the thirteenth century, Islam began to spread to port city-states that eventually led to the establishment of the first Muslim sultanate of Pasai in North Sumatra. The fifteenth century witnessed the emergence of Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, and occurring during the sixteenth century was the development of nascent Sultanates of Aceh in North Sumatra, Banten and various loci along the north coast of Java (Esposito 1987: 205). The seventeenth century saw the rise of Makassar, as well as Minangkabau and Mataram. The Dutch deposed these Sultanates by exacerbating domestic rivalries and regional quarrels, and through direct intervention. The colonisers usurped much of what become the Dutch East Indies after victory in the Java War (1826-30) and Aceh War (1873-1910), while other outside islands were conquered later. They might not have won without forging alliances with Muslim groups opposing other Muslims bent on imposing a more rigorous application of Islamic law (Esposito 1987: 206). This history underpins a long debate about the role of religion in state affairs in Indonesia.

During most of its post-independence history, particularly throughout the Sukarno (1945-66) and Suharto (1966-1998) eras, political Islam was shaped by the circumstances of regimes seeking to maintain power. In the post-Suharto era, Indonesia has become a vibrant democracy, accommodating greater religious interests and open to political Islam, and parties have been able to replace Pancasila with Islam. Democratisation has shown that Muslim identity and Islamic values are salient and influence how politics is conducted. Political Islam is not a monolithic ideology and must, as Esposito states, be approached by specially examining each country and Islamic movement separately. Esposito cites that the diversity is reflected in distinct differences between the state and Islam, as exists for example, in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Malaysia, and Indonesia. The Muslim world and political Islam is as diverse as democratic, Western Christian, European, or North and South American nations; although there are commonalities, there are distinct characteristics and interests, with a diversity of peoples and governments that are unique to each country (Esposito 1997).

4 The remainder were Protestant (7 per cent), Roman Catholic (2.9 per cent), Hindu (1.7 per cent), Buddhism (0.7 per cent), Confucius (0.1) and other (0.1 per cent) (BSP 2010).
5 Ricklefs (2008: 178) states, ‘It is a matter of judgment as to when the Aceh War actually ended… In the minds of some Acehnese, the war never came to an end.’
Indonesia is not an Islamic state, but nor is it completely secular since its constitution recognises the belief in God by all its recognised religions. The state’s commitment to religion was reiterated in a Constitutional Court ruling in April 2010, which upheld the law against blasphemy. Its judgment was that, ‘The state according to the mandate of the Constitution is responsible for enhancing piety and noble ethics. The religious domain is a consequence of the acceptance of the Pancasila ideology. In the Pancasila state there can be no activities that degrade religious values and religiosity. Therefore, the state cannot provide the opportunity to denigrate another religion’.  

Muslim identity is an important component of Indonesia’s ‘political culture’, but all the political parties differ over the priority of religion. This is reflected in Indonesia’s political representation, and presently there are two types of parties that exist in Indonesia, namely Pancasila and Islamist parties. Pancasila parties require only a basic commitment to religious considerations, while Islamist parties specifically include an Islamic agenda. Pancasila parties include PKB, PAN, the Party of the Functional Groups (Golongan Karya, Golkar), the Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat, PD), the Great Indonesia Movement (Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Gerindra), the People’s Conscience Party (Hati Nurani Rakyat, Hanura), and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDIP). It may be argued that there is a subcategory within Pancasila parties, which we might describe as Pancasila-based Islamic parties. This would apply to PKB and PAN, since PKB leaders have all come from NU and most PAN leaders have come from Muhammadiyah; but the political ambitions of both parties are pluralist and grounded in Pancasila. Islamist parties include the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP), Justice Prosperous Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS), and Crescent Star Party (Partai Buletan Bintang, PBB). Although the PBB is no longer represented in the national parliament because of insufficient

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7 Other ideological positions have included the Indonesian Party of Marhaenism (Partai Nasional Indonesian Marhaenisme (PNI Marhaenisme) founded on President Sukarno’s socialist doctrine known as Marhaenism; The Indonesian Unity Party of Nahdlatul Ummah (Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia, Partai PNU) and PKNU were founded on Islam according to Ahsus-Sunnah wal-Jama’ah, other parties employ Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945, some state Islam and Pancasila together, while others mention either Islam or Pancasila with additional clauses (Ma’ruf 2007: 13; Tim Litbang Kompas 2004: 27, 223, op cit.)
votes at the 2009 election, in March 2013 it was permitted to participate in the 2014 legislative election (KPU 2013).

Some members of the Indonesian community are uncomfortable with, and even reject, the concept of liberalism fearing that it might lead to open debate leading to blasphemy and atheism. The most recent example was in 2012 when a man from West Sumatra was convicted of blasphemy and sentenced two and a half-years imprisonment for writing ‘God doesn’t exist’ on Facebook, while extremist Muslims even called for him to be beheaded (The Jakarta Globe 2 February 2012; The Jakarta Post 14 June 2012). During the past decade, Muslim thinkers have debated and distinguished liberal democracy from other forms of democracy. In 2005, this was bought to ahead by MUI’s religious degree, or fatwa, prohibiting pluralism, liberalism, and secularism. Its reasoning was that pluralism sees all religions as equal, liberalism promoted free-thinking, while secularism denied religion a role in worldly state affairs, all of which are contradictory to Islamic teachings and therefore prohibited (haram) (MUI 2005). Radical figures and groups have joined the debate, perhaps the most famous includes Muslim cleric Abu Bakar Ba’asyir who publically denounces liberalism, and in particular the Liberal Islam Network (Jaringan Islam Liberal, JIL) (Speech By Abu Bakar Ba'asyir 9 October 2007, 26 November 2006). The Islamic Defenders’ Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI) also continues to condemn and threaten JIL, which has often caused the JIL leadership to go into hiding.

**Islam and Muslim Identity**

Islam means ‘submission’, and a Muslim is someone who submits to the divine will of Allah as defined in the Qur’an, but such submission is not understood in the passive sense (Donohue & Esposito 1982: 4). The Qur’an stipulates that Muslims must struggle (jihad) to achieve Allah’s will in history. This is a universal mission to spread the realm of Islam (Darul Islam) throughout the world. This desire led Muhammad to establish a religious-political community, or umat, in Medina, and later Mecca. Within a century of the existence of Islam, Muhammad and his successors had created an Islamic Oecumene, or Caliphate, stretching from North Africa to South Asia. At the heart of this pan-Islamic empire was strict adherence to shari’ah law, which Muslims consider the blueprint for the perfect society, intertwining religion with politics, business, and law. This ‘golden age’, lasting from the mid seventh to
the thirteenth century, ended by Mongol conquest, rather than European Christian Crusades, represents the ideal history and the origin for Muslim identity.

*The Cambridge History of Islam* (1970) identifies the difference in social function and membership of the Christian and Islamic communities (Holt, Lambton & Lewis 1970: xii). In Christianity, acceptance of the Catholic creeds has been the basic criterion, while in Islam creedal theology has been of less relative importance and where adherence to the Islamic Holy Law (*shari’ah*) is the characteristic manifestation of faith, and orthopraxy, rather than orthodoxy, has been the usual symbol of membership. Islam is also different because it has no equivalent to the Christian sacraments and no priesthood, although the Muslim scholars (*ulama*) and leaders of the Sufi orders have often played a part in Muslim societies analogous to that of the clergy amongst Christians (Holt, Lambton & Lewis 1970: xii). The absence of a sacerdotal or any conciliar system to define the faith, linked with the primacy ascribed to orthopraxy, has made Islam more tolerant of variations of belief than Christianity. In addition, heresy in Islam has historically been repressed only when it has been manifested as political subversion, but since Islam is both a religious and political community, the distinction between religious and political dissent has never been strictly defined (Holt, Lambton & Lewis 1970: xii-xiii).

**Islam and the Indonesian Republic**

Prior to Indonesia’s independence on 17 August 1945, Muslim leaders and Islamic political parties demanded that Islam become the state religion and pushed for the adoption of *shari’ah* law into the new Indonesian Constitution in an accord known as the Jakarta Charter (*Piagam Jakarta*). It outlined that the state be based on ‘Belief in God with the obligation for adherents of Islam to carry out Islamic law’ (*Ketuhanan dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluknya*) (Ricklefs 1993: 209; Sukma, Joewono & Centre for Strategic and International Studies 2007: 149). At the end of World War Two, Japan, which had occupied Indonesia from March 1942 to August 1945, warned that Indonesian Christians would disapprove of any special role for Islam; while the ‘Belief in God’ was retained, the words ‘with the obligation for adherents of Islam to carry out Islamic law’ and the condition that the president must be a Muslim were dropped (Ricklefs 1993: 213). More than six decades later,
some Muslims still express dissatisfaction with this arrangement and continue to advocate for the implementation of the Jakarta Charter (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 July 2008).

As mentioned earlier, Indonesia’s state model juxtaposes secularism and religious interests; as such, Indonesia is neither an Islamic nor a secular state. This paradox is because Islam has not been enshrined as the state religion and constitutionally Indonesia upholds the Pancasila state ideology. The first point of Pancasila, the belief in the one and only God, stipulates that the moral basis of the state is not any one religion, but that six state-acknowledged religious traditions are required to operate within the Pancasila ideological framework. Subsequently, religious and cultural pluralism became an entrenched ethos of Indonesian public life. This was because President Sukarno hammered the Pancasila theme to promote unity and strengthen national Indonesian identity, while respecting diversity. His successor President Suharto continued the theme, but was less dogmatic in its application (Ricklefs 2003).

The Middle East is the proverbial core of Islam, privileged with Muslim history and Arabic-speaking citizens. Meanwhile, Indonesia and the rest of Southeast Asia is generally a region considered on the Islamic periphery, despite the fact that Indonesia is home to the world’s largest Islamic community. However, Indonesia has led the way in Islamic modernisation where Islam can participate in democracy and a free-market economy. It has also witnessed the emergence of Islamic banking, which prohibits bank interest. This began under Suharto in the early 1990s, with only one Islamic commercial bank, but the 1998 Bank Law has facilitated the creation and growth of new ones (Juoro 2008: 229). Compared to conventional banks, Islamic banks constitute only a small portion of the banking industry because they cannot own government and corporate bonds according to shari’ah, and most rely on their conventional parent bank for the funding to finance their loans (Juoro 2008: 230-2). Islamic banking has potential since Indonesia is the largest economy of all the Muslim countries and, according to figures from 2009, it is ranked seventeenth in the world in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at US$916 billion and with a growth rate at 6 per cent annually (CIA 2009). However, Islamic banking remains far less developed than conventional methods, upon which the Islamic banking model is dependent; diminishing the economic creditability of proponents of political Islam who want society to be governed by shari’ah law.

8 ‘The law defines an Islamic bank as a commercial bank that complies with Islamic law (sharia) prohibitions against payment of interest (riba), contractual ambiguity (gharar), financial speculation (qimar) and other prohibited (haram) activities’ (Juoro 2008: 229).

Chapter Three: Political Islam
Since Reformasi, aliran politics appears to have largely disappeared from the social consciousness of the Indonesian electorate, including Lamongan; a trend also observed by Ricklefs (2012: 277). Aliran, or streams, in the political sense refers to the ideological-cultural identification separated along Muslim santri (devout Muslim) and Javanist abangan (nominal Muslim) lines (Ricklefs 2012: 80). During the parliamentary period of 1950-9 the abangan were reflected by the position of the Indonesian Nationalist Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia, PNI; now PDIP) and the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI), while santri Muslims were represented by both Masyumi and the NU party (McVey as quoted by Ricklefs 2012: 80-1). However, the elimination of anti-Islamic Javanist groups during the civil strife of 1965-6, deepening Islamisation of Javanese society under the Suharto regime, and the ever growing middle-class more conscious of religious obligations, has caused politics to reflect an attitude more attuned to expectations of the santri Muslims (Ricklefs 2012: 193 & 267-77). It has become ‘routine for candidates for office from all political parties to pay court to kyais, to make gifts to their pesantrens and to seek opportunities to be seen – and if possible endorsed – by major Islamic leaders of all persuasions’ (Ricklefs 2012: 277); at Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem this was part of the brotherly Muslim visit, known as silaturrahim.

Non-state Actors and State Actors in Political Islam

Political Islam describes politicised forms of Islam, which are acted upon to achieve Muslim aspirations and deepen Islamisation. State actors who champion political Islam compete in elections to achieve their objectives in parliament and government. Some Islamic organisations like NU and Muhammadiyah represent large pressure groups empowering them with political clout; especially as NU has 40 million followers, and Muhammadiyah 19 million. They form an important part of civil society and influence socio-religious, and even political matters, but neither group advocate for the creation of an Islamic state or that Islam become the national religion. Both organisations are politically neutral, but their members may become politicians; those who gain public office must relinquish their position with their Islamic organisation. Some have become sitting members of parliament, most prominent included the former NU Chairman, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), who became president in

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Chapter Three: Political Islam
1999-2001, and the former Muhammadiyah Chairman, Amien Rais, who held office as the house speaker of the MPR (Majlis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, People’s Consultative Assembly) in 1999-2004. NU and Muhammadiyah lobby for policies that promote their interests. They join MUI and Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia, ICMI) to advise the government on religious matters.

The radical Islamist political organisation Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (Indonesian Party of Liberation, HTI), which is a branch of the international movement Hizbut Tahrir, calls for Indonesia to become an Islamic state and merge with the global Caliphate, or Muslim superstate (Ward 2009: 149-51). It specifically condemns terrorism and violence, but blames the West for terrorist attacks through inflammatory commentary; it denounces the West and rejects liberalism, capitalism, pluralism, and democracy (Ward 2009: 149). Notwithstanding, its tactics attract little attention from the community or media. However, the radical FPI attracts more attention through engaging in vigilantism, demonstrations, and intimidation tactics, sometimes giving them disproportionate political influence, particularly on moral and religious issues. Among other things, their violent activities pressured the government to issue a Three Joint Ministers Degree (Surat Keputusan Bersama Tiga Menteri, SKB Tiga Menteri) preventing the deviant Ahmadiyah sect from proselytising their faith in 2008, and they also successfully pressed for the banning of the Playboy Indonesia magazine in 2007 and for the imprisonment of the magazine’s editor.

Militant jihadi groups, like Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), use terrorism to promote their radical agenda to, somehow, achieve an Islamic state. JI is allegedly responsible for several major terrorist attacks, including the bombing of nightclubs and restaurants in Bali in 2002 and 2005, the Marriot Hotel in Jakarta 2003, the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in 2004, and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel and Marriott Hotel in Jakarta in 2009. Immediately after the 2002 attack on Bali, Indonesian authorities began to hunt down JI members; hundreds were arrested and many were convicted and imprisoned, while some resisted capture and were killed in shootouts with police. Indonesia even formed an elite counter-terrorism squad, Special Detachment 88 (Detasement Khusus 88, Densus 88), to combat the growing threat of terrorism. JI’s approach failed to inspire the umat to follow its cause and authorities have largely dismantled the terrorist organisation. Although JI has been severely degraded, it was nevertheless part of a growing consciousness in Indonesia regarding the role of religion in society. Groups like FPI,
and its vigilante affiliates, have been more successful in evoking emotions and public debate regarding religious matters like heresy, tolerance, liberalism, pornography, and alcohol consumption, but neglect viable solutions to improve governance and government. Despite their shortcomings regarding practical governance issues, Islamic groups like FPI, pressure the government to consider religious matters when formulating policies.

Religion is a salient influence in a Muslim’s life, and one of the most potent political forces in contemporary Indonesia is political Islam. This grants Islamic groups and Muslim politics a privileged position over other minority religious and social groups. At times, the Islamists pander to stereotypical perceptions about what is acceptable in society; for example, they address topical problems like abortion, dress codes, greedy non-Muslim and capitalist business models, blasphemy, immoral behaviour, and even what is religiously allowed (halal) or forbidden (haram), to attract attention and support. Politically, this approach is ambiguous, and the outcome of recent elections has proven this strategy to be a failure.

An issue that often makes headline news is the existence of Ahmadiyah, which MUI, and many ordinary Indonesian Muslims, consider to be heretical because of its recognition of a prophet post-dating Muhammad. In fact, an online survey conducted on the NU’s official website (www.nu.or.id) showed that 47 per cent of respondents believed Ahmadiyah should be disbanded.10 Hardline organisations like FPI constantly denounce the Ahmadiyah as deviant, which has encouraged locals to attack Ahmadiyah property and its members, even killing some, to intimidate and force this group to recant their interpretation of Islam. In the lead up to the 2009 parliamentary election, the Islamist party PPP proposed to ban Ahmadiyah to attract the Islamic vote (The Jakarta Globe 29 March 2009). The policy failed, as did its overall campaign, which showed no particular direction of the party, combined with competition from the other Islamic parties and lacking a high profile leader, PPP performed poorly in the 2009 legislative elections. The party only managed to attract 5.3 per cent of the national vote, down from 8.1 per cent in 2004 (KPU 2004, 2009a).

Since the fall of Suharto on 21 May 1998, political Islam has played a significant role in the development of national and local politics. According to Baswedan (2004: 672), the first post-

10 Polling on 8 May 2008, question: What is the appropriate status for Ahmadiyah? (Bagaimana sebaiknya status Ahmadiyah?) (NU Online 8 May 2008).
Suharto parliamentary election in 1999 resulted in six ‘Islamic-friendly’ parties that received sizeable support. These included Golkar, PKB, PAN, PPP, PKS, and PBB. Baswedan classifies the latter three as ‘Islamist’ parties that explicitly hold Islam as their ideological basis and want to introduce *shari’ah* law. Two others, namely, PKB and PAN, implicitly refer to Islam and are ‘Islamic-inclusive’. The sixth is the former ruling party Golkar, which is a ‘secular-inclusive’ party that accommodates Muslim aspirations (Baswedan 2004: 674). Baswedan identified that the only major political party that was ‘secular-exclusive’ as PDIP, because it specifically excluded an Islamic agenda. Since the publication of his article in 2004, PDIP has reformed to accommodate greater Islamic interests, which highlights the difficulty of defining political Islam as well as using taxonomies to classify political parties based on religious inclusiveness, which fluctuates in the democratic contest for votes as priorities and policies change.

Prior to *reformasi* there were only three political parties, one of which was an Islamic party, namely PPP, which was forced to adhere to Pancasila. In 1973, PPP was created by the forced amalgamation of four Islamic parties, namely the NU party, Parmusi, PSII, and Perti. These four parties collectively achieved 27.1 per cent in the 1971 parliamentary election. At the first election PPP contested in 1977, the party received 29.3 per cent of the vote, its highest during the Suharto’s New Order regime; in 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997, it attained 27.8, 16, 17, and 22.4 per cent respectively (KPU 1999b). In the three elections since reformasi, the new Islamic parties have lacked the electoral support and parliamentary numbers to install any substantial Islamic-based laws, except for the watered-down anti-pornography bill, which gained some sympathy from the mainstream community and major political parties because of the noble intention to eradicate prostitution and public indecency. Subsequently, Islamic parties have moderated their political positions and policies, and forged coalitions with the Pancasila parties. Failure at the ballot box is one of the factors in Islamic party fractiousness causing internal disputes over the direction of the party, in-fighting and even breakaway groups who believe that politics should be more Islamic. This has included PKB when in

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11 Golkar’s Muslim-inclusive character is often veiled by the fact that the party identified the Suharto regime and was heavily supported by the military and bureaucracy (Baswedan 2004: 678).
12 The other two parties were the ruling Golkar party and Indonesian Democratic Party (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*), which was renamed the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*, PDIP) in 1996.
13 Parmusi (*Partai Muslimin Indonesia*, Muslim Party of Indonesia), PSII (*Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia*, Islamic Unity Party of Indonesia) and Perti (*Perhimpunan Tarbiyah Islamiyah*, Islamic Educators Association).
November 2006 disgruntled members created the National Awakening Party of the Ulama (Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama, PKNU), which emphasised greater inclusion of conservative and traditionalist Muslim values and based its foundation on Islam, rather than Pancasila (KPU 2009b). In addition, PAN experienced a similar scenario when dissident members created the National Sun Party (Partai Matahari Bangsa, PMB), and Islam was promoted as the party’s ideological basis (asas) (KPU 2009b).

In 1999, 20 Islamic parties contested the parliamentary election, collectively achieving 37 per cent of the vote; according to Baswedan, PKB and PAN are included as Islamic parties (Baswedan 2004: 681). During the 2004 parliamentary election, 14 Islamic parties (including PKB and PAN) contested it, and they fared slightly better than the previous election receiving 38 per cent of the national vote. In 2009, there were ten that ran, resulting in defeat and elimination for many as most were unknown to voters and failed to appeal to the broader electorate on matters outside of religious issues, and like the previous post-Suharto elections, the Pancasila parties dominated. Six Islamic parties received less than the required 2.5 per cent threshold making them ineligible for seats in parliament, including PBB, which attained 1.8 per cent. Only two exceeded the threshold, namely the PKS on 7.9 per cent of the vote and PPP on 5.3 per cent. The Muhammadiyah and NU political vehicles, PAN and PKB, achieved 6 and 4.9 per cent respectively. The Democratic Party, which defines its identity as ‘nationalist-religious’ (nationalis-religius), won with 20.9 per cent of the vote, Golkar was second with 14.5 per cent, while PDIP was third at 14 per cent. Two new Pancasila parties also participated, namely Gerindra and Hanura with 4.5 and 3.8 per cent respectively (KPU 2009a). Subsequently in 2009, for the first time since reformasi, none of the presidential or vice-presidential candidates were Islamic figures.

14 PKNU’s registered details with the Indonesian Electoral Commission can be viewed at the KPU website: http://mediacenter.kpu.go.id/component/content/article/22-partai-politik/119-34-partai-kebangkitan-nasional-ulama.html.
15 PMB’s registered details with the Indonesian Electoral Commission can be viewed at the KPU website: http://mediacenter.kpu.go.id/component/content/article/22-partai-politik/103-18-partai-matahari-bangsa.html.
16 After a decade and a half since PAN and PKB were created, although they accommodate Islamic interests, neither has pursued an Islamic agenda, and both have maintained adherence to Pancasila and remained moderate, pluralist parties.
17 The candidates for 2009 were Yudhoyono-Boediono, Megawati-Prabowo, and Kalla-Wiranto.

Chapter Three: Political Islam
Growing Islamisation

Over the past few decades, there have been heightened expectations in Muslim social practices. Perhaps the most obvious has been in clothing attire, which represents and underpins Muslim identity. The Islamic headscarf for women called the hijab or jilbab is seen by some, including Muslims themselves, as a symbol of political Islam. The more conservative veil completely covering a woman’s face, or the slightly less restricting style showing just the eyes, known as the caddar, is considered by some, including NU, as Arabic culture predating Islam (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 18 July 2008). The aurat, or intimate parts of the body, must not be visible to the opposite sex. Although there are differing opinions, generally Muslims agree that for men the aurat extends from the navel to below the kneecap, and for women it includes the entire body, but the hands and face may be shown; more extreme views include the hands and face, and even her voice, and forbid tight clothing revealing the female figure, as these feminine features can arouse sexual desire in men. In Indonesia, there is no nation-wide law that compels Muslims to cover their aurat, although various district governments have passed regional regulations (peraturan daerah, Perda) compelling females at government offices to wear Muslim attire, including the jilbab for women and cotton tunics (baju koko) for men. In fact, ‘the vast majority of religious Perda have been issued by bupati from Golkar, PKB, or even PDIP – in short, the nationalist rather than Islamist parties…to prove their Islamic credentials’ (Bush 2008: 188).

In 2006, there was an attempt to regulate national dress standards in the anti-pornography and public indecency bill (anti-pornografi dan pornoaksi). Some feared that the bill threatened many cultural aspects among different ethnic groups and non-Muslims, particularly in Bali, as it targeted sensual dancing. In 2008, the bill was eventually passed but in a less rigid form, although it was quite opaque because of its loose definition of pornography and public

18 Covering the aurat is revealed in Qur’anic verse 24:31, ‘And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (must ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husband's fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the slaves whom their right hands possess, or male servants free of physical needs, or small children who have no sense of the shame of sex; and that they should not strike their feet in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments. And O ye Believers! turn ye all together towards Allah, that ye may attain Bliss.’

19 A large portion of the areas that have introduced religious Perda have a Darul Islam history, the movement fighting for an Islamic state in the late 1940s and 1950s, or where Islam is politically important (Wilson 2008: 188). Religious Perda aim to combat prostitution, gambling, alcohol consumption, or to promote reading the Qur’an, paying religious taxes (zakat), and religious symbolism, particularly Muslim attire, including the jilbab for women and Islamic cotton tunics for men (Wilson 2008: 176).
indecency (The Jakarta Post 31 October 2008). However, some surveys and media reports have suggested that covering up may be beneficial politically since it appeals to some Muslim voters (The Jakarta Post 26 May 2009). To help attract their vote, all the political parties have Muslim female members who wear the headscarf, or jilbab; PDIP leader and former president, Megawati, is often shown wearing the diaphanous veil, known as a kerudung, which is loose and does not fully cover her neck and hair.

The popularity of the Islamic parties has been diminished by perceptions of backwardness and intolerance. For example, a media report suggested that the largest and most popular party, PKS, was perceived to be intolerant, and gained little ground in the 2009 legislative election compared to 2004, while support for all the other Muslim parties fell in the same five-year period (The Jakarta Globe 6 May 2009). Some academics, including Bubalo and Fealy, have highlighted pernicious dimensions within PKS, particularly ‘anti-Christian and anti-Semitic rhetoric’, and ‘various theories regarding global plots to subjugate Muslims’ (Bubalo & Fealy October 2005: 31). Although ‘its spokespeople have expressed a commitment to pluralism and tolerance, PKS training documents and websites indicate a far more militant stream of thinking among many of its branches’, while its leaders have admitted that an Islamised state is an objective, the formalisation of an Islamic state was not necessary so long as the substance of Indonesia was sufficiently Islamic (Bubalo & Fealy October 2005: 31).

In order to appeal to the broader community, the Islamic parties need to improve their image to change public opinion and be seen as a viable alternative. The Islamic parties need to show that they have reconciled their core ideological framework with modern, sound economic, and practical social goals, while maintaining stability within the party. PKS has had some success in this manner, particularly its anti-corruption stance, but this has been jeopardised because of recent scandals involving some of it members, which will certainly reduce its popularity at the 2014 election.20 It should be noted, nationalists, who are spread throughout the major

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20 Throughout 2013, PKS was embroiled in several corruption scandals and misconduct. This included the live-cattle import scandal dubbed ‘beef-gate’, which resulted in the resignation of PKS Chairman, Luthfi Hasan Ishaq, and several other PKS members were implicated. Prominent PKS cleric and advisor, Hilmi Aminuddin, profited illegally from the sale of a home, and he was also implicated in ‘beef-gate’. PKS aide and ‘beef-gate’ graft suspect, Ahmad Fathanah, purportedly gave lavish gifts to 45 young women, including models, as well as a high school girl whom was caught in a hotel room with him after he reportedly offered her R.10 million for sex. In 2011, PKS member, Arifinto, was photographed viewing pornographic material on his tablet during a plenary session and the party was criticised for mishandling the incident (The Jakarta Globe 5 July 2013, 23 May 2013, 30 April 2011, 31 January 2013).
Pancasila-based parties, have always opposed attempts to introduce *shari’ah* law nation-wide and fought any efforts to change the formation of the state from secular to a Caliphate, which would be governed by an *imam* or *caliph* as the titular head of state. There have been, however, some concessions where the major parties, like PD and Golkar, have formed coalitions with Islamic parties and accommodated religious laws, like the anti-pornography bill, and various religious Perda as mentioned above. However, since the PD and Golkar parties already accommodate religious considerations, voters no longer see Islam as the exclusive domain of the Islamist parties (Fealy 11 May 2009).

**Profile of Major Political Parties Post-Suharto**

Since reformasi in 1998, dozens of political parties have been created. Many have been eliminated or have had to combine with other parties because of their failure to fulfil electoral requirements or pass the threshold to be awarded seats in parliament, as intended to reduce the number of parties. In 1999, 48 political parties contested the election, in 2004, there were 24, and in 2009, there were 38. Examination will concentrate on the most prominent parties in the post-Suharto era, including their election results in 1999, 2004, and 2009.

The Party of the Functional Groups (*Partai Golongan Karya*, Golkar) was founded in 1964 and became the ruling party under the Suharto New Order regime. The party controlled government for over three decades and won six ‘managed’ elections during Suharto’s reign. Suharto always tolerated Islam as long as it served the interests of his regime, but in the mid to late-1980s he became more accommodating towards it. In the post-Suharto era, the party has promoted leaders with Islamic credentials. Its former chairman Akbar Tandjung was once leader of the Islamic University Students’ Association (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia*, HMI). Golkar also supported B.J. Habibie, the transitional president in 1998-9 after Suharto’s removal, who was also a former chairman of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association ICMI, as a presidential candidate in 1999 (Baswedan 2004: 674). In 2004, Golkar supported Yusuf Kalla’s bid for the vice-presidency, and supported him again in 2009 for the presidency. Apparently, Muslim voters liked the fact that Kalla is a member of NU and his wife has always worn the *jilbab* in public, in addition to the belief that the wife of Kalla’s running mate, Wiranto, was said to be a *sayidah*, or descendant of the prophet (Tempo 10 May 2004: 15; The Jakarta Post 26 May 2009). These aspects did little to improve Kalla’s popularity,
and he suffered a resounding defeat attaining only 12.4 per cent of the national vote, while incumbent Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) won outright with 60.8 per cent and Megawati came a distant second on 26.8 per cent (KPU 2009a). Golkar is a Pancasila-based party and has contested all elections since reformasi; in 1999, 2004, and 2009, nationally it achieved 22.5, 21.6, and 14.5 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 11, 13.4, and 8.2 per cent.

The United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP) was created in 1973. It was forced to merge with four other Islamic parties, namely the NU party, Parmusi (Partai Muslimin Indonesia, Muslim Party of Indonesia), PSII (Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Union Party), and Perti (Partai Tarbiyah Islamiyah, Indonesian Educators Association). NU withdrew its support from the party in 1984 in the decision known as the ‘Return to Charter of 1926’ (‘Kembali ke Khittah 1926’). During the New Order regime, PPP was the second largest party. The party reached its zenith when its chairman, Hamzah Haz, was elected as Indonesia’s vice president in 2001. PPP is an Islamist party and has contested all elections since reformasi; in 1999, 2004, and 2009, nationally it achieved 10.7, 8.1 and 5.3 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 1.7, 1.9, 2.3 per cent.

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDIP) is the modern incarnation of the Indonesian Nationalist Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia, PNI), which was founded by Indonesia’s first president, Sukarno, in 1927. PNI championed prosperity, unity, and pluralism, but principally relied on the charisma of Sukarno. In 1973, the PNI was forced to merge with several smaller parties to form the Indonesian Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia, PDI) because Suharto permitted only three parties. Sukarno’s daughter Megawati Sukarnoputri joined PDI as a member of parliament in 1987, but she only became vocal in the early 1990s (O’Rouke 2002: 7). She was quickly viewed as a threat to Suharto, and in 1996, his New Order regime cracked down on PDI. After the fall of Suharto, PDI became PDIP (lit. PDI Perjuangan, PDI of Struggle). PDIP emerged the most popular party in the 1999 parliamentary election with 33.8 per cent of the vote, but Megawati was out-maneuved by Gus Dur for the presidency. In July 2001, she was installed as the default president after Gus Dur was impeached. Previously, PDIP formally excluded Islam from its agenda, and it was known as the nominal ‘abangan group’ (kaum abangan), but since 2007 it has changed its position to include Islam and created a religious (dakwah) wing known as Bamusi (Baitul Muslimin, House of Muslims). Despite

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three consecutive failed attempts at the presidency, in 1999, 2004, and 2009, Megawati has not ruled out a fourth bid in 2014. PDIP is a Pancasila-based party and has contested all elections since *reformasi*; in 1999, 2004, and 2009, nationally it achieved 33.8, 18.5 and, 14 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 24.4, 13.5, 17.7 per cent.

The National Awakening Party (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*, PKB) was established in July 1998 by the NU leadership. Its leader, Gus Dur, was chairman of NU from 1984 to 1999, and he created PKB as the unofficial party of NU (Baswedan 2004: 673). Although PKB only achieved 12.6 per cent of the parliamentary vote in 1999, Gus Dur managed to secure support from other parties to become Indonesia’s fourth President in October 1999, only to be impeached in July 2001. Although the party is largely supported by NU, its official party ideology is Pancasila. The party symbols imitate NU motifs, including the colour green, the globe of planet earth, and nine stars. Few Muhammadiyah join the party because of its traditionalist image and association to NU (Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010). PKB is a Pancasila-based party and has contested all elections since *reformasi*; in 1999, 2004, and 2009, nationally it achieved 12.6, 10.6, and 4.9 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 42.5, 37.3, 19.8 per cent.

The National Mandate Party (*Partai Amanat Nasional*, PAN) was founded in August 1998 by Amien Rais, former Muhammadiyah Chairman (1995-1998) and prominent activist of *reformasi* that led to the downfall of Suharto. PAN is closely associated with Muhammadiyah members. Party symbols employ a motif of the sun and its emanating rays of light, similar to that used by Muhammadiyah. Initially the party promoted pluralism, but following the 1999 legislative election, its Islamic inclinations became more pronounced (Baswedan 2004: 674). PAN is a Pancasila-based party and has contested all elections since *reformasi*; in 1999, 2004, and 2009, nationally it achieved 7.1, 6.4, and 6 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 12.1, 17.4, 17.8 per cent.

The Crescent Star Party (*Partai Bulan Bintang*, PBB) was established in July 1998 as the successor of Masyumi, the largest Islamic party in the 1950s. In 1960, President Sukarno disbanded Masyumi and imprisoned its leadership. Following their release, they created a new organisation called the Indonesian Islamic Proselytisation Council (*Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia*, DDII), to proselytise (*dakwah*) and educate the masses about *shari‘ah*.

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Some former members of Masyumi were behind the establishment of PBB (Baswedan 2004: 673). This was the case in Lamongan, where Masyumi won in the district in the 1955 general election, so efforts were made to revive antiquated support for the Muslim party with the newly established PBB. This included the northern littoral subdistrict of Paciran, and involved members from Pesantren Karangasem, including its leader Kyai Anwar Mu’rob who was associated with Masyumi in the 1950s.\(^{21}\) The future of the PBB is in doubt after it failed to achieve the parliamentary threshold of 2.5 per cent in 2009, and as a consequence lost all of its eleven seats in the MPR, but in March 2013 the Indonesian electoral commission permitted it to participate in the 2014 legislative election (KPU 2013). PBB is an Islamist party and has contested all elections since reformasi; in 1999, 2004, and 2009, nationally it achieved 1.9, 2.6, and 1.8 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 1.2, 0.9, 0.7 per cent.

The Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) was initially founded as the Justice Party (Partai Keadilan, PK) in July 1998. It was born out of the Tarbiyah (Islamic Education) movement, facilitated through its vehicle the University Students’ Body for Islamic Proselytisation (Lembaga Dakwah Kampus, LDK), which had operated since the early 1980s.\(^{22}\) The group was inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwanul Muslimin) movement in Egypt. When the Suharto government began to suppress the LDK, the group sought refuge in the mosques and grew rapidly (Baswedan 2004: 673). PKS portrays itself as disciplined and clean, with an agenda to combat corruption; although recently some of its party members have been caught up in corruption and sex scandals, and other misconduct. PKS is an Islamist party and has contested all elections since reformasi; in 1999, 2004, and 2009, nationally it achieved 1.4, 7.3, and 7.9 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 0.6, 2.7, 3 per cent.

The Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat, PD) was founded on 9 September 2001, after SBY’s supporters saw how popular he was in his bid for the vice-presidency in July despite his loss to Hamzah Haz for the position. PD was essentially created as the political vehicle for SBY who won the 2004 and 2009 Indonesian presidency. The party came fourth in the 2004 legislative election, but was the most popular in 2009. In 2009, PD formed a grand coalition with all the Islamic parties and those with strong Muslim identity, PKS, PPP, PKB, and PAN, which was in part to reflect PD’s religious commitment. PD is a Pancasila-based party and has contested

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\(^{21}\) It is worth noting the Pesantren Karangasem leadership have been associated with DDII since the disbanding of Masyumi in 1960 until the present day, but this association has diminished since the creation of PBB.

\(^{22}\) For further reading on PKS see Machmudi’s *Islamising Indonesia* (2008).
two elections since *reformasi*; in 2004 and 2009, nationally it achieved 7.5 and 20.9 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 3.6 and 9.3 per cent.

The Great Indonesia Movement Party (*Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya*, Gerindra) was founded on 20 February 2008 as the political vehicle of Prabowo Subianto. Prabowo was formerly the head of Indonesia’s Special Forces Command (*Komando Pasukan Khusus*, Kopassus) and was once the son-in-law of the late president Suharto. He left Golkar after several failed attempts to become the party’s presidential candidate. Prabowo is believed to be behind the student abductions in 1996-7, two of whom a little over a decade later would join his political campaign team (Tempo 6 April 2009: 29). In addition, it is likely he orchestrated much of the violence that occurred in May 1998, and subverted the restoration of peace in the streets, in the weeks preceding the resignation of Suharto (Barton 2002: 237-8). He also bears some responsibility for the violence during riots in the post-referendum chaos and destruction of East Timor in 1999. Prabowo has avoided being indicted for his crimes, and he is still banned from entering the United States. He and his party have massive financial backing from his billionaire brother, Hashim Djojohadikusumo (ABC1 2009). In the past, Prabowo’s image was tarnished because of his links to hardline Islamic groups, particularly the Indonesian Committee for World Muslim Solidarity (*Komiti Indonesia Solidaritas Dunia Islam*, Kisdi). Nevertheless, Prabowo was supported by many NU leaders, including Gus Dur and his daughter Yenny Wahid, as well as Kyai Abdul Ghofur in Lamongan, during the parliamentary and president elections of 2009. Prabowo remains a major contender for the 2014 presidency. Gerindra is a Pancasila-based party and has only contested one election since *reformasi*; in 2009, nationally it achieved 4.5 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 2.4 per cent.

The People’s Conscience Party (*Partai Hati Nurani*, Hanura) was established on 21 December 2006 by General Wiranto, the former Commander of the Indonesian military, as his political vehicle to contest the presidency in 2009. The party was essentially created because his old party Golkar would not endorse him as its presidential candidate (Tempo 6 April 2009: 29). He is also considered responsible for many atrocities in East Timor during its struggle for independence. Hanura is a Pancasila-based party and has only contested one election since 23

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23 Prabowo was married to Suharto’s daughter Siti Hediati, also known as Titiek, in 1983, but they have been divorced for a long time (O’Rouke 2002: 67).
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reformasi; in 2009, nationally it achieved 3.8 per cent of the vote, and in Lamongan, 3.9 per cent.

Political Islam and the Pesantren System

So what does political Islam mean to the pesantren system? Pesantren people, like all Muslims, are required to accept the word of the Qur’an, which underscores the basis for all forms of Islam, and by extension, political Islam since the Qur’an is believed to be Allah’s gift to humanity and designed to create the perfect society. The kyai of both case study pesantren, namely Kyai Ghofur from Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Kyai Mu’rob from Pesantren Karangasem, said they accept shari’ah law and if it was ever implemented the entire umat of Indonesia must conform to it. However, both kyai acknowledged that a major problem stems from the differing interpretations and methods for implementing shari’ah (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 18 July 2008; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 16 July 2008).

Pesantren are by no means united politically and it would be incorrect to suggest that pesantren are automatically associated with the Islamic parties or to PKB and PAN. Even parties that share similar objectives, such as the three Islamist parties, PKS, PPP, and PBB, are divided over the direction of Muslim politics and are competing for a dwindling pool of votes. In the 2009 parliamentary election, PKS only marginally increased its overall vote by 0.8 per cent from 2004, losing its dominant position in the Jakarta region to President SBY’s Democratic Party, while Hidayat Nur Wahid, a prominent PKS member, was not re-instated as House Speaker of the MPR after the election. At the same time, nationally PPP lost a third of its vote and PBB lost all its representation in parliament because of insufficient votes. Indonesians, including those in pesantren dominated areas of rural Java, have voted for parties that they believe can provide economic progress and social development. Recent election results have shown that voters prefer Pancasila-based parties. However, such generalisations are complicated because voting habits have also followed a trend of supporting political parties because of the likeability of its leader, and not necessarily the party’s ideological underpinnings, which has diminished party loyalty.24 Nevertheless, the three main Islamic

24 According to the Jawa Pos online (Jawa Pos 23 February 2009) only 27 per cent vote a presidential candidate because of the platform of his party, and where the major of voters pay attention to the ‘personage’ (‘kefiguran’) of the candidate. Platzdasch also supports this position (2009: 334). Another survey by the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat, PPIM) in 2002, found that only 11 per cent of
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parties, PKS, PPP, as well as PBB (although not in parliament in 2009-2014), have provided little leadership for Muslim politics, and in the 2014 legislative elections, a low vote will diminish this momentum further.

Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu'rob recognise the developmental challenges that Indonesia faces, and both kyai see the benefits of a leader with a military background, rather than simply a civil or religious grounding. During interviews, Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu’rob expressed the view that the Suharto regime brought development and prosperity to the country; they saw the role of the military as particularly important to the country’s stability and unity. At the micro-level, Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu’rob believe that education, particularly religious instruction and strong Muslim values, were important to combating ignorance (kebodohan), immorality (kemaksiatan), and poverty (kemiskinan). Both kyai believed it was their duty to continue to proselytise Islam and educate the common people (orang awam) about religion. At the national level, it is difficult to measure the influence of pesantren, but at the district level in Java, local district administrations engage closely with, and consider the needs of, the pesantren community because of the potential to attract the Muslim vote.

The then Lamongan district head, Masfuk, and his deputy, Tsalits, respectively had ties with Pesantren Karangasem and Pesantren Sunan Drajat. Although Masfuk represented Muhammadiyah, and Tsalits represented NU, PAN supported their pairing, and both figures promoted Islamic values and the empowerment of Muslim society. During the Masfuk-Tsalits administration (2005-2010), they promoted Islamic teachings in schools. In March 2009, Bupati Masfuk enacted a religious Perbup requiring all public primary school students to read the Qur’an as a requirement for admission into middle school. The ruling affected 60,000 public school students across the district’s 600 primary schools, but did not apply to non-Muslims (Pemerintah Lamongan 2009; The Jakarta Globe 22 March 2009). Public schools had to provide an extra two hours of Qur’anic reading per week, as well as practice in Arabic writing. The 1999 regional autonomy law prevents the central government from interfering with regulations imposed by district chiefs (The Jakarta Globe 22 March 2009). Bupati Fadeli issued his own religious Perbup expanding the Islamic education program through compulsory

voters actually cast their ballot based on the party’s platform and agenda (presented by Saiful Mujani, research team leader in November 2002, quoted in Baswedan 2004: 682).
Qur’anic recitation exams for all students at primary, middle, and high school (Kementerian Agama RI 31 January 2013; Pemerintah Lamongan 2013; Surya Online 30 January 2013).

During this study’s research, some pesantren communities and their kyai openly participated in political activates. On 31 March 2007, PKNU was inaugurated at the famous Pesantren Langitan in Tuban. It was founded by 17 kyai, predominantly from East Java, including Kyai Abdullah Faqih from Pesantren Langitan, Kyai Idris Marzuki from Pesantren Lirboyo, and others (Ma'ruf 2007: 11-2). They deserted PKB because they became disenchanted by Gus Dur’s leadership style and attitude, which they considered insensitive and out of touch. One PKNU party manual outlined nine principal reasons for deserting PKB. Among the reasons were Gus Dur’s calls to lift the ban on PKI, his support for the existence of the deviant Ahmadiyah sect, his defence of the lurid dangdut singer Inul Daratista, as well as his comment that the religious book most pornographic was the Qur’an (Zaim & Kaiyis 2007: op cit). PKNU was founded upon an ideological basis (asas) of Islam according to Aswaja, guided by ulama, and through the pesantren network, and to represent the interests of the NU constituency, or nahdliyin (Ma'ruf 2007: 13-6). It also specifically excluded non-Muslims from leading the party, although they were permitted to join (Zaim & Kaiyis 2007: 7). According to PKNU East Java chairman, Arif Junaidy, his party empowered kyai through the a concept of politik kyai, where kyai have a principal role in the direction of the party, as opposed to kyai politik, where kyai just follow along providing support (Interview with Arif Junaidy 10 July 2008).

An example of involvement between famous kyai in East Java and local politics was played out during the Bojonegoro election for district head (pemilihan kepala daerah, Pilkada). In the lead up to the Pilkada, held on 10 December 2007, Kyai Faqih from Pesantren Langitan publicly announced his support for the incumbent bupati, M. Santoso, and his re-election for a second term. It received front-page status in the local Radar Bojonegoro newspaper, a subsidiary insert of Jawa Pos, featuring a colour picture of Kyai Faqih and Bupati Santoso sitting together at the laying of the first brick for a new mosque. Using local Javanese dialect, he was quoted to have said: ‘It is like someone performing a prayer, acknowledgement must be done twice. So, if possible he [Bupati Santoso] should be re-elected’ (Sami kaleh tiyang salat, salame kudu peng kaleh. Dados net saget terpilih meleh) (Jawa Pos 22 October 2007:

25 The party was initially established on 21 November 2006 (Ma'ruf 2007: 5).
Chapter Three: Political Islam

31 & 39). Gus Dur and NU Chairman, Hasyim Muzadi, also become involved in the Pilkada supporting Tahta, an NU rival of the incumbent Santoso. The result was that neither Santoso nor his NU rival won, instead the Muhammadiyah-backed Suyoto was victorious. The robust competition was related to discovery of huge oil and gas reserves in the district, estimated to be as large as 314 billion litres of oil and 1.3 trillion litres of gas. Its calculated worth was R.900 trillion (AUD$11.25 billion), or about half the East Java provincial budget, with the Bojonegoro Government forecasted to derive R.1.2 trillion (AUD$15 million) per year once operations commence (Tempo 21 January 2008: 43).

Kyai in Muslim Politics

Kyai Ghofur joined Golkar in 1977, and served as a member of the local People’s Legislative Assembly (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD) in Lamongan from 1997 to 1999. Similarly, Kyai Mu’rob was compelled to join Golkar since he was a headmaster of a nearby public school. During interviews with the two kyai, both accepted Suharto’s regime and they were allowed to continue to operate their pesantren freely. For the most part, these kyai were pleased with Suharto, particularly during the late 1980s when his policies encouraged deeper Islamisation of the nation. In fact, it became common across Java for Muslim leaders and kyai to acquiesce with Golkar (Ricklefs 2012: 215; Turmudi 1996: 152). Suharto also allowed Islamic banking, permitted the authority of Muslim courts, ended the prohibition on the wearing of the jilbab in schools, increased funding for Islamic schools, and promoted leaders within the armed forces who were sympathetic to Islam (Hefner 2000: 18-9). Following rapprochement between NU and the regime after NU receded from politics in 1984, ‘government subsidies to pesantrens grew’, and Golkar apparatchiks became more comfortable attending pengajian sessions (Ricklefs 2012: 210).

When Suharto’s New Order regime collapsed, Kyai Ghofur opted out of active politics and retreated to the duties of pesantren affairs. Although he did not give up his card-carrying membership of Golkar, he nevertheless abstained from publicly supporting the party. At the time, Gus Dur, through his newly created political vehicle PKB, was promoting himself as a presidential candidate. Gus Dur had been a regular visitor to Pesantren Sunan Drajat, and so Kyai Ghofur saw it as his duty to support a friend and the leader of the NU community. In Lamongan, the result was PKB won 42.5 per cent, while nationally PKB attained 12.6 per
cent. Although Megawati was touted as the next president, Gus Dur outmanoeuvred her for the position; delighting Kyai Ghofur and the NU community.

In the lead up to the 1999 election, the leadership at Pesantren Karangasem and Kyai Mu’rob openly supported Rais and his PAN. In addition, the leaders at this Muhammadiyah pesantren also expressed support for PBB, which was promoted as the resurrection of Masyumi that had been banned four decades earlier; however, PBB was excluded from any prominent political role after it received only 1.9 per cent of the vote nationally. When it became clear that Rais could not win the presidency, because PAN received 7.3 per cent of the vote, the leadership at Pesantren Karangasem publically supported Gus Dur over Megawati because they considered a man more appropriate than a woman as head of state. Moreover, he had better religious credentials and was believed to be more capable (mampu) than Megawati (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob, 5 October 2007). Parliamentary legislators elected Gus Dur to the Indonesian Presidency over Megawati by 373 to 313 votes (O’Rouke 2002: 317).

Gus Dur’s presidency was brief, lasting from 20 October 1999 to 23 July 2001, and ended through his impeachment by the MPR, which initially elected him. The NU community were outraged, and Kyai Ghofur heeded rumours that Rais, as the Speaker of the House, helped orchestrate the impeachment to achieve his own political end to become either president or vice-president. Rais obtained neither, and Megawati was elevated to the presidency, while PPP leader, Hamzah Haz, was chosen as her vice-president (Van Bruinessen 2002; O’Rouke 2002: 407-9). The leadership at Pesantren Karangasem hoped that Rais would become vice-president, and they were disappointed that he was not. The situation caused tensions in Lamongan as NU members believed that Muhammadiyah played a role in Gus Dur’s downfall. Kyai Ghofur said that he helped to avoid conflict between the NU and Muhammadiyah members in the area by discouraging violence and other provocations (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 3 March 2007). In addition, Dato’ Ravi Dharan, a Malay-Indian who was close to Gus Dur during his presidency, said in an interview that the former president declared to Ravi and other advisors, ‘not one drop of blood for this chair’, referring to the seat of the president (Interview with Dato’ Ravi Dharan 2 February 2007).26

26 Dato’ Ravi was a wealthy businessman whose businesses benefited because of his connections with former Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim. However, following the Asian Financial Crisis in 1998 and Ibrahim’s sacking from the deputy prime ministership because of a dispute with Prime Minister Mahathir about
Kyai Mu’rob and Kyai Ghofur shared the same opinions that Gus Dur was too emotional and unpredictable as president, and that his reforms were too rapid and he offended important people and state institutions. They believed that he was steering the country away from core Islamic values through introducing liberal policies, and more controversially, because of his efforts to establish relations with Israel; his trip there upset Muslims in Indonesia, including his own NU constituency (Van Bruinessen 2002). Both kyai agreed that Gus Dur had ignored advice from friends, even from NU, and fell out with the ruling elite in Jakarta, which ultimately led to his demise.

Kyai Mu’rob often spoke of the need for shari’ah law and the benefits it would bring society. He supports the concept of qisas, or the law of penal retaliation (lex talionis), the equivalent to the biblical principle of ‘an eye for an eye’. He referred to the case of Ryan in Jombang, East Java, responsible for the murder of at least eleven people (Jawa Pos 28 August 2008: 1). The case was all over the news in August 2008, and Kyai Mu'rob believed that Ryan should be given the death penalty as a deterrent to others. Kyai Mu'rob cited the unchecked immoral behaviour in the United States and believed Indonesia had to avoid becoming liberal. However, he believed that it would be difficult for Indonesia to become an Islamic state, and viewed the implementation of shari’ah laws through legislation as a more successful possibility. His position on shari’ah law appeared consistent with his political affiliation with PBB, and a top-down approach to the successful implementation of shari’ah law.

Kyai Ghofur’s approach to Islam reflected his affiliation to NU, and he has espoused Islamic friendly political inclinations. He believed that once people have a proper understanding of Islam, then strict religious laws are not necessary. In addition, shari’ah law of the type exercised in the Middle East would be difficult to reconcile with Javanese Islam. He believed that shari’ah law could be hijacked by literalists and used against NU because of its Sufi (mystical) and cultural influences, which could divide the Indonesian umat. Furthermore, it could lead to inter-ethnic, religious, and regional resentment against Jakarta and Javanese

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27 This is discussed in Qur’anic verse 2:178: O ye who believe! the law of equality is prescribed to you in cases of murder: the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the woman for the woman. But if any remission is made by the brother of the slain, then grant any reasonable demand, and compensate him with handsome gratitude, this is a concession and a Mercy from your Lord. After this whoever exceeds the limits shall be in grave penalty.
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Muslims, causing destabilisation and threatening the unity of the archipelago. Therefore, Kyai Ghofur believed that it is important to teach people how to become good Muslims, preferring a bottom-up approach (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 18 July 2008).

The presidencies of Megawati and SBY have favoured neither NU nor Muhammadiyah, probably to the benefit of the nation as it avoided the politicisation of these Islamic organisations, although personally Megawati was seen as close to NU’s Gus Dur and Muzadi, and spiteful of Muhammadiyah’s Rais. According to survey results, 61 per cent of parent respondents from Pesantren Karangasem said they preferred to vote for political candidates with a Muhammadiyah background, while 65 per cent of parent respondents from Pesantren Sunan Drajat said they preferred to vote for political candidates with an NU background. Therefore, since both Islamic communities are so large, it could be in the interests of politicians to remain neutral on the matter. In fact, fractional splits in PPP between the NU and Muhammadiyah support bases caused the party to lose support in the 2009 parliamentary election (Fealy 11 May 2009).

Labels attributed to the Islamist parties and the NU- and Muhammadiyah-born parties, PKB and PAN, diminish their broader appeal. For instance, PKB is an NU phenomenon that has largely marginalised Muhammadiyah followers from the party’s membership. In the earlier years following the party’s creation there were a few notable exceptions. The most high profile Muhammadiyah members included Marzuki Usman who was the Chairman of PKB in the Jakarta provincial area from January 2002 until April 2005, as well as Dr. Sugiat and Habib Chirzin who were elected members of the Central Executive Board in 2000-2005. However, all have left the party, and Muhammadiyah members continue to enjoy membership with all the other parties, except for PKB (Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010). The limited appeal of PKB and PAN, as well as the Islamist parties, has benefited the larger Pancasila parties, who have begun to usurp the Muslim vote in their appeal to modern Islamic values that combine piety within a unified, advanced, and prosperous nation.

Summary: Democracy and Islam

There is some debate regarding the practicality of political Islam and democracy. On one side of the debate are those who reject the connection between Islam and democracy, while some
advocates claim that Islam requires a democracy system (Esposito & Voll Nov/Dec 2001). Some think of political Islam as synonymous with ‘Islamic fundamentalism’, but this is only a stereotypical bias (Esposito 1997). From the other perspective, some Islamists view democracy as a foreign ideology devised by Westerners and secular reformers who seek to impose such values on Muslim societies. Moreover, they believe that it is pantheistic and a form of idolatry as the idea of popular sovereignty denies the fundamental Islamic affirmation of the sovereignty of God. Esposito states, ‘people holding these views are less likely to participate in elections,’ and that ‘many limit themselves to participating in intellectual debates in the media, and others hold themselves aloof from the political dynamics of their societies, hoping that their own isolated community will in some way be an inspiration to the broader Muslim community’ (Esposito & Voll Nov/Dec 2001). In Indonesia, probably the most infamous Muslim figure who openly preaches this type of message is Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, who remains in prison on terrorism related charges. However, there are many prominent Islamic figures, intellectuals, and groups, in Indonesia, such as Muhammadiyah, NU, the pesantren system in general, and all the current Islamic and Pancasila parties, that promote the conception that Islam is compatible with democracy. Moreover, some advocate that democracy is a requirement of Islam because in the eyes of God all men are equal (Esposito & Voll Nov/Dec 2001). In any case, Indonesia, albeit in quite different ways from the Middle East and other Central Asian countries, has shown that a majority-Muslim nation can exercise democracy.

Although political parties are central to advocating Islamic interests, the state in Indonesia has shown through powerful institutions that religion is a state issue. This was demonstrated in the Constitutional Court ruling with upheld the country’s blasphemy laws. Further to this, the government’s paramount religious advisory council, MUI, has issued religious degrees (fatwa) and statements condemning heretical groups, as well as activities and events it considers immoral and forbidden. In 2013, MUI reiterated its opposition to beauty pageants, and in particular the Miss World contest held in September. MUI, and other pressure groups, including FPI, forced the Miss World competition out of Jakarta, but the event relocated to Bali. MUI denounced the competition as forbidden (haram) because it required women to

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28 For a brief overview of Abu Bakar Ba’asyir’s religious and political messages see Franklin (Apr-Jun 2008).
Islamic groups in Indonesia are many, and although they are not homogeneous in their interpretation of Islam, most groups usually express tolerance and mutual understanding (Javanese: tepo seliro) for each other. The political situation remains heterogeneous, and although they all accommodate religious interests, they differ in their commitment. The Pancasila parties only require a basic obligation to religion, but can change and adapt when necessary. However, the Islamist parties, that implicitly hold religion at their centre, have continually been in disagreement with each other over interpretations of Islamic values and laws, which has ultimately weakened their position.

As a result of liberalisation and the disappointment of many with the current state of affairs in Indonesia, particularly radical Islamists, non-state actors and groups have formed to assist the plight of Islam in Indonesia. Such groups include HTI, FPI, JI, the Mujahedeen Council of Indonesia (Majelis Mujahdeen Indonesia, MMI), Laskar Jihad, and others, all created by Islamists to influence public behaviour, as well as national policies. Public support for these groups does not appear to be growing, but it is unlikely that they will disappear anytime soon. Further, FPI has been flexing its muscles and in addition to its usual attacks on the deviant Ahmadiyah sect and other liberal groups, and raids on places they consider to represent a public nuisance, it has received more media attention by denouncing famous individuals engaged in immoral behaviour. Perhaps the most famous was Indonesia’s first celebrity sex tape scandal in 2010, involving two video recordings of the actor and musician Ariel and his former girlfriend Cut Tari, and a second tape of him and his new girlfriend Luna Maya (The Jakarta Globe 14 June 2010). Muslim groups, including FPI, were outraged and demanded harsh punishment. Ariel was sentenced to three and a half years imprisonment and fined R.250 million (AUD$31,250), while the two girls involved were judged as only witnesses.

Political Islam continues to adapt in different ways across a variety of different Muslim-majority countries. In Indonesia, it has had to contend with local history and culture, the emergence of modernity, technological developments, and better educated citizens whose

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29 The event organisers would have been aware of what can happen in extreme cases, like for example in 2002, when the Miss World competition caused controversy in Nigeria, resulting in riots and the deaths of over 100 people, and 500 more injured, forcing organisers to relocate the pageant to London (BBC 23 November 2002).
expectations of freedom, democracy, liberalism, and equality, vary from conservative to reformist, with proponents of shari‘ah law on one hand, and Pancasila on the other. Many Muslim countries struggle with human rights, the rule of law, government accountability, good governance, and social and gender equality, poverty and low living standards with limited state services, corruption and graft, while democracy remains a distant dream. As Indonesia’s civil society and democratic institutions continue to develop, the chasm between state models and political thinking of the Arab, South Asia, and African nations compared to Indonesia will become more profound. However, the Arab Spring revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa that began in Tunisia in December 2010, and spread to Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and protracted civil unrest in Syria and to a less extent Bahrain, appear to be the beginning of a new democratic era for at least some parts of the Muslim world. It is too early to assess the success of these developments, but what can be predicted is that Islam will likely play a significant role; as exemplified in Tunisia and Egypt where the Islamist parties have, initially at least, emerged most popular.

Indonesia represents a unique opportunity and example for the rest of the Muslim world. Although the appeal and influence of the Islamist parties has diminished since reformasi, it is likely that the two main Islamic parties, namely, PKS and PPP, and the Pancasila-based NU and Muhammadiyah vehicles, PAN and PKB, will remain important players in Indonesian politics; notwithstanding the fact that in 2009, all four formed a ruling coalition with SBY’s Democratic Party. Nevertheless, the preference of Indonesian voters has been instructive, as the majority do not see Islamist parties as critical to their political representation, despite the importance of Islam in their daily lives. As long as the Pancasila parties continue their inclusive attitude toward Islamic aspirations and values, and reflect the interests of umat, they will remain popular, even in the most religiously conservative Muslim areas, including the pesantren region of Lamongan.
Chapter Four: History and Profile of Lamongan
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This chapter provides a socio-political profile of Lamongan and investigates the historical development from Hindu-Buddhism to Islamisation in the district through to independence from the Dutch in 1949. Although lacunae remain concerning the Islamisation of the area due to scanty evidence, a chronological narrative is postulated. Primary and secondary sources indicate Islamisation occurred after the Javanese sultanate of Demak conquered the area through its vassal state Gresik in 1541-2 (Graaf & Pigeaud 1974: 58; Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 33). The history and culture of Lamongan is of particular importance to the development of modern day Islam there and is central to how locals, both from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, view their religious heritage; Islamic movements are the focus of the chapter five. To sketch out a picture of Lamongan in the twenty first century and the issues mentioned above, an overview of the district, including some mapping of the history and culture of the area, is necessary.

An Overview of Lamongan

Lamongan is a kabupaten (district) that encompasses an area of 1,812.8 square kilometres, accounting for 3.8 per cent of the East Java province (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 1). Lamongan is located due west of Surabaya along the north shore of East Java, and the district has a coastline stretching 47 kilometres (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 10). Lamongan abuts the districts of Tuban and Bojonegoro to the west, Jombang and Mojokerto in the south, and Gresik to the east. Lamongan is divided into 27 subdistricts (kecamatan), and it has 462 villages (desa) and twelve administrative villages (kelurahan) (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 29). The district has three main geographical sections: south of the middle section, which is classified as fertile; the north and south parts, which are moderately fertile; and north of the middle section, which is characterised by swamp and marshlands. Lamongan is known for its local delicacies, namely legen (sugar palm juice) and jumbret (cone funnel made of coconut leaves filled with sweet brown glutinous jelly), as well as the famous soto Lamongan (soup and yellow broth mixed with chicken and vegetables).

1 South of the middle section includes the subdistricts of: Kedungpring, Babat, Sugio, Sukodadi, Pucuk, Lamongan, Deket, Tikung, Sarirejo, and Kembangbahu; north of the middle section covers: Maduran, Sekaran, Laren, Karanggeneng, Kalitengah, Turi, Karangbinangun, and Glagah; the north and south parts include: Mantup, Sambeng, Ngimbang, Bluluk, Sukorame, Moko, Brondong, Paciran, and Solokuro (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 2).
In 2010, Lamongan’s population stood at 1,179,059 people,\(^2\) of whom 99.4 per cent were Muslim (Badan Pusat Statistik Lamongan 2009: 76).\(^3\) In the context of the wider area, in 2010, there were 37.5 million people in East Java, and 96.4 per cent of them were Muslims, and the island of Java had 136.6 million inhabitants with 93.7 per cent Muslim (BPS 2010). Overall, Indonesia was home to 237.6 million inhabitants and 87.2 per cent were Muslim (BPS 2010); in 2013, the population was predicted to have reached 250 million (CIA 2013).

_Pesantren_ are located in every one of Lamongan’s 27 subdistricts. In 2007, there were 240 registered _pesantren_ in the district that educated 50,004 students (Departemen Agama 2007a). In 2008, there were 199,284 registered students in Lamongan attending schools from primary to senior high school (Badan Pusat Statistik Lamongan 2009: 108-10). Based on these figures, around quarter of all students in Lamongan were educated at _pesantren_. The strong Islamic presence in the area is a direct result of the _pesantren_ system, which spread during the late nineteenth century (Hefner 2009: 16-7; Ricklefs 2007: 52). In the early twenty first century, the _pesantren_ system continues to spread, and _kyai_ expand their networks and influence by encouraging family members and loyal religious teachers (_ustadz_) to marry into prominent and wealthy families. The primordial and hierarchical system of the _pesantren_ system encourages ‘blue blood’ (_darah biru_) members to marry into prominent _pesantren_ families to create family bonds among the leadership of _pesantren_ schools.

NU and Muhammadiyah are by far the largest groups in Lamongan, but there are other Islamic organisations, including _Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia_ (Indonesian Islamic Proselytisation Institute, LDII), _Persatuan Islam_ (Persis), _Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah_ (Perti), _ar-Rabithah al-Alawiyah\(^4\), al-Irsyad, Jam’iyatul Washliyah,\(^5\) and _Mathlau Anwar\(^6\). In addition, the deviant sect of _Al-Qiyadah Al-Islamiyah_ once operated in the area, but it was disbanded by the government in 2007. Lamongan is also known for the existence of FPI, and the regional terrorist group JI. Some of the 2002 Bali Bombers originated from here.

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\(^2\) A Dutch source recorded 67,413 people in Lamongan in 1869. In 1930, the population had increased to 545,395, and in 1955, it was 658,403. By 1971, it reached 1,048,867 (P.J. Veth (1889), Woordenboekvan Nederlandch Indie, as quoted by Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 12)

\(^3\) A breakdown of the five major religions in Lamongan include: 1,172,320 Muslims, 2,964 Christians, 349 Catholics, 279 Hindus, and 57 Buddhists, and 12 Confucius (BPS 2010).

\(^4\) ‘The Alawite Leagues’, a group of traditionalist Muslim Arabs from Southern Arabia, joined the modernist Al Irsyad to form _Persatuan Arab Indonesia_ (Union of Indonesian Arabs) in 1938 (Federspiel 1995: 215).

\(^5\) Literally ‘The Unshakeable Association’ (Federspiel 1995: 114)

\(^6\) A modernist Muslim association founded in 1916 in West Java by Mohammad Yasin, was associated with Masyumi since 1945 and was a special member (Federspiel 1995: 158).
including Amrozi, Ali Ghufron, and Ali Imron, who came from northern Lamongan village of Tenggulun, in the Solokuro subdistrict, which abuts the south of Paciran. The Bali bombing on 12 October 2002, which killed 202 people, of whom 88 were Australian and 38 Indonesian, brought global media attention to Lamongan. The media returned to Lamongan when Amrozi and Ali Ghufron were executed on 9 November 2008; Imam Samudra from Banten, West Java, was also executed for his involvement in the Bali bombing, while Ali Imron remained in prison to serve out the rest of his 20 year sentence. FPI provided protection to the family of Amrozi and Ali Ghufron in Lamongan from the international media, and even declared the Bali bombers as martyrs (syahid).

Lamongan residents are conscious of fulfilling their religious obligations, such as the five obligatory prayers (solat lima waktu), giving of alms (zakat), fasting (puasa), and the haj pilgrimage to Mecca when they are capable. Piety is enhanced by the omnipresent facilities for worship throughout Lamongan. In 2008, there were 1,684 mosques (mesjid), 258 prayer houses (musholla), 4,229 prayer rooms (langgar/surau), as well as the 240 pesantren in the district (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 156; Departemen Agama 2007a). Furthermore, every year over a thousand Muslims from Lamongan undertake the haj journey. In 2008, there were 1,185 haj pilgrims from Lamongan, of whom 138 people from Paciran, the highest number of all Lamongan’s subdistricts (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 157).

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7 The other religious facilities in the district were eight Christian (Protestant) churches, one Catholic church, and one Hindu temple (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 156).
8 The number of people performing the haj in recent years is as follows: 2004: 1,297; 2005: 1,082; 2006: 1,324; 2007: 1,143 (Departemen Agama 2009).
Chapter Four: History and Profile of Lamongan

Map of Paciran Subdistrict

Map of Paciran available from: http://lamongankab.go.id/instansi/paciran/profil/

Paciran Subdistrict

Paciran is about 65 kilometres from Surabaya, Indonesia’s second largest city. In 2008, it had 95,676 residents, and except ten Catholics, twelve Protestants, and three Buddhists, all were Muslim (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 76-7). At just 5.8 hectares, or 58 square kilometres, it is the most densely populated subdistrict in Lamongan with 1,998 persons per square kilometre; two and a half times the district average (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 70). In 2006, there were 17 villages (desa), 34 hamlets (dusun), and 366 neighbourhood associations (rukun tetangga, RT) in Paciran (Badan Pusat Statisik Paciran 2006: 15). There were also thirteen pesantren and 310 places of worship, including 55 mosques (mesjid), 18 prayer rooms (musholla), and 237 prayer houses (langgar) (Badan Pusat Statisik Paciran 2006: 54 & 62).

9 Paciran is colloquially referred to as pantura, which is the abbreviation for pantai utara, meaning north beach. Apparently, Paciran is derived from the words ‘kececeran’ and ‘keciciran’ (both mean ‘scattered about’) after prayer houses and mosques were moved there by saint Sunan Drajat (also known as Raden Qosim) and Sunan Sendang (also known as Raden Nur Rahmat) (Samid 1995: 16-22).
Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem are the two most prominent pesantren in Paciran. The former is located in Banjarwati village, which had 4,552 residents in 2005 (Badan Pusat Statisik Paciran 2006: 16). The latter is located seven kilometres west in the Paciran village, but part of the school crosses the boundary into Sumurgayam village in the south. In 2005, there were 14,037 people in Paciran village and 2,609 in Sumurgayam; note that Paciran is also the name of the subdistrict (Badan Pusat Statisik Paciran 2006: 16).

The Paciran subdistrict is famous for the graveyard (makam) complex of the Islamic saint Sunan Drajat, attracting visitors who inject money into the local economy. In 2008, exactly 233,763 people visited there (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 349). Another famous makam is dedicated to Sunan Sendang Duwur, and although not one of the wali songo, he is regarded as an important Javanese Muslim saint who also attracts thousands of visitors every year. These sites reflect the style of syncretic Islam in its earlier period as the aristocratic courts combined the Hindu-Buddhism influence of the time whilst trying to conform to the requirements of Islam (De Casparis & Mabbett 1992: 331).

Economic Overview

The Indonesian Government refers to Lamongan as a ‘deficient area’ (daerah minus) to describe its underdevelopment (Interview with Masfuk 11 June 2008). However, development in Lamongan accelerated after Indonesia implemented decentralisation in 2001, and regional autonomy transferred power to the district government level. District head (bupati) Masfuk (2000-2010) used the new local government powers to improve the district’s economic growth through government initiatives, social programs, and infrastructure and construction projects. It won him praise from national and provincial administrations, including an award for being the best bupati for trade in Indonesia on 26 May 2008 (Interview with Masfuk 11 June 2008). His priorities included timely government approval of projects and investment decisions, as well as developing infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, and seaports, while encouraging businesses to employ locally (Interview with Masfuk 11 June 2008).

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10 Banjarwati actually is the combined name of two villages, namely Banjaranyar and Sukowati.
11 Masfuk was elected bupati in 2000 by the local parliament. He and his deputy, Soetarto, were respectively from PAN and Golkar. In 2005, the election was through direct vote, and the then deputy bupati, Soetarto, left Masfuk to lead a PKB-Golkar coalition to run as the deputy with Taufikurrahman, who ran for bupati. Masfuk chose a new deputy, Tsalits, formerly the head of NU in Lamongan, and the pair won 52.9 per cent of the vote.
Despite Lamongan’s recent improvements, it remains relatively underdeveloped. The public education system is inadequate with a quarter of students in the district attending facilities at pesantren, and more attend madrasah run by Muhammadiyah and NU, which operate like public schools. Public transport in the district relies heavily on minibuses (bemo), but many are derelict, and operate mostly around the time school starts and finishes (7am-1pm). There are also private motorbike riders (ojek), but these are more expensive. Many roads and bridges need urgent repairs, and according to the government’s own assessment 15 per cent of the roads in the district are ‘damaged’ (rusak) (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 311). This hampers the movement of people and goods, and locals often impose tolls on passers-by to raise money for repairs to roads and bridges. Improvements need to be made to telecommunications, particularly the internet; although the government has begun funding some internet cafes, known as warnet (warung internet), while some private ones are slowly appearing. Lamongan, like the rest of Java, is serviced with extensive mobile phone coverage, and even the poorest, most rural villagers somehow manage to afford mobile phones, which has made the installation of telephone landlines almost redundant.

One factor that may pose a threat to NU’s position in the community is the socio-economic situation of the district. Drastic industrial development and a shift in employment from rural, agricultural and fisheries industries, to more urban and technical work, could change the social and religious attitudes of locals to be more modernist. A shift in employment has already begun, as there has been rapid growth in the tourism sector with a third of the Lamongan economy reliant on the hotel and restaurant sector (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 378). Although residents continue to live in the same crowded villages amongst integrated pesantren communities, much the same way as previous in decades, many are beginning to see modernism as the solution to economic and social deficiencies, regardless of their NU or Muhammadiyah heritage. This is the reason for the success of bupati candidates who promote this vision, while trying to accommodate and appease the social dynamics associated with traditionalist and modernist Muslim attitudes.

Paciran is also home to the largest theme park in East Java, the Wisata Bahari Lamongan (WBL). In 2008, precisely 1,256,185 people passed through the theme park’s turnstiles (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 350). The WBL theme park also has an adjoining hotel beach resort, Tanjung Kodok, and the Maharani caves and a small zoo are directly across
the road. All of these are popular tourist destinations for Indonesians from all over the archipelago. According to government data for 2006, the tourism and recreational sector recorded modest growth of 5.2 per cent (www.lamongan.go.id 2010).

According to government statistics, the largest sector of the Lamongan economy is agriculture, accounting for 38.5 per cent of Gross Domestic Regional Product (Produk Domestik Regional Bruto, GDRP), mostly dedicated to food corps, particularly rice and corn (Badan Pusat Statistik Lamongan 2009: 378). The second largest is the commerce, hotel, and restaurant sector, which accounts for 33.6 per cent. The third largest includes services, contributing 11.9 per cent to the economy. This is followed by fisheries at 6.2 per cent, consisting of mainly fish, prawn, crab, and eel, and is most dominant in Paciran and Brondong (Badan Pusat Statistik Lamongan 2009: 378). The Bengawan Solo River, the longest river in Java stretching from Surabaya to Surakarta, passes through central Lamongan making the surrounding area fertile for crop irrigation and aquaculture ponds. Some ponds along the north coast with access to seawater are used as salt evaporation ponds. A minor portion of the economy is comprised of the manufacturing sector, making up 5.4 per cent, while the banking and financial services industry account for 4.1 per cent (Badan Pusat Statistik Lamongan 2009: 378). The government also stimulates the local economy by providing jobs to 10,028 civil servants (Badan Pusat Statistik Lamongan 2009: 23).

Lamongan’s development has benefited from private sector investments. In 2006, Lamongan Integrated Shorebase (LIS) was set up there, which services off-shore oil rigs with equipment and supplies. In 2007, the steel manufacturing company Lintech built a factory there because of the access to sea-lanes necessary to transport large supplies and products by boat. These projects stimulate the district’s economy by using local support industries, such as food catering services, hotels, repair and maintenance shops, and on one occasion in 2007, LIS even bought rocks and earth from Kyai Ghofur to build a seawall. The presence of such companies improves infrastructure and services, including roads, bridges, seaports, telecommunications, and power, water, and sewage disposal. These companies also provide jobs to locals, who are employed as security guards, cleaners, labourers, mechanics, and other work.

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12 Land in Lamongan is still relatively cheap, as compared to neighbouring Gresik, which is more expensive and has a high concentration of companies, including the cement giant Cemen Gresik, the household appliance producer Maspion, farming equipment supplier Argindo, and other companies.
Similar to the Philippines, and to a lesser extent Thailand, Indonesia has a significant component of ‘Indonesian migrant workers’ (tenaga kerja Indonesia, TKI) who work abroad. In 2008, government figures reported that 50,434 Lamongan residents went abroad to become TKI. The most popular destinations were in Asia and some in the Middle East, including 22,728 seeking work in Malaysia, 11,799 in Hong Kong, 9,863 in Taiwan, 2,893 in Singapore, 2,639 in Brunei, 373 in Saudi Arabia, 125 in Qatar, and 14 in Japan (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 102). Money from their overseas employment is remitted to their families back home. Apart from localised pockets of extremism, a small minority have been exposed to radical Islamic indoctrination abroad, with the most extreme example being Amrozi, Ali Ghufron, and Ali Imron, and other JI members, in Malaysia; the vast majority return to Indonesia as responsible citizens practising peaceful forms of Islam.

Soccer in Lamongan is popular, and attracts foreign players, mostly from South America, to compete in league competition, and in 2005, a new soccer stadium was built in Lamongan city to host national matches. The local soccer team, Persela Lamongan (Persatuan Sepak Bola Lamongan, Lamongan United Soccer), is a formidable squad and plays in the top league of Indonesia’s football. The former Lamongan bupati, Masfuk, has been the team’s manager and chairman since 2006, and the sport injects money into the local economy.

According to the Lamongan Government’s annual report, GDRP for the district was R.869.8 billion (AUD$109 million) in 2008 (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 353). That same year, the Lamongan economy grew by 6.2 per cent; slightly higher than the national average of 6.1 per cent (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 380; CIA 2009). In terms of output, Lamongan is the second largest producer of rice in East Java, producing 776,285 tons in 2006, which accounted for 7.1 per cent of the provincial total (www.lamongan.go.id 2010). In 2008, Lamongan boosted its rice production to 839,393 tons (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 197). In 2006, Lamongan was the fifth biggest producer of corn in East Java, producing 249,036 tons, and in 2008, this had increased to 319,843 (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 216; www.lamongan.go.id 2010). In 2006, the fishing industry produced 65,874 tons (valued at R.446 billion), making Lamongan the third biggest producer after the districts of Sumenep and Probolinggo (www.lamongan.go.id 2010). In 2008, the fisheries industry employed 66,684 people and there were 5,617 fishing vessels in Lamongan (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 267 & 269). The agriculture and fisheries industries also benefit...
from the 32 rivers and water courses that flow throughout Lamongan with its yearly average rainfall of 1,000-1,500 millimetres (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 11-2).

Despite recent developments, overall Lamongan is predominantly a rural and agrarian based economy. Overall wages remain low and are undermined by high unemployment and under-employment. Work in Lamongan is difficult to find because of limited opportunities for increased population levels. About half of the parent respondents in the survey for this project indicated that their monthly salary was less than half a million rupiah (AUD$62.50). Current government records do not provide clear employment levels, instead providing details of people registered as new job seekers, which numbered 10,042 in 2008, and only 2,700 managed to find work (Badan Pusat Statisik Lamongan 2009: 70). It is worth noting that in the mid-1990s, a third of the population was unemployed (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 131).

The socio-economic basis of Lamongan remains heavily influenced by the agrarian, farmer tradition and fishing culture. This traditional society intermixed with the omnipresence of mosques and prayer houses, and extensive madrasah and pesantren networks, explains the persistence of Islamic identities. Its homogenous cultural and religious setting, with 99.4 per cent of the residents professing Islam, is divided only by membership to either NU or Muhammadiyah. Although both have some differing interpretations regarding Islam, which affect their political unity, both communities live together harmoniously, learning from each other and working together. Both groups express conservative views towards public morality and behaviour, with a belief that the local government should support the Islamic community (umat) and enhance piety through the guidance of kyai and ulama (Islamic scholars) within a modernised and developed community.

**Early Modern Period and Islamisation of Lamongan**

Locals believe that Lamongan was founded on 26 May 1569 (10 Dzul-Hijjah 976), as a vassal territory of Gresik by Ronggo Hadi, the first district head, or adipati (colonial title for bupati), under the instruction of Sunan Giri IV (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 17). The discovery of ancient artefacts indicate human inhabitation of Lamongan as early as c. 300 BC; including ceremonial axes, bracelets, a human skeleton, glass objects, golden necklaces, a golden plaque, as well as ceramic and earthenware (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 18). The Majapahit
Empire left its mark on Lamongan with an array of Hindu-Buddhist statues and stone carvings, including seven statues, three linga-yoni, and 43 engraved tablets.\textsuperscript{13} Thirty-nine of these tablets were carved into stone, and four, known as the Biluluk Charters, were engraved into copper-plates dating CE 1366-1395 (Pigeaud, T 1960-1963, 4: 416).\textsuperscript{14} The epigraphy used was Javanese script (honocoroko), common during the reign of Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) and Wikramawardhana (1389-1429) (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 19).

\textsuperscript{13} Linga is the representation of phallus and symbol of the god Siva and yoni is the representation of the female sexual organ and symbol of the goddess Sakti, consort of Siva. Seven statues were found across the subdistricts of Lamongan, Paciran, Modo, Sambeng and Kembangbahu, while linga-yoni statues were found in Ngimbang, Kembangbahu and Sugio (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 19).

\textsuperscript{14} Two tables were found in the subdistrict Lamongan, two in Mantup, seven in Modo, eight in Ngimbang, nine in Sambeng, six in Bluluk, two in Sugio, one in Deket, one in Turi, one in Sukodadi, one in Babat, one in Brondong, and two in Paciran (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 19).
Illustration 4.1: Historical Artefacts from Lamongan

- **Ceremonial axe**
- **Nekara (drum)**
- **Three stone jewels made into beads with holes through the middle for a necklace**
- **Hair decoration made of Gold**
- **Yoni (Hindu-Buddhist symbol of female reproductive organ) similar to the one found in Lamongan**

*All items photographed by Nathan Franklin at the Tantular Museum Surabaya*
Islamisation of Lamongan followed the downfall of the Hindu-Buddhist Empire Majapahit and the rise of the Islamic Sultanate of Demak and its ally Sunan Giri at Gresik. Demak was founded in the last quarter of the fifteenth century by a foreign Muslim, likely named Cek Kopo from China (Ricklefs 1993: 36). The first two hereditary Sunan Giri rulers, Sunan Satmata (d.1506) and his son, Sunan Dalem (d.1536), repelled Majapahit attacks, and when the Majapahit Empire collapsed in 1527, Sunan Giri II usurped Gresik (Pigeaud, TGT & Graaf 1976: 15). Sedamargi (d. 1556), Sunan Dalem’s younger brother, followed as Sunan Giri III (Pemerintah Lamongan 1984: 3). The rise of the Demak sultanate also coincided with local stories of the wali songo who Islamised Java. The first, Maulana Malik Ibrahim, has a tombstone (nisan) at Gresik which is dated AD 1419; epigraphy on it does not mention any missionary activities, only that the deceased was a trader from Gujarat, India, but of Persian origin (De Casparis & Mabbett 1992: 331; Ricklefs 1993: 5). The nearby site of Giri became an important Muslim centre with the establishment of the dynasty of the ‘priest kings’ of Giri (De Casparis & Mabbett 1992: 331). The long reign in the second half of the sixteenth century, from 1556 to 1597, by Sunan Prapen (d. 1597), or Sunan Giri IV, led to the creation of a flourishing Islamic ‘Ecclesiastical State’ (Pigeaud, TGT & Graaf 1976: 15).

In Central Java, internal conflict in the Demak capital allowed the Sunan Giri leaders to rule independently and become ‘small kings’ in their own right (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 13). Demak could not maintain centralised authority, so the solution was a system of limited kingship that gave considerable autonomy to vassal overlords (Ricklefs 1993: 17). Demak controlled Lamongan through the vassal ruler Sunan Giri III who united the religious and political authorities in the area (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 13). Sunan Giri IV was particularly ambitious and sent his students out to remote areas to help facilitate the propagation of Islam and establish systems of government to expand the reach of his authority; apparently his protégé student, Honggo Hadi, became the first bupati of Lamongan on 26 May 1569 (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 13 & 132).

Lamongan acted as a buffer zone for Gresik against attacks from the surviving Majapahit forces based at Sengguruh, south of Malang, East Java. In 1535, they attacked Sunan Giri II at Gresik destroying the graveyard of Sunan Giri I and they temporarily occupied the Giri palace (Graaf & Pigeaud 1974: 147). In 1541-2, Sunan Giri III defeated and converted the Hindus of Lamongan to Islam (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 33). According to Graaf and Pigeaud,
Lamongan became a centre of *Ulama Government* (Dutch: *Moslimse Priestervorstendom*) and a base for the spread of Islam (*dakwah*), allowing further Islamisation throughout the surrounding area (Graaf & Pigeaud 1974: 147-8; Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 32).

The *wali songo* provided cultural and religious examples, which inspired the construction of mosques and temples, including the oldest mosque in Java at Demak, east of Semarang, in the early sixteenth century. It was the first of this style for the early Javanese mosques as pre-Muslim building traditions were adapted to the requirements of Islam. The absence of statuary was compensated for by the richness in decorations with profusion of geometric, floral, and sometimes even animal, motifs. The graveyard complexes of the *wali songo* were adorned with similar art. In Lamongan, there are two examples of this, namely at the graveyard temple complexes of Sunan Drajat and Sunan Sendang Duwur, although the latter is far more elaborately decorated. Though substantially rebuilt in later times, Sunan Sendang still contains sixteenth-century ornamental panels sculpted according to the ancient tradition indicating no clear break with the pre-Muslim past (De Casparis & Mabbett 1992: 331-2).

The Sunan Sendang Duwur temple complex is built upon a hill called Gunung Amitunon (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 23). Its layout was designed with three principal elements (*ritakarna*) to symbolise the legs, torso, and head. The courtyard represents the legs (*jaba*), in between the gateway (*gapura*) and the main part is the torso (*tengah*), and the main shrine (*candi*) represents the head (*jeroan*). According to tradition at the time, the three signify the interconnection between god, human beings, and nature (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 23).

The temple complex of Sunan Sendang Duwur represents one of the greatest examples of the conversion from Hindu-Buddhism to Islam. Sunan Sendang was a saint who purportedly died in 1585. His complex was designed in a style similar to the Panjunan Mosque in Cirebon, the Mantingan Mosque in the Jepara area, as well as the Agung Mosque in Banten; all reflecting the period of transition. A chronogram (*candrasangkala*) dated Ś 1481, or CE 1559, is carved out of rock above the semi-circular niche (*mihrab*) indicating the direction Mecca (*qiblat*) at the Mantingan Mosque, and the construction of the Sunan Sendang complex probably occurred around this time (Tjandrasasmita 1975: 56).

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15 For full analysis of Sunan Sendang Duwur see Tjandrasamita (1975).
16 A recently discovered, probably apocryphal, text entitled *Malay Annals* attributes the Islamisation of Java to Chinese Muslims (De Casparis & Mabbett 1992: 331). Although this text cannot be accepted as evidence, the Chinese may have had some influence on the process of Islam. A principal assistant to the Chinese admiral
Ch’eng Ho, called Ma-huan, was a Muslim who stayed in Java in 1403. His presence may have strengthened Islam in Java, although the religion had taken root before his arrival (De Casparis & Mabbett 1992: 331). The front of the Sunan Sendang complex has a moat with a bridge cross it. Its entrance consists of two different gateways (gapura); and both styles are based on traditional architecture known as undagi. First is the gapura bentar, which is a divided entrance with two large, tiered pillars with flat sides facing each other. This represents polar opposites (rwa-bhinneda). In the spirit realm it acts like a filter as the split gate can close and keep out evil spirits and devils, allowing only holy or sacred (suci) creatures and objects to enter. The second gapura is a single entrance, called gapura agung, and resembles a mountain bringing together the split gapura bentar; perhaps portraying the combination of old and new religions. Throughout the temple there are noticeable motifs bearing the face of the deity Boma, who is the son of Visnu. Boma represents the jungle surrounded by vegetation. The Boma carvings are located on the entrances and walls of the graveyard complex. A third gate, before the stairs to the burial site of Sunan Sendang, is a gapura agung (great gateway) or candi agung (great shrine). Other stone carvings depict wings representing the mystical Garuda bird (the vehicle of Visnu). In front of the gapura agung are the male and female guardians of the gate, Kala and Kali. The wall is two metres long and has a narrow passage and an inverse ‘v’ top pointed ceiling. On the opposite end are more motifs. One shows patra Cina (Chinese pattern), which is represented by swirling vegetation and vines. Another is a patra util, or curlicue, which is represented by twisting and curling concentric circles. Amongst the elaborate patterns is a motif of a hut or temple situated amongst perhaps the jungle, which may symbolise a meditation retreat for monks. Much of the description and explanation regarding Sunan Sedang is owed to Pak Ida Bagus Sumantra. His understanding of Hindu-Buddhist art and religion enabled him to recognise the many of the details in the photos I showed him. Some addition information of the above was provided by Professor George Quinn from the Australia National University and Professor Merle Ricklefs from the National University of Singapore via email.
More photographs of Sunan Sendang Duwur

Garuda gateway showing the artistic influence of the Majapahit Hindu-Buddhist era.

A motif of the deity Boma, son of Visnu. Boma also represents the jungle.

Sunan Sendang’s resting place. Notice above it reads: ‘Please supplicate to Allah’.

*Photographs by Nathan Franklin*
Lamongan is geographically situated between two important seaports that fell under Muslim control. According to Ricklefs (1993: 7), the first of these was at Gresik before 1500 AD, and the second, at Tuban in 1527; although it was Islamised earlier than this date, it remained loyal to the Hindu-Buddhist king in Kediri. The explorer Tomé Pires who lived in Malacca from 1512-5, following its capture by the Portuguese in 1511, also travelled to Java where he observed that Central and East Java remained under the control of the Hindu-Buddhist king located in the interior at Daha, modern-day Kediri, but that Islam had penetrated most of the coastal areas as far east as Surabaya (Ricklefs 1993: 7).

Demak’s military successes led to its conquest of the Hindu-Buddhist state at Kediri in c.1527, allowing Demak to usurp control over most of East Java (Ricklefs 1991: 37). Demak forced the submission of major seaports throughout East Java to the will of the Islamic sultanate, and eventually Islamised those ports that remained unconverted. Sources provide scanty information about Demak’s campaigns throughout the area, but after the sacking of Kediri in c.1527, there were a series of conquests. Chronologically, Demak took Tuban in 1527, Madiun in c.1529-30, Surabaya in the 1530s (already an Islamic seaport), Pasuruan in the 1530s, Lamongan in 1541-2, the East Javanese Hindu holy area of Mount Penanggunan in 1543, and finally Malang in c.1545 (Ricklefs 1991: 37).

Demak’s vassal Sunan Giri III allowed Lamongan to operate independently because it was the main thoroughfare to the Tuban seaport, which facilitated vibrant trade. According to the Biluluk Charters, there were important salt industries in the villages of Bluluk and Tenggulun, which were operated by tradespeople and owned by noble families related to the Majapahit Court (Pigeaud, T 1960-1963, 4: 416-7). The copper plate of 1366 indicates that families of Bluluk and Tanggulunan were owners of a saline spring. So that salt production was not disrupted, Lamongan was designated as an autonomous area (swatantra), but was forced to submit to the Sunan Giri III overlord in 1569 (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 20-3).

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18 Tuban was mentioned by Chinese sources as early as the eleventh century (Ricklefs 1993: 37).
19 The four copper-plates have been dated at 1366, 1391, and 1395 (two were written in 1395). For further English language analysis see Pigeaud (1960-1963 4: 416), and for Indonesian see Yamin (1962 2: 147-158).
Illustration 4.3: Biluluk Charters

Photographs by Nathan Franklin at the National Museum in Jakarta

Sunan Drajat and His Legacy

The legends of the *wali songo* are mythical, and although they contain old stories, most of the texts referring to these saints are known only in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. As Ricklefs (1993: 5) maintains, there is actually no documentary evidence for the existence of the *wali songo*. Despite the fact that the stories might not be reliable historical accounts, ‘their shared emphasis upon the roles played by esoteric learning and magical powers, the foreign origins and trade connections of the first teachers, and the process of conversion, they may reveal something of the original events’ (Ricklefs 1993: 8).

Locals believe that Sunan Drajat, whose original name was Raden Qosim, existed between the mid-fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, and perhaps died in 1522 (Pesantren Sunan Drajat 2005: 1-3; Tim Peneliti dan Penyusun Buku Sejarah Sunan Drajat 1998: 54). There are several local stories explaining the origin of Sunan Drajat and how he arrived in northern Lamongan; none of which can be verified. His father is said to be Sunan Ampel, another of the *wali songo* who was married to a respected Javanese figure called Ratna Ayu Manila (Tim Peneliti dan Penyusun Buku Sejarah Sunan Drajat 1998: 80 & 144-6).
Illustration 4.4: Sunan Drajet Graveyard Complex

Typical style of the *wali songo* graveyards throughout Java.

Inside is the resting place of Sunan Drajet
(Photography inside is prohibited).

*Photographs by Nathan Franklin*
Whatever the origin of Sunan Drajat, locals claim that upon his death he was buried behind his pesantren and mosque, and the village became known as Drajat. Apparently, his children continued to proselytise Islam, but after several centuries, the only remnant was an old well in a disused prayer house, at the present-day location of Pesantren Sunan Drajat. Sunan Drajat is supposedly a direct descendent of the Prophet Muhammad (Tim Peneliti dan Penyusun Buku Sejarah Sunan Drajat 1998: 144; & Chapter VII). However, it is impossible to verify this.

The nomenclature of the wali songo, particularly their genealogies (silsilah), reveals the Javanese understanding of how indigenous Hindu-Buddhism culture and Islam combined. Sunan Drajat and Sunan Sendang both have original, decidedly Muslim-Arabic names, Raden Qosim and Raden Nur Rahmat. Raden infers Javanese nobility, and both Rosim and Nur Rahmat are Muslim-Arabic names. Similar to the silsilah of many revered figures in Javanese history, Sunan Drajat and Sunan Sendang both had left-right (pangiwa-panengen) genealogy. This type of genealogy specifically juxtaposes indigenous Javanese-Hindu ancestry and foreign-Islamic ancestry (Ricklefs 2006: 221).

According to the silsilah of Sunan Drajat, his father is a direct descendent of the Prophet Muhammad and his mother, Prabu Banjaran Sari, was of the Sundanese aristocracy and king Raja Pajajaran lineage (Tim Peneliti dan Penyusun Buku Sejarah Sunan Drajat 1998: 144 & 146). Similarly, the silsilah of Sunan Sendang indicates his father was a Muslim Arab from Baghdad and his mother was from the local Javanese, possibly Hindu, aristocracy of Sedayu, north Lamongan. The Sunan Sendang complex exemplifies these silsilah lines with its divided and combined gapura gates with belief decorations that are indebted to pre-Islamic art. There is a little prayer house where Sunan Sendang is buried with a blunt notice, reading ‘pray only to Allah’, probably placed there fairly recently. The whole temple complex, the ancestry of the saint, his Javanese and Arabic-Muslim names, are indicative of the transition and synthesis of the old and new religions.

Sunan Drajat’s pesantren legacy lay dormant until 1966 when local Islamic educator, Kyai Martokan, founded the primary school (madrasah ibtdaiyah, MI) Mu’awanah. A decade later, he added a religious school (madrasah diniyah) and the institution formally become Pesantren Sunan Drajat on 7 September 1977 (Pesantren Sunan Drajat 2005: 3). In 1987, Kyai Martokan died, and his son, Kyai Abdul Ghofur, inherited the pesantren. Kyai Ghofur
propagates in the traditionalist style of Islam and regularly proclaims that he is continuing the work of Sunan Drajat, further discussed in chapter six.

Although it is impossible to verify when pesantren spread in Lamongan, or any of the other Javanese-speaking residencies of Java, Dutch colonial government reports provide us with the first credible information regarding their existence, particularly along the north coast of Java, an area known as the pasisir. In 1819, the colonial government commissioned a survey of native education in Java, and although not all residencies participated, some pesantren were recorded in Pekalongan, Madiun, and Ponorogo (Ricklefs 2007: 49). In 1831, another was commissioned, but only 14 residencies participated, of which eleven were Javanese-speaking areas, which included Tegal, Pekalongan, Jepara, Kedu, Begelen, Banyumas, Besuki, Cirebon, Semarang, Surabaya, and Gresik (Ricklefs 2007: 51-2). Responses were not always complete, but 494 pesantren were recorded in these areas educating at least 6,800 santri, plus there were over a thousand religious schools and prayer houses (langgar) where religion was taught educating at least an additional 7,000 students (Ricklefs 2007: 51-2). Both reports indicated that the general educational levels of locals was rather poor. However, in the following decades, the pesantren system ‘would become a much more common feature of the Javanese countryside’ (Ricklefs 2007:52)

**Dutch Occupation of Lamongan**

By the early seventeenth century, the VOC had achieved trading privileges along the pasisir, which included Lamongan, after the Kingdom of Mataram failed to drive ‘the infidel European invaders’ off the Island (Niel 2005: 2). By the 1670s, the coastal areas of Java, particularly the east, had become the proverbial ‘rice bowl and lumberyard’ for the trading activities of the VOC in Asia (Niel 2005: 2). According to an Indonesian source, they traded goods, such as rice, timber, salt, and pepper through the port of Sedayu, Brondong, in north Lamongan (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 3-7). In 1746, the Dutch exercised their right to control Lamongan, and the pasisir, extending from Madura, Surabaya, Rembang and Jepara, and other ports, as part of the treaty between Pakubuwono II and the VOC, which had been signed on 11 November 1743 (Niel 2005: 6-7; Ricklefs 1974: 39). Pakubuwono II had granted the Dutch this territory for their assistance in eliminating emeries to his throne, as they pursued a policy of stability through a single king who could control all of Java and govern in
their interests (Niel 2005: 5-6; Ricklefs 1974:37-9; 2008: 120). During the eighteenth century, Lamongan did not attract significant attention from the VOC, leaving the area largely unchanged. Dutch colonial ambitions were interrupted after a French invasion of the Netherlands and the collapse of the VOC.

On 1 January 1800, the VOC was dissolved after investigations revealed that scandals and mismanagement had left it bankrupt. All territorial possessions of the VOC were transferred to the Netherlands Government (Ricklefs 1993: 110). In December 1794-January 1795, the Napoleonic wars resulted in a successful French invasion of the Netherlands, and a new French-dominated regime was established (Ricklefs 1993: 110). Consequently, the Dutch Prince, William V Batavus, fled to England and took up residence at Kew. From here he issued the ‘Kew letters’ ordering Dutch colonial officers to relinquish their territories to the British in order to save them from French control (Ricklefs 1993: 112). In 1806, in an effort to create a more centralist model of government, Napoleon Bonaparte installed his brother Louis on the Dutch throne. The Napoleonic regime designated Marshal Herman Willem Daendels as Governor-General of Batavia (1808-11), modern-day Jakarta. In May 1811, Daendels was replaced by Jan Willem Janssens, but on 4 August, 60 British ships arrived in Batavia and took control of Java on 26 August. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles was appointed the Lieutenant Governor of Java in 1811-6 (there was no position of Governor-General under the British), but after the Dutch regained control of the Netherlands, the British handed the East Indies back in 1816 (Ricklefs 1993: 112-3).

Lamongan received little attention until the Dutch began to govern it from Gresik in 1824. The district was passed on to the administrative control at Surabaya from 1867 to 1924, then back to Gresik in 1924, and finally Bojonegoro in 1932 (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 38). An Indonesian document suggests that a Second Class School, possibly part of the two-class primary school system, was built in 1868 (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 42). However, this date is contested, given this system had only ‘been available on a very small scale since 1892-3’ (Ricklefs 1993: 157-8). Sometime during the administration of Tumenggung Djojoirono (1885-1908), the Dutch constructed the house of the district head, repaired the Second Class School that somehow had been damaged by a fire, set up a post office, and built a Dutch primary school (Hollands Inlandsche school). Further, in 1900, a government-run corporation
was set up to provide credit and other administrative services, with branches in Babat, Kedungpring, Karanggeneng, and Paciran (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 43-4).

Development of Lamongan improved under district head Raden Tunenggung Djojo Adinegoro (1908-38). In 1916, 20 schools were built, and in 1924, an electricity grid was installed in Lamongan city. That same year, a large water reservoir, known as Waduk Gadong, was constructed, and a water tower in Mantup village was built, which remained in service until 1993. In 1930, a network of asphalt roads was laid throughout the district and a bus terminal was built in the capital. In 1932, a local regency council (Regentschaps Raad) was established that consisted of members from the local administration and appointees from the Dutch government. The last significant construction by the Dutch was the district’s first emergency hospital in 1938 (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 44).

The Dutch colonial government built the Great Post Road (Jalan Raya Pos), now called Daendels Road, connecting Anyer in West Java and Panarukan in East Java; it follows the north coast of Java passing through northern Lamongan. They also constructed a railway, which is still in service, between Surabaya and Jakarta, with a station in Lamongan city. In addition, they built several small dams and buildings, such the district head’s office (pendopo) and the town park (alun-alun), and various monuments, including one recognising locals for rescuing people from a sinking Dutch ship in 1936 (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 35-45).

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20 The road originally was called the Great Post Road (Indo: Jalan Raya Pos; Dutch: De Groote Postweg), and it today it has been extended to Banyuwangi, East Java.
Illustration 4.5: Van der Wijck Ship Monument

Plaque reads (English translation):
Martinus Jacobus Uytermerk
Radiotelegrapher on board
S.S. "Van der Wijck"
20 October 1936
He remained loyal until death
In honour of his memory.
His friends.

Van der Wijck ship monument at Brondong.

Photographs by Nathan Franklin

From Japanese Invasion to Independence

On 10 January 1942, the Japanese Imperial Army began its invasion of Indonesia with unexpected speed and success. The British forces at Singapore surrendered to the Japanese on 15 February (Ricklefs 1993: 195). Four days later the Japanese began the first of its 64 bombing raids on Darwin, Australia; the last on 12 November 1943 (Powell 2000: 192 & 196). In late February, the Japanese defeated an allied naval fleet of American, British, Dutch, and Australian forces in the battle of the Java Sea. On 8 March, the Dutch surrendered and Governor-General van Starkenborgh was arrested (Ricklefs 1993: 195). Such unprecedented events had irreversible consequences for the nation, and the three and a half years that followed would be years of Japanese rule.

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21 The same fleet that attacked Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 attacked Darwin on 19 February 1942.

Chapter Four: History and Profile of Lamongan
years of Japanese occupation directly contributed to the changes that made the Indonesian revolution and independence possible several years later.\footnote{22}{For further reading on the Japanese occupation of Indonesia Ricklefs (1993: Chapter 16).}

Lamongan also bore witness to the Japanese invasion. The Dutch erected a network of defence measures, including artillery and barbwire fences along the Brondong and Paciran north coast (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 45). However, the Japanese penetrated the area through Glondong and Bulu in west Tuban, making their way south into Lamongan, first to Babat, while a regiment continued northward into Paciran. From Babat, they took Lamongan city and Gresik, and some went on to rendezvous with other forces in Surabaya. Those that went to Paciran later continued on to Surabaya (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 45). Indonesians initially welcomed the Japanese and most refused to support the Dutch, and in some areas locals even attacked Dutch troops and civilians (Ricklefs 1993: 199). Japanese imperial forces subjected Indonesians to the most oppressive and devastating colonial regime in its history (Ricklefs 1993: 199).\footnote{23}{This was a pattern that was followed in all the Japanese conquests throughout Southeast Asia.} The new colonisers quashed any sign of local revolt, and ‘if necessary by arresting, shooting or beheading the leaders of local movements’ (Ricklefs 1993: 200).

On 15 August 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally after the United States detonated two atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on 6 August and 9 August 1945 respectively. Indonesia declared independence on 17 August 1945, but the Dutch attempted to regain control of its former colony. The experience of the Japanese invasion shattered the myth that the Europeans were superior. It also ignited simmering demands that native Indonesians govern their own sovereign nation, which spurred on locals to take up arms and fight the Dutch. On 27 December 1949, after four years of war, the Dutch formally transferred sovereignty over to the Indonesians, ending almost three and a half centuries of colonial rule (Ricklefs 1993: 232).

**Conclusion**

In the sixteenth century, Demak defeated Majapahit and conversion of Lamongan’s inhabitants from Hindu-Buddhism to Islam followed, but Islamisation was the beginning, not the end, of a major process of change as it continues, although in a different way in the twenty first century. The *putihan* (devout) variant of Islam in Lamongan can largely be attributed to
the historical impact of the Muslim Sultanate of Demak and the hereditary Giri rulers at Gresik which Islamised the area in the sixteenth century. The legends of the wali songo also reinforce local thinking regarding piety and the fulfilling of religious obligations. Consequently, an extensive network of pesantren developed rapidly there in the twentieth century as Islamic proselytisers tapped into local religious attitudes and behaviour. Even Muhammadiyah saw benefit in drawing upon this culture and utilising the pesantren system.

When Indonesia could finally forge its own modern national identity after the war of independence in 1949, its political system had to contend with a variety of cultures, identities, and religious movements. The contemporary identity of Lamongan residents and their political culture is tied to the impact of modern Islamic movements, which is the focus of the following chapter, with particular attention given to NU and Muhammadiyah with some analysis of the district’s political history. There is also examination of the radical Islamic Defenders’ Front (FPI), as this group has generated debate about the enforcement of religious obligations.
Chapter Five: Islamic Movements and Politics in Lamongan
Chapter Five: Islamic Movements and Politics in Lamongan

This chapter focuses on the Islamic organisations Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, which have existed in Lamongan since the early part of the twentieth century. Both were part of the struggle for independence, and held positions in society that were advantageous when it was achieved in 1949 because of their prominence throughout Java. They jostled for control and influence over the role of religion in society and politics as the new nation forged its identity. Examination of the newly established Islamic Defenders’ Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI) is also probed as it provides a recent update on radical attitudes regarding the role of religion in society, albeit much smaller than NU and Muhammadiyah it is a dimension that cannot be ignored. In addition, to help form an overview of attitudes towards the role of Islam in society, an overview of elections is provided with a particular focus on the role that NU and Muhammadiyah members have played in Lamongan politics since independence.

NU and Muhammadiyah and their Impact on the Community

The spread of NU to Lamongan was inevitable, especially since forms of traditional Islam were in existence there before the founding of NU in 1926 in Surabaya. In addition, founding members of NU were prominent Islamic scholars from Pesantren Tebuireng and Pesantren Langitan in Lamongan’s neighbouring districts of Jombang and Tuban. The pesantren-based nature of NU increased its appeal in Lamongan, and the first NU branch was created there in 1927 or 1928 (Sjamsudduha 1999:43). Soon after, reformist Muslims and Muhammadiyah began to appear, but met resistance from kyai (pesantren headmasters) and orang awam (common people). There were several failed attempts, beginning in the 1930s, before Muhammadiyah established its first official branch in Lamongan in 1961. Several kyai from local pesantren were instrumental in Muhammadiyah’s acceptance in the area.

Muhammadiyah adherents believe that Muslims must not engage in superstition (takhayul), innovation (bid’a) and myth (churofat), or TBC. Reforming Islam (pembaruan) challenges deep-rooted local rituals (upcara) and customs (adat), which Muhammadiyah considers deviant (sesat) and idolatry (syirik). One of the most common adat includes visiting the graveyards of Muslim saints, or ziarah. NU Muslims believe that the graves of deceased Muslim saints are holy (suci) and their spirits can still confer religious merit (pahala).
Lamongan is known for two other rituals, the first is the *sedekah bumi* (thanksgiving ritual), a ceremonial festival after a harvest. The second is the *tutup layang* (furling the sails), a ritual performed by fishermen to provide offerings to the water spirit Kyai Anjir.\(^1\) Other common rituals include; the *slametan*, a feast and ritual prayer for the recently deceased, which is also performed for pregnancies and circumcisions;\(^2\) *tahlilan*, praying for the spirit of the dead; and *slawatan*, a ritual praising the Prophet Muhammad. Kyai Anwar Mu'rob of Pesantren Karangasem explained that Muhammadiyah’s view is that *adat* may be permitted so long as they are not intertwined with Islam, for example; the recital of Qur’anic verses and prayers during *adat* activities, invoking the *wali songo* to sanction an Islamic ritual, or supplicating to anything other than Allah (Interview with Mu'rob 20 June 2007).

Muhammadiyah leaders in Lamongan have long sought to purge TBC practices from Islam. Consequently, in certain areas traditional rituals are rarely practised, or are performed in secret, while some have disappeared completely. However, in other parts of Lamongan, *adat* practices are so entrenched in the local milieu that they continue to have a life of their own, despite their un-Islamic nature. We should also consider counter-arguments from NU educators who posit that *adat* can be performed in an Islamic manner that still respects Allah’s divinity (*tauhid*) with supplication directed only to Allah. In addition, as Chamin (2003: 28) suggests, some villagers were attracted to Muhammadiyah by the idea of progress, and less by its efforts to purify Islam, and therefore continue to practise Javanese *adat*. In Lamongan, there is a contest of ideas regarding the *religious capital* of Islam. On the one hand, Muhammadiyah aim to reform (*pembaruan*) Islam through modernism and scholarly ‘interpretation’ (*ijtihad*), upgrading piety and changing the ‘blind obedience’ (*taqlid buta*) of the local community in their attitude toward Islam. On the other hand, NU seeks to continue traditionalist Islam in line with their understanding of how it was originally taught by the *wali songo*; they adopt an artistic-cultural (*seni-budaya*) approach to proselytising Islam (*dakwah*).

Like other districts in East Java, the *pesantren* system in Lamongan is an integral part of everyday village life. NU members outnumber Muhammadiyah members, but the latter cannot be underestimated, since they command a more efficient organisational structure that helps propagate its agenda. Muhammadiyah also has a relatively advanced educational

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1. Anjir is ‘a sort of north-coast male counterpart to the south-coast female Ratu Kidul’ (Ricklefs 2012: 194).
2. Often there are other accompanying rituals during the *slametan* for pregnancy and circumcisions, called *dibaan*, *barzajen*, and *pujen*, which are types of oratory literature recitation.
system, and importantly it has an extensive network of pesantren and madrasah systems throughout Lamongan. This provides Muhammadiyah with access to rural Javanese and the opportunity to spread its reformist and modernist theology at the grassroots level of the umat. As opposed to NU, Muhammadiyah’s configuration has helped to solidify the political culture of Lamongan residents towards strengthening its legitimacy. This has enhanced Muhammadiyah’s prospects in local politics.

Muhammadiyah leaders emphasise ‘Islamic purity’, but it is striking that some members continue to practise traditional customs considered ‘un-Islamic’ according to reformist Muslims. This is also a reflection that its followers in Lamongan are mostly rural villagers and farmers, as opposed to the modern and urban-educated Indonesians that normally characterise its membership. This has caused Muhammadiyah leaders in Lamongan to modify their stance and tolerate the local environment by allowing some members to practise heterodox cultural practices, such as tutup layang and sedekah bumi. Nevertheless, Muhammadiyah continues its effort to purify un-Islamic practices and superstitious beliefs, but the task remains difficult because Lamongan, and the greater East Java, area constitute the heartland of NU where many adat traditions are practised.

**NU in Lamongan**

NU was founded on 31 January 1926 in Surabaya by a group of eminent ulama and kyai, of whom most were leaders of pesantren (Fealy 1996: xix & 12-3). This was largely in response to reformist and modernists who during the 1920s ‘won increasing support from within traditionalist strongholds along the north coast region and in eastern Java’ (Fealy 1996: 9). By 1929, an NU branch was created in Lamongan at Blimbing village, in the Paciran subdistrict, by Kyai Ahyat, the son of Kyai Haji (KH) Najih Ahyat, who was the founder of the Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik (Sjamsudduha 1999:43); its leadership played a pivotal role in introducing reformist Islam to Lamongan during the following decade. In 1930, five religious figures established NU in Lamongan city, namely, KH Mastur Asnawi, KH Abdul Lathif, HM Mustaqim, Kyai Zaini, and Habib Abdullah al-Haddad (Sjamsudduha 1999: 43).³ KH Mastur Aswani was installed as Lamongan’s first NU Executive Board Chairman (ketua tanfidziyah)

³ Some of them studied in Mecca and upon their return established the Jam’iyah al-Khairiyah organisation, which conducted Qur’anic recitation and sermons, built mosques and prayer houses, and a religious school called Madrasah al-Khairiyah; the organisation later merged with NU (Sjamsudduha 1999: 44-45).
because of his extensive religious knowledge after studying in Mecca, and KH Abdul Lathif became Religious Advisor (syuriyah), but was soon replaced by Kyai Zaini (Sjamsudduha 1999: 43). In 1938, KH Mastur Asnawi assumed the role of syuriyah until his death in 1984. Under Dutch colonial rule, NU survived by operating through the pesantren networks. As a consequence, by the mid-twentieth century, all NU figures in Lamongan were pesantren alumni and they originated from Pesantren Langitan, Pesantren Tebuireng, Pesantren Termas, Pesantren Rembang, and others (Sjamsudduha 1999: 44).

Prior to the founding of NU, traditional Javanese Muslims were known for their traditionalist Islamic rituals, including the slametan, tahlilan, ziarah, and the playing of a large drum (beduk or kentongan) at mosques in the call to prayer. With the establishment of Muhammadiyah in 1912, Kyai Hasyim Asy’ari decided to create his own Islamic organisation to preserve Javanese syncretic Islam, blending religion and tradition, which had enjoyed centuries of uninterrupted practice (Ricklefs 1991: 177). This approach suited Lamongan and the organisation spread quickly. In 2007, the NU leader of Lamongan estimated that up to three-quarters of the district’s population identified with NU, while nationally it boasts 40 million adherents (Interview with Kyai Abdullah Maun 8 July 2008); although such numbers cannot be verified because NU has no formal membership process.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, NU began to focus on fostering a cohesive pesantren network and introduce kyai to NU political aspirations. Kyai then instructed students to spread NU into rural areas through religious sermons, establishing pesantren, and creating NU branches. This method was successful because it avoided directly confronting the Dutch authorities (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 15). Since Islam was restricted by the Dutch and could not participate in the political struggle waged in the cities, the centre of scholarly studies moved to the pesantren complexes in Javanese villages. The Islamic political thinking of the kyai was limited to the development of religious power and the spread of Islam (Dhofier 1999: xxviii-ix). Kyai accepted the authority of the ‘infidels’ (kafir) so long as they did not interfere with their ambition to spread Islam (Dhofier 1999: xxix).

In the late 1930s, the NU leadership in Lamongan was dominated by four leaders who were proactive in spreading the organisation, namely H Syokran, H Ali Affandi, Ustadz H Abdullah Iskandar, and RH Muljadi. The 1930s were known as the ‘glory’ times for NU, because its
teachings and interpretation spread relatively quickly (Sjamsudduha 1999: 45). However, the Japanese invasion in 1942 assisted reformists by dislodging the dominance that the traditionalists held over Islamic thinking, particularly their accepting attitude to unverified religious sources and un-Islamic culture (Sjamsudduha 1999: 44-5). It is difficult to know how successful the reformists were in Lamongan at that time, but it seems likely that the Japanese efforts to subvert Islam hastened their penetration of the area.

In September 1937, leaders from NU and Muhammadiyah created the Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia (Majlis Islam A’laa Indonesia, MIAI) (Ricklefs 1993: 193). Later, Persatuan Islam, al-Irshad, and practically every other Islamic organisation in Indonesia joined MIAI. It was the intention of the MIAI to provide a forum for discussion, as opposed to a political body. However, it was fraught with controversies, and fundamental issues concerning Islamic law were never reconcilable, and although there was a desire for unity among its leadership, ‘they were unable to convert this into any significant political or cultural role’ (Ricklefs 1993: 193).

During the Japanese occupation, the social and political order was transformed. They coerced members of Islamic organisations and rural pesantren to join their newly established organisations, like Seinendan (Youth Corps), Keibodan (Vigilance Corps), and Heicho (Auxiliary Forces) (Ricklefs 1993: 204). NU also continued its affiliation with MIAI, although the Japanese renamed it Masyumi in 1943 (Ward 1970: 9). After independence in 1945, NU leaders began to revive their fledgling organisation, but coordination was distracted when its members were called upon to wage jihad against the Dutch who attempted to recapture the East Indies. Many joined one of the numerous militant groups, including Hizbullah (God’s Forces), Sabilillah (Forces in the Path of God), or Tentara Rakyat Indonesia/Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian People’s Army/Indonesian National Army, TRI/TNI) (Sjamsudduha 1999: 45).

On 27 December 1949, the Dutch formally transferred sovereignty, excluding Irian Jaya, to the United States of Indonesia (RUSI); a federal state system that lasted for several weeks (Ricklefs 2003: 232). After months of debate over the state model for Indonesia, the Republic of Indonesia was declared on 17 August 1950, after the original proclamation of independence exactly five years earlier (Ricklefs 2003: 233). In 1950, the Provisional Local Government
(Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Sementara, DPDS) and Provisional People’s Legislative Assembly (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Sementara, DPRDS) were established in Lamongan, and competing political parties vied for control. Although Masyumi was formed in 1943, the Muslim party was not established in Lamongan until after the war of independence, but it quickly became popular among NU followers in Lamongan. In fact, local NU leaders went on to lead Masyumi, including H Syokran, Ali Affandi, Abdullah Iskandar, and R Muljadi, together with the NU Pandu Ansor (Scout Movement of the Helpers’ Association) (Sjamsudduha 1999: 46). Its prominence in the district was demonstrated in 1952, when the Pandu Ansor and one of its leaders, H Chusnan Marzuki, formed part of the security services for the first Indonesian President, Sukarno, flanking him on stage as he gave a speech in Sukodadi, Lamongan (Sjamsudduha 1999: 46).

**NU and Local Politics**

In 1952, NU’s national leaders decided to end its affiliation with Masyumi and become an independent political party. The four founding members of Masyumi in Lamongan were split as a result. H Syokran and Abdullah Iskandar joined the NU party, while Ali Affandi and R Muljadi remained with Masyumi (Sjamsudduha 1999: 45-6). During the early 1950s, Muhammadiyah increased its presence and influence in the area, and strengthen its links with Masyumi (Sjamsudduha 1999: 46). This made the situation between NU and Muhammadiyah tense during 1955 general election, and differences between the two continued to build over the next decade. The election outcome proved that Masyumi was the most popular party in Lamongan, achieving 39.6 per cent of the vote, followed by the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI) on 20.6 per cent, NU 16.6 with per cent, while Sukarno’s Indonesian National Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia, PNI) attained 11.8 per cent (Sjamsudduha 1999: 47). NU dominated the subdistricts of Lamongan, Deket, Karangbinangun, Glagah and Babat, but its basis was in the latter two. NU received support from several others, including Paciran, Karanggeneng, Sekaran, and Laren (Lamongan DPRDS 1956: 200-1; Sjamsudduha 1999: 47). Overall at the national level, results from the 1955 election saw PNI win 22.3 per cent, Masyumi 20.9 per cent, NU 18.4 per cent, and PKI 16.4 per cent (KPU 1999a).
Chapter Five: NU, Muhammadiyah, and other Islamic Movements in Lamongan

The majority of Islamic boarding schools approve of NU theology regarding religion and politics. However, NU never undertook to create pesantren solely to build a political support base, but the close relationship between the two appeared as though the NU party controlled these pesantren. When Masyumi was disbanded in 1960, a number of its members joined and strengthened NU, which extended its network into 21 of Lamongan’s 22 subdistricts through its affiliated groups. These included the Muslim Women’s Group (Muslimat), Helpers’ Youth Movement (Gerakan Pemuda Ansor), the Female Helpers (Fatayat), Association of NU Youth (Ikatan Pemuda Nahdlatul Ulama, IPNU), and Association of Female NU Youth (Ikatan Perempuan Pemuda Nahdlatul Ulama, IPPNU). During the 1960s, NU began to appear aggressive as these groups formed a kind of militant wing of the organisation (Sjamsudduha 1999: 48).

NU members did become militant after the attempted 30 September 1965 coup (Gerakan Tiga Puluh September), which the New Order vilified as ‘Gestapu’. The bodies of six murdered Indonesian generals were found dumped in a ‘crocodile hole’ (lubang buaya) at an airport controlled by the Communists. The blame fell on the PKI and civil strife gripped the country as reputed communists and communist sympathisers were eradicated. NU formed the militant wing called the Multi-purpose Helpers Front (Barisan Ansor Serbaguna, Banser), and aligned itself with the Indonesian National Armed Forces (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, ABRI) to eliminate the PKI down to the village level. Throughout the country, scholars believe that at least five hundred thousand were killed (Cribb 2001: 233; Ricklefs 1993: 288). Apparently, NU did not always use physical force, but also religious and spiritual guidance to bring communists back to what they considered the correct path to salvation (Sjamsudduha 1999: 49). By 1966, Sukarno was effectively deposed from power by Suharto and, nearly half a century later, those who participated in the bloodshed have never been held to account.

In the first general election of the New Order regime in 1971, Parmusi, the putative successor to Masyumi, attained 6.9 per cent of the vote (Ward 1974: 167). 4 Meanwhile Golkar won comfortably on 63.4 per cent, and NU gained 25.9 per cent, but the PNI was reduced to 1.7 per cent (Hering and Willis 1973: 96). Ward, who conducted a case study analysis of the 1971

4 With the exception of Masyumi’s victory in Lamongan in 1955, other Islamic parties, including the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia, PSII), Islamic Party of the Islamic Educational Movement (Partai Islam Pergerakan Tarbiyah Islamiyah, Perti), and even the Indonesian Muslims’ Party (Partai Muslimin Indonesia, Parmusi), failed to gain any significant support in the district during Suharto’s rule (Ward 1974: 167).

Chapter Five: NU, Muhammadiyah, and other Islamic Movements in Lamongan
election, cites a range of complex factors that led to the Parmusi’s inability to rekindle support for political Islam. He posits, ‘the political wilderness to which Masyumi followers were banished in 1960, the frustrations of the New Order, the vicissitudes of the new party and, finally, the press-ganging of Parmusi members by Golkar troops all contributed to Parmusi’s spectacular inability to capture and retain part of the Masyumi constituency’ (Ward 1974: 167). However, with the benefit of hindsight since Ward’s study, the first general election of the Suharto era was no different to all the elections during the New Order regime, which were managed to ensure that the ruling Golkar party won.

In 1973, as discussed in the previous chapter, Suharto subverted all political opposition to his regime and forced all Islamic parties into one amalgamated party called the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP). In late 1984 and early 1985, NU decided to limit its activities to development and community affairs as a socio-cultural movement, and end all direct political activities. This decision is known as the ‘kembali kepada khittah 1926’, or ‘return to the charter of 1926’.\(^5\) In addition, the situation allowed NU members to join freely either the ruling party Golkar or the Indonesian Democratic Party (Partai Democrat Indonesia, PDI formerly PNI). Although, NU members could be found in these parties before 1984, including Kyai Ghofur of Pesantren Sunan Drajat, they could now do so without directly defying NU’s affiliation with PPP.

As a result of NU receding from party politics, many NU figures in Lamongan during the 1987 general election were recruited as campaigners for Golkar (Sjamsudduha 1999: 49). Golkar exploited the religious influence of kyai and Muslim preachers (muballigh) over the rural umat to diminish the popularity of PPP, which was approaching 40 per cent of the district vote. NU members supporting Golkar opposed NU members that remained allied to PPP, and religious rallies become battlegrounds for the election. In Lamongan, the strategy was successful, and support for Golkar jumped from 61.1 per cent in 1982 to 79.2 per cent in 1987.

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\(^5\) When NU withdrew from politics, it concentrated on its socio-cultural activities. By 1993, NU operated 350 Islamic primary schools, 76 Islamic secondary schools, 27 Islamic senior high schools, along with 24 secular middle schools, 15 secular senior high schools, and four economics schools through the Ma’afir Education Institution (Lembaga Pendidikan Ma’afir). It also had 240 kindergartens, the Sunan Giri tertiary college for Islamic education, a teachers’ college, while a number of NU figures and kyai set up the Islamic University of Darul Ulum (Universitas Islam Darul Ulum, UNISDA) and the Islamic education college of al-Fatah Siman (Sjamsudduha 1999: 51). Another university created in 1999 was the Islamic University of Lamongan (Universitas Islam Lamongan, UNISLA), primarily based in Lamongan city, but between 2002 and 2008 it had a campus at Pesantren Sunan Drajat.
Meanwhile, PPP lost more than half its share of the vote; in 1987 it attained 16.1 per cent whereas it was 37.3 and 37.1 per cent in the 1977 and 1982 elections (KPU 1999b; Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 176). In the 1992 election, PPP regained some support in Lamongan and it attained 23.8 per cent, an upward trend that continued in 1997 with 29.4 per cent (Golkar Lamongan 1997; KPU 1999b; Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 176).

### Table 5.1: General Election Results in Lamongan 1977-1997

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<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>203,598</td>
<td>215,859</td>
<td>103,477</td>
<td>163,509</td>
<td>215,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOLKAR</td>
<td>334,073</td>
<td>347,534</td>
<td>509,228</td>
<td>439,226</td>
<td>471,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDI</td>
<td>8,810</td>
<td>18,314</td>
<td>29,938</td>
<td>83,754</td>
<td>17,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>496,481</td>
<td>581,707</td>
<td>642,643</td>
<td>686,489</td>
<td>686,489</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Golkar Lamongan 1997; Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 176)

Throughout the New Order regime the popularity of Golkar extended into every subdistrict in Lamongan, except for Paciran. In the five elections between 1977 and 1997, PPP won with an absolute majority in Paciran (see Table 5.2). There were only two additional subdistricts which supported PPP over Golkar, specifically Brondong in 1982 and 1997, and Glagah in 1977 and 1982. However, in 1987, after Golkar launched its campaign utilising local Islamic figures, Paciran remained the only subdistrict loyal to PPP. PDI failed to win in any subdistrict, and at best only attained second place in Sugio, Ngimbang, and Bluluk (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 226, 228, & 231). The significance that PPP remained dominant in Paciran is instructive of the local religious attitude to politics and is proof people were willing to defy eminent local religious figures, including Kyai Ghofur, who had acquiesced with the regime.

### Table 5.2: General Election Results in Paciran 1977-1997

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>31,810</td>
<td>24,425</td>
<td>18,316</td>
<td>20,455</td>
<td>215,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOLKAR</td>
<td>334,073</td>
<td>8,940</td>
<td>15,671</td>
<td>13,372</td>
<td>471,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDI</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td>3,778</td>
<td>1,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49,126</td>
<td>33,863</td>
<td>35,297</td>
<td>37,605</td>
<td>40,940</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Golkar Lamongan 1997; Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 244)

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6 Paciran originally encompassed a larger area, but in 1992 it was divided off and the southern half became Solokuro (Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 242) The results from Solokuro were removed from this list in the years 1982, 1987, and 1992, but not in 1977, accounting for the high number of votes in that election.
Reformasi revealed that the political culture of Lamongan residents was influenced according to their affiliation to either NU or Muhammadiyah through the parties they saw to represent them, principally PKB and PAN. In the legislative elections of 1999, 2004, and 2009, PKB achieved 42.5, 37.3, and 19.8 per cent (or 27 per cent if we add the breakaway group, the National Awakening Party of Ulama; Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama, PKNU) of the district vote. In addition, PAN attained 12.1, 17.4, and 17.8 per cent (or 18.3 per cent with its breakaway group, the National Sun Party; Partai Matahari Bangsa, PMB). In turn, support for PPP declined to 1.7, 1.9, and 2.3 per cent. In Paciran, PAN emerged the most popular, achieving 38.3, 37.9, and 27 per cent (or 29.4 per cent with PMB), and PKB was second most preferred with 35.8, 32.8, and 20.9 per cent (or 27 per cent with PKNU), while PPP achieved just 2, 2.3, and 0.5 per cent of the vote.

Since 1999, the political representation in the local People’s Legislative Assembly (Dewan Perwakilan Rayat Daerah, DPRD) reflected the popularity of PKB and PAN, and although they are Pancasila-based parties, they relied heavily on NU and Muhammadiyah identities. Although they remain dominant, there has been a decline in support for PKB, whereas Muhammadiyah’s PAN has recorded a rise and fall. In 1999-2004, the local 40-seat DPRD included PKB with 17 seats, PDIP 10, Golkar 5, PAN 5, meanwhile PBB, PPP, and the People’s Sovereignty Party (Partai Daulat Rakyat, PDR) managed to achieve 1 seat each. In 2004-2009, the Lamongan DPRD was expanded to 45 seats, and the four parties represented in it included: PKB 18 seats, PAN 13, whereas both Golkar and PDIP attained 7 seats (Badan Pusat Statistik Lamongan 2009: 24). In 2009-2014, the DPRD was expanded to 50 seats, with 10 seats awarded to both PKB and PDIP, PAN 8, Golkar 6, both PD and PKNU 5, Patriot Party (Partai Patriot; PP) 3, while PPP, PKS, and Hanura obtained 1 seat each (KPUK 2009b). Combining PKB’s 10 seats and PKNU’s 5 seats, the NU constituency captured 15 seats, or 30 per cent, of the DPRD, the largest portion of Lamongan’s constituents.

### Table 5.3: General Election Results in Brondong 1977-1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>11,311</td>
<td>13,182</td>
<td>10,436</td>
<td>10,782</td>
<td>13,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOLKAR</td>
<td>12,448</td>
<td>10,784</td>
<td>14,737</td>
<td>11,681</td>
<td>12,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDI</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>1,641</td>
<td>1,927</td>
<td>4,468</td>
<td>1,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24,729</strong></td>
<td><strong>25,607</strong></td>
<td><strong>27,100</strong></td>
<td><strong>26,931</strong></td>
<td><strong>27,811</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Golkar Lamongan 1997; Pemerintah Lamongan 1995: 247)
Muhammadiyah in Lamongan

Kyai Ahmad Dahlan founded Muhammadiyah on 18 November 1912 in Yogyakarta, Central Java. On 1 November 1921, the organisation established a branch in Surabaya under Kyai Mas Mansur, after Kyai Dahlan persuaded him to join his reformist movement (Fealy 1996: 10; PWM Jatim 2009; Tim Penulis 2005: 50). On 11 May 1953, it officially set up a branch in Lamongan city, which was managed by the Muhammadiyah Administration Area (Pimpinan Daerah Muhammadiyah, PDM) of Bojonegoro (Tim Penulis 2005: 213). Muhammadiyah in Lamongan was granted self-administrative status on 11 September 1967, and RH Moelyadi was chosen as its Chairman (PDM Lamongan 2010; Tim Penulis 2005: 213). Hitherto, Muhammadiyah was considered another ‘interpretation of Islam’ as it lacked an organisational structure in the area (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 24).

Upon Kyai Dahlan’s return from studying in Mecca, he recognised that although Indonesians had converted to Islam, the new religion had not supplanted traditional culture, but rather synthesised with it. Indigenous mystical beliefs, or kejawên in Javanese (Hindu-Buddhist) culture, were interwoven loosely into Islam. The kejawên culture is animistic in nature with rituals, including the slametan (feast), ruwatan (exorcism ritual), nyekar (honouring the deceased), and sesajen (offerings to spirits). Kyai Dahlan renounced this syncretic form of worship which absorbed takhayul (superstitions), bid’a (innovations), and churofat (myths), otherwise known as TBC (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 14). Despite these impurities, locals were still considered devout putihan Muslims because of their adherence to the five pillars of Islam; the proclamation of the faith, five obligatory daily prayers, giving of alms, fasting during the holy month of Ramadan, and performing the haj pilgrimage to Mecca when capable (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 15). For the Muhammadiyah, this basic devotion presupposes the opportunity to reform misguided Muslims.

7 Six prominent locals, namely Mahmud, Shaleh Syamsuri, Muchtar Mastur, Yasin Fathul, Madhan, and Muhammad Asyik; some of whom were from NU (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 24). Muchtar Mastur was the son of Kyai Mastur Asnawi, the founder of NU in Lamongan, (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 137).

8 Mulder (1996: 40) provides a description of kejawên: ‘In general, kejawên refers to the culture of the Javanese heart land centres on the courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Often, it is especially understood as Javanism, such as the mysticism and religious practices associated with the philosophy of life, or Javanese knowledge (ngelmu), that normally also has esoteric qualities. It is essential Javaneneseness, composed of elements that are held to originate from the Hindu-Buddhist period of the island’s history, in combination with other animistic thought. As a system of knowledge, kejawên is singularly elaborate, containing a cosmology, mythology, and mystical teachings that give rise to a particular anthropology, or ideas about the nature of man and society, that, in its turn, informs ethics and morality while permeating tradition and style of life. In the light of this interpretation, the mere performance of ceremonies in a ‘traditional’ manner should never be called kejawên.’
The founding intention of Muhammadiyah is to reform (pembaruan) Islam of un-Islamic innovations (bid’a). Pembaruan is conducted through scholarly ‘interpretation’ (ijtihad), which rejects ‘blind obedience’ (taqlid buta), particularly believing everything a kyai or ulama utters without critical thinking or reference to the holy texts, the Qur’an and Hadith (verified prophetic stories of Muhammad) (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). Muhammadiyah also champions modernism, which enhances piety and embraces ‘the idea of progress’ to achieve the gap between the advanced non-Islamic countries and the Muslim world (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 12).

Following Muhammadiyah’s official establishment in Lamongan in 1953, its spread there was rapid. The Muhammadiyah Secretary of the East Java Chapter (Pimpinan Wiliyah, PW), Nadjib Hamid, believes that this was due to the strong sense of religious devotion held by locals, particularly in the north (Interview with Nadjib Hamid 23 November 2009). Its propagation was also enhanced when Masyumi was disbanded in 1960 because many of its members joined Muhammadiyah (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007, 16 July 2008; Interview with Nadjib Hamid 23 November 2009; Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010; Tim Penulis 2005: 213). Critically, some local NU kyai began to teach reformist theology and joined Muhammadiyah, bringing with them the pesantren system and the pengajian, which encouraged reticent locals to embrace Muhammadiyah (Interview with Nadjib Hamid 23 November 2009: 213; Tim Penulis 2005).

After Muhammadiyah was established in Surabaya, Islamic preachers were sent throughout East Java, and made significant inroads into Lamongan, Bangil and Malang (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 22). In the mid-1930s, when reformists commenced preaching pembaruan in Paciran, locals disagreed with their interpretation of innovation (bid’a), particularly in reference to belief (iman) and practice (ibadah). Reformists attempted to moderate opposition by intertwining sermons with humour, promoting modernity, and through community programs to achieve acceptance. However, the pesantren system proved to be the most successful method in the propagation of reformist theology (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 22; Samid 1995: 6-7).

In 1937, Khozin Jali, a teacher from an NU madrasah and the son of an NU preacher (muballigh), was the first to introduce Muhammadiyah to Lamongan, but he died shortly after.
In the early 1940s, a second attempt was made by a muballigh from Surabaya, but he lacked local support. He failed because of opposition from locals who equated Muhammadiyah with Wahhabi Islam, which is literalist and fundamentalist in interpretation and stridently rejects *bid’a* (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 22). Several others also tried, including the charismatic muballigh Sa’dullah who lived in Mecca, and Kyai Amar Faqih from Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik, and although not a member of Muhammadiyah, he frequented Lamongan to perform religious sermons stressing the importance of purifying belief and practice (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 23). He helped shaped local Islamic thinking and in East Java his Pesantren Maskumambang became a prominent example of the modern pesantren system; its reputation is acknowledged by Dhofier (1999: 91) who described it as ‘an important pesantren in the later part of the nineteenth century’.

In 1936, Kyai Amin Mustafa returned from studying in Mecca and founded Pesantren Al-Amin in Tunggul village, Paciran. He was one of the first in Lamongan to have any success in promoting the purification of polytheism (*syirik*) and superstition (*takhayul*), as well as the importance of referring to the Qur’an and the Hadith (Interview with Kyai Miftahul Fatah Amin on 26 November 2009). Although he was killed by the Dutch on 28 July 1949, he left a profound legacy (Interview with Kyai Miftahul Fatah Amin 26 November 2009; Jawa Pos 10 November 2009). His student, Abdurrahman Syamsuri, became one of the most important reformist figures in Lamongan during the twentieth century. He assumed various leadership roles in Muhammadiyah from 1972-1995, as well as founding Pesantren Karangasem.

In 1948, Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri founded Pesantren Karangasem in Paciran village, although it was not initially established to support the reformist agenda (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007; Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009; Ponpes Karangasem 2009). Kyai Syamsuri originally identified with NU after studying at several traditional pesantren, but he was exposed to individual interpretation (ijtihad) while at Pesantren Al-Amin in the late 1930s. During 1950s, Kyai Syamsuri espoused critical thinking towards Islam, and in the early 1960s joined Muhammadiyah, and spread reformist theology until his death on 27 March 1997 (Interview with Mufti Labib, 20 July 2007).

Kyai Amar Faqih authored two books regarding Islamic purification, namely, *Tuhfah al-Ummah fi al-aqa'id wa Radd al-Mafasid* (A Present of the Muslim Community on Creeds and Refutation of Malicious Acts) and *Tahdid ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* (Definition of the People of the Sunnah and the Collective Community); East Java Muhammadiyah Chairman, Syafiq Mughni, helped with the English translation of the titles of these two religious texts through email on 9 October 2010.
Pesantren Karangasem is currently headed by Kyai Mu’rob, who was Kyai Syamsuri’s second in charge, and he continues to promote reformist theology to purge Islam of TBC (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 20 June 2007; Ponpes Karangasem 2009).

Another important local reformist figure was Kyai Ridwan Syarqawi, who was born on 15 April 1924 in Paciran, Lamongan. He was the fourth child in a family of twelve children, three of whom would become NU figures and ulama, while two become Muhammadiyah figures and ulama (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 229). In his teens, he studied at Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik under the reformist Kyai Faqih and Kyai Ammar Faqih who had both performed the haj pilgrimage to Mecca in 1926, where they were influenced by the fundamentalist Wahhabi movement (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 230; Samid 1995: 57-8). Ridwan assumed the role of Kyai Ammar’s minder and masseur, which imbibed Ridwan with Wahhabism (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 230). During the late 1940s, Kyai Ridwan played a prominent role in galvanising local support against the Dutch who made several unsuccessful attempts to kill him. In 1946, he established an Islamic Madrasah in Paciran, and after the War of Independence in 1949, he collaborated with Kyai Syamsuri, assuming a leadership role at Pesantren Karangasem. In 1983, Kyai Ridwan severed connections with Pesantren Karangasem and created Pesantren Modern Muhammadiyah nearby.

Local opposition to reformism eased when some local NU figures began to advocate on behalf of Muhammadiyah, but the movement also had to contend with an old enemy, the Dutch colonial government. One pro-Dutch village chief, H Masul Hadi, attempted to halt Kyai Ridwan from spreading reformist theology by the use of local suppression, intimidation, and even burning Ridwan’s home. In May 1949, the Dutch made a concerted effort to eliminate local resistance in north Lamongan by executing Kyai Amin and Kyai Muhtadi, as well as seven of their santri, while Kyai Ridwan escaped (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 232; Interview with Afnan Anshori 20 November 2009).

10 In 1957, Kyai Ridwan renamed Madrasah Islamiyah as Madrasah Muhammadiyah Paciran, and then a year later he changed it to Perguruan Muhammadiyah Paciran. It provided education from kindergarten, primary school, and religious middle school. In 1961, the religious middle school became a Religious Teachers’ College (Pendidikan Guru Agama, PGA). In 1972, the PGA teaching program was extended to six years to include senior high school. In order to accommodate the national government education policies, in 1978 the PGA was divided into madrasah tsanawiyah and madrasah aliyah, respectively religious middle and religious senior high school (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 31).
Some locals continued to oppose reform, which included the common people (orang awam), kyai and ulama (Samid 1995: 97). They demanded that reformist kyai refrain from preaching, because the traditionalist interpretation was correct and flowed from the lineage of their ancestors. On one occasion it led to an altercation at a Friday sermon (khutbah jumat) as Kyai Ridwan denounced traditionalist Muslims and their bid’a practices, and he was ejected from the speaker’s platform (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 236; Samid 1995: 97-8). Apparently the audience began to yell: “Remove Ridwan, stop Ridwan, silence him” (Samid 1995: 97-8).\footnote{Translated from Indonesian language: ‘Tangkap Ridwan, pegang Ridwan, jangan boleh bicara.’ Actually, the reformists believe parochial people are described in the Qur’an (Samid 1995: 98-99), according to Qur’anic verse 31:21: ‘When they are told to follow the (Revelation) that Allah has sent down, they say: “Nay, we shall follow the ways that we found our fathers (following). “What! Even if it is Satan beckoning them to the Penalty of the (Blazing) Fire?”}

Another recorded incident between NU and Muhammadiyah occurred in the 1980s when NU members held a slawatan (ritual praising the Prophet Muhammad), while in a nearby village a Muhammadiyah leader preached a sermon. Both events were broadcast through loudspeakers, and a competition broke out to increase the decibel levels to drown out the opposition (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 24). It is common these days that heated debates break out at small corner stalls (warung), on buses, and other public venues, over interpretations of Islam, and in particular ziarah and idol worship (musyrik berhala). Muhammadiyah followers often accuse NU members of deviating from the true teaching of Muhammad, while NU members retort that Muhammadiyah members are parochial, rigid, and even hardline (garis keras). Whilst such disagreements are robust, there have been no recorded instances of physical violence between NU and Muhammadiyah.

As Muhammadiyah became accepted by the local community, it began to open more branches across Lamongan (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 26). One of the most important was set up in the village of Blimbing in Paciran with the support of Masyumi members, as well as other important local ulama and wealthy businessmen. On 26 August 1962, a conference at Blimbing resulted in this branch electing two local Muslim clerics to lead it, Kyai Ahmad Adman Noer as leader and Kyai Ridwan as deputy, while Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri also gave public support to it (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 138).

In the early 1960s, as Indonesia descended into economic turmoil, the Sukarno administration drew closer to PKI. In 1966, during the height of the civil unrest after the alleged coup attempt by the PKI in late 1965, the Muhammadiyah District Council (Musyawarah Daerah
Muhammadiyah) elected RH Muljadi to lead Muhammadiyah in Lamongan. This was a strategic move as he was a prominent member formerly from NU and the disbanded Masyumi, and was seen as someone who could harmonise relations with authorities, as well as competing political parties and NU (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 26).

In the mid-1970s, a Muhammadiyah conference in Lamongan passed a motion that enabled non-public servants to lead the organisation (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003:26-7). Since the 1950s, government employees, especially from the Department of Religion, dominated the district’s leadership (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 26). In 1973, Suharto’s New Order government tightened its control over the country and only allowed three political parties, namely the ruling Golkar party, PDI (formerly PNI), and PPP. The New Order regime also closely monitored the activities of the country’s civil society and organisations, including Muhammadiyah.

In October 1976, people across Java were accused of involvement in a jihadi movement dubbed the Holy War Command (Komando Jihad), which allegedly aspired to establish an Islamic state. It led to the arrest of Lamongan Muhammadiyah Chairman Zahri, Deputy Chairman Kyai Syamsuri, educational and cultural councillor Kyai Munir, recruitment councillor Afnan Anshori, and activist Kyai Maskum; Kyai Ridwan enjoyed a personal relationship with local authorities, granting him immunity (Interview with Afnan Anshori 20 November 2009; Interview with Kyai Ahmad Munir 22 November 2009; Interview with Kyai Umar Faroq 23 November 2009; Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010; Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009). Kyai Syamsuri’s brother and son, Kyai Umar Faroq and Ustadz Mubarok, blamed General Ali Murtopo for the crackdown (Interview with Kyai Umar Faroq 23 November 2009; Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009). Murtopo was regarded as one of the Suharto regime’s main anti-Islamic figures (Ricklefs 1993: 300). Afnan Anshori, the former Muhammadiyah Chairman of Lamongan in 2000-2005, believed that they attracted the ire of the government after he and other members condemned a statement raised by an army general from East Java alleging that ulama could be bribed, and because they criticised authorities for failing to develop the community (Interview with Afnan Anshori 20 November 2009). Eventually the jihadi allegations were dropped,

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12 Anshori and Kyai Munir recalled in interviews how everyone was separated and kept in Dutch colonial era cells (Interview with Afnan Anshori 20 November 2009; Interview with Kyai Ahmad Munir 22 November 2009).
and Muhammadiyah harmonised relations with the New Order regime until 1998 when the organisation and its Chairman, Amien Rais, joined *reformasi* to topple the government.

As discussed in the chapter three, following *reformasi* Rais created PAN, which has emerged the second most popular party in Lamongan. However, unlike PKB, which has been unable to consolidate the NU constituency to win Pilkada, PAN has successfully appealed to the wider Lamongan community through an image of social and economic development with a commitment to Islamic modernism that is inclusive of NU interests and traditionalism. Despite their Muhammadiyah background, Bupati Masfuk (2000-2010) and Bupati Fadeli (2010-2015) both frequented NU functions, visited NU *pesantren* and *kyai*, and even provided government assistance to NU educational facilities and institutions. Fadeli, as the then Secretary of the Lamongan Government in 2005-2010, attended traditional ceremonies, including a *sedekah bumi* ritual in a remote village in Lamongan with Sonhaji Zainudin, a PAN member from the Lamongan DPRD, who is famous locally for wearing the traditional *blangkon* Javanese cap. PAN has capitalised on its cadres who have been able to connect successfully with locals, which has helped them dominate Pilkada.

**Islamic Defenders’ Front**

*Reformasi* allowed political freedom, but it also enabled the emergence of radical Islamist movements that aim to change fundamental principles of society based on religious ideology. Among the most prominent of the radical groups includes the Islamic Defenders’ Front (*Front Pembela Islam*, FPI). In 1998, the mixed Indonesian-Yemeni and Saudi-educated Habib Rizieq established FPI in Jakarta, and it spread to Lamongan in 2005. FPI made its first public appearance following *reformasi* as part of the pro-Habibie Pam Swakarsa militia established by General Wiranto to curtail the pro-reform student movement (Wilson 2008: 201). FPI proclaim that their ‘mission and vision’ (*visi dan misi*) is to enforce the concept of *amar ma’ruf nahi munkar* (*commanding the right and forbidding the wrong*), derived from Qur’anic

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13 In August 2008, Sonhaji Zainudin gave me a DVD recording of himself and Fadeli attending a recent *sedekah bumi* ceremony in a village in Lamongan. It included Fadeli giving a speech commending locals on a successful cultural event.

14 Pam Swakarsa is the abbreviation of *Pasukan Pengamanan Masyarakat Swakarsa*, Self-Service Security Force.
verse 3:104 (Franklin Jan-Mar 2009; Interview with Zainal Anshori and Umar Al-Farouq 8 July 2008). They believe that this approach is necessary to achieve the implementation of ‘perfect shari’ah law’ (‘Shariah Islam secara kaffah’) (FPI 2010).

FPI is structured into two divisions. The Jemaah (community) is dedicated to amar ma’ruf, commanding the right, which is conducted through dakwah (proselytising) as well as encouraging Muslims join to prayer sessions and fulfilling basic religious obligations. Further, FPI’s militia division, Laskar Pembela Islam (Army to Defend Islam), is responsible for nahi munkar, forbidding the wrong (Wilson 2008: 199). This doctrine promotes vigilante action against bars, clubs, road stalls selling alcohol, gambling dens, brothels, inappropriate and immodest western dress, deviant Islamic sects, and immoral (maksiat) behaviour, which they believe will enhance piety and produce a shari’ah conscious community (Interview with Zainal Anshori and Umar Al-Farouq 8 July 2008; Wilson 2008: 199). It should also be mentioned that although FPI employ vigilante tactics they, with the exception of two members, are not affiliated to, or conspire with, the militant jihadi organisation Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which has been known to exist in Lamongan.

Similar to other organisations and political parties, FPI has a Central Leadership Board (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat, DPP), Provincial Leadership Board (Dewan Pimpinan Wiliyah, DPW), District Leadership Board (Dewan Pimpinan Daerah, DPD), as well as subdistrict branches (cabang) and village subordinate branches (ranting). At the district DPD level, it has a chairman (ketua), deputy chairman (wakil ketua), field commanders (komandan lapangan), religious teachers (ustadz), advisors (penasehat), and a militia called ‘soldiers of Allah’ (jundullah). FPI in Lamongan receive some instructions from the Central Leadership Board (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat), but at the kabupaten level FPI possess a large degree of autonomy to initiate vigilante action independently without the permission from higher authority (Interview with Zainal Anshori and Umar Al-Farouq 8 July 2008).

15 Qur’anic verse 3:104: ‘Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong. They are the ones to attain felicity.’
16 FPI also practise the Indonesian martial art pencak silat to train its members, usually in the setia hati style, while Muhammadiyah and NU practise the tapak suci and pagar nusa styles, but all are relatively similar. FPI utilise forms and combinations, attack and defence partner work, sparring, weapons training, including the Japanese sai, wooden staff (tongkat), machete (parang), and chain whip.
17 Two FPI members were imprisoned for involvement with JI, including Fathurrahman and Imam Buchori, both sentenced to three and a half year imprisonment for assisting JI bombing mastermind Noordin Top (ICG 19 November 2007).
The Central Leadership Board in Jakarta issued edicts regarding their opposition against the Ahmadiyah sect, the Liberal Islamic Network (Jaringan Islam Liberal, JIL), the Miss Indonesia and Miss Transvestite competitions, Indonesia’s version of Playboy, and even foreign adult-entertainment stars featuring in Indonesian films. Updates are posted on FPI’s website (www.fpi.or.ig) and leaflets are given to its members and regional leaders advising FPI’s position on these matters.\textsuperscript{18} There are also private telephone conversations, and the mobile phone short message service (sms) texts, which can be easily circulated to its members, especially in remote areas where internet access is limited and phone calls can be expensive (Interview with Zainal Anshori and Umar Al-Farouq 8 July 2008).\textsuperscript{19} They have embraced modern technology to initiate and coordinate vigilantism to fulfil their hardline stance, and often anachronistic approach to defending the umat.

In July 2005, FPI was officially established in Lamongan as it was integrated into an organisation of a similar nature, called Laskar Amar Ma’ruf Nahi Munkar (Army for Commanding the Right and Forbidding the Wrong), which had existed in the area for several years (Interview with Zainal Anshori and Umar Al-Farouq 8 July 2008). A plenary was held to elect members to FPI’s Local Leadership Council for five-year terms. Zainal Anshori was elected Chairman and Ustadz Hakam Mubarok, the future kyai of Pesantren Karangasem, was elected Deputy Chairman. According to Anshori, FPI is strongest in Paciran and Brondong because its leaders and pengajian (Qur’anic recitation) activities have been concentrated there;

\textsuperscript{18} I was able to obtain some of these leaflets, including the Declaration by the Central Leadership Board, which explained the reasons for Ahmadiyah being a deviant sect. It denounced Ahmadiyah founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, as a prophet postdating Muhammad, which contravened the first pillar of Islam (“There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah”), as well as the revelation in the Qur’an that Muhammad is the seal of prophets, according to Qur’anic verse 3:40: ‘Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but (he is) the Messenger of Allah, and the Seal of the Prophets: and Allah has full knowledge of all things.’ Another leaflet was a Declaration by Habib Rizieq, who denounced the Three Joint Ministers’ Agreement (SKB Tiga Menteri) as simply an ‘unclear’ document with ‘multiple interpretations’, which did not disband Ahmadiyah, and thereby actually legitimised its existence as a recognised religion.

\textsuperscript{19} FPI refer to fatwa produced by the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI) to legitimise its violent tactics. Meanwhile, MUI retort that its fatwa must be followed to achieve social harmony (Wilson 2008: 205). FPI also cites the anti-pornography laws to denounce famous singers, television personalities and actors, particularly dangdut singer Inul Daratista for her gyrating dancing style known as the ‘drill’ (ngebor). In June 2010, FPI denounced Indonesia’s first celebrity sex scandal as ‘moral terrorism’ and called for the offenders to be charged, after two sex tapes went viral on the internet showing intercourse between singer Ariel (Peterpan, dubbed Peterporn) and his girlfriend Luna Maya, and another with Cut Tari (The Jakarta Globe 14 June 2010). FPI have also condemned dangdut singer Dewi Perisik after naked photos of her were posted on the internet, opposed charity from the American model and actress Pamela Anderson, and opposed adult pornography actresses Miyabi and Tera Patrick from entering Indonesian to star in local films (The Jakarta Globe 1 November 2010, 9 December 2010, 12 Ocober 2010, 14 June 2010).
this was confirmed by Sunaryo, the Paciran police chief (kepala polsek), and by the Jawa Pos (Interview with Sunaryo 13 June 2008; Jawa Pos 12 June 2008).

Anshori explained that vigilantism would take place after verbal warnings (bilisan) against forbidden (haram) and immoral (maksiat) activities were delivered, and when ignored they would use physical action (bi al-hal, lit. real action) against offenders.20 Within a short period, FPI had ‘cleaned up’ northern Lamongan by cleansing the area of pool halls, gambling dens, alcohol stalls, and brothels (Interview with Zainal Anshori and Umar Al-Farouq 8 July 2008).21 This has gained them some respect among locals, including Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu‘robi, because of their ability to eliminate immoral behaviour. However, their existence has caused tensions with moderate Muslims, which boiled over in June 2008 when Gus Dur and Habib Rizieq had a public spat, culminating in NU’s youth wing, GP Ansor threatening to disband FPI by force (Franklin Jan-Mar 2009). Although tensions with NU and GP Ansor have eased, FPI remain active in Lamongan’s north.

Conclusion: Lamongan in the Twenty First Century

NU and Muhammadiyah are ingrained into the social fabric of the Lamongan community, as they are across most of Java, and other parts of Indonesia. Understanding their role and interpreting their impact on society from the view of politics requires close examination of localised events given a variety of political views in large organisations that are supposed to be politically neutral. Cadres from PKB and PAN hope to draw upon the local Islamic constituency that identify with NU or Muhammadiyah. It is worth mentioning that in 2003, Muhammadiyah had branches in 25 out of 27 subdistricts with 252 sub-branches, while NU existed in 26 with 350 sub-branches. Many schools and madrasah identify with NU, but since NU was a political party from 1952 to 1984, these institutions were unable to declare their

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20 Wilson also explains this in ‘Expressing Islam Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia’ (2008: 202).
21 In Paciran and Brondong consumption of alcohol occurs in some of the pool halls there. However, south of Paciran in a village called Petiyin, in the district of Gresik, market stalls (warung) run by females owners allegedly provide sex for as little as R.10,000 (AUD$1.25). On one occasion, a friend of Kyai Ghofur’s son, Gus An, asked to borrow his motorbike and R.5,000, to which Gus An provided both. This friend went to Petiyin, and a teacher from Pesantren Sunan Drajat noticed the motorbike parked out the front of a warung. The teacher asked Gus An if he had visited Petiyin, which alerted Gus An to the fact that his friend had ridden his motorbike there. When the motorbike was returned, Gus An asked his friend where he had been. The friend replied he had visited family in the district of Tuban, but Gus An retorted that he knew the friend had been to Petiyin and demanded to know what happened to his R.5,000. The friend confessed to spending R.3,000 on food, R.1,000 for fuel, and the remaining R.1,000 for sex. Apparently, the woman was infuriated with such a low payment, but it was common practice for regular customers to run up debts and pay it back later. Gus An was angered that Pesantren Sunan Drajat could be linked to Petiyin because of the incident.
affiliation to a political organisation, and to a certain extent this ethos endures into the twenty first century. There can be no doubt that the presence of these Islamic institutions, including the pesantren system, has led to the maintenance and reproduction of Islam and further entrenched the devout, or putihan, variant of Islam, which also plays into the political culture of the district.

The pesantren culture is inseparable from the area’s history and legends of the wali songo. Even Muhammadiyah accept this heritage, and although they refrain from combining un-Islamic elements into their practices, the local milieu has prompted them to adopt the pesantren system into their approach to Islamic reform and modernisation. Despite pockets of radicalism in Lamongan, including FPI and the militant jihadi JI, the overwhelming majority of locals are peaceful and remain satisfied with NU and Muhammadiyah. Locals have shown that they prefer Pancasila parties over Islamic ones, and while they do not pursue a society based on shari’ah law, they do see value in religious guidance and the accommodation of Islamic values in politics.

Local community values, the strong pesantren culture, and prolific santri habitus across Lamongan have empowered kyai with symbolic capital that enables them to influence local attitudes towards Islamic inclusiveness in politics. The pesantren system throughout Lamongan is proportionately in favour of NU, but the symbolic capital, and therefore power, of Muhammadiyah must not be underestimated as the dozen or so Muhammadiyah pesantren and their kyai form a smaller, but strong and compact community block. This situation has caused robust competition between NU and Muhammadiyah, and politicians compete to draw support from this demography. However, the dialectical religious class of kyai over complicit common people and santri is true for religious authority, but limited in terms of political authority to sway voters.
Chapter Six: The Case Study of Pesantren Sunan Drajak
Chapter Six: The Case Study of Pesantren Sunan Drajat

Pesantren Sunan Drajat is connected to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and is located in Paciran, which is dominated by Muhammadiyah. This offered scope to conduct comparative research at the nearby Pesantren Karangasem, which is affiliated to Muhammadiyah. Pesantren Sunan Drajat has developed into one of the most successful entrepreneurial Islamic boarding schools in East Java. Its headmaster, Kyai Abdul Ghofur, draws upon symbolic capital (reputation) and cultural capital (knowledge and qualifications) to influence local politics and the pesantren network. Kyai Ghofur and his pesantren have become an important source of contemporary kyai leadership and symbolic power in the development of the pesantren system by successfully incorporating business operations and political networks, whilst preserving and proselytising traditionalist Islam. His association with Golkar during the New Order regime (1966-1998) even helped to make him a millionaire in dollar terms.

Kyai Ghofur proclaims himself as the fifteenth descendent from the Muslim saint Sunan Drajat, who was one of the nine priestly saints, or wali songo, said to be responsible for the Islamisation of Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Kyai Ghofur’s objective is to proselytise in the wali songo manner through peaceful religious proselytisation (dakwah). As part of the traditionalist approach to Islam, Pesantren Sunan Drajat members also subscribe to the Shafi’i jurisprudential school of thought (mazhab), dictating their methods of ablution, prayers, prostrations, and other behaviour. This makes the distinction between NU and Muhammadiyah Muslims more profound since the latter do not adhere to a particular mazhab.

Kyai Ghofur is a proponent of traditionalist Islam, and his teachings have a strong focus on Islamic ritualistic behaviour. However, he promotes a relatively liberal worldview on all matters from religion, politics, economics, and society, and allows for a high degree of flexibility with interpretations of the Qur’an and Hadith (verified prophetic stories of Muhammad). He also teaches traditionalist kitab kuning (religious texts); literally yellow book because of the aged colour of the carbon paper. Two of particular importance that he teaches daily are Imam Ghazali’s magnum opus Ihya Ulum al-Din (Revival of Religious Sciences) and Imam Ahmad al-Dairaby’s Mujarrabat al-Dairaby (Book of Experiences). These textual sources and the pesantren’s ritualistic behaviour form the basis for the pedagogy of Kyai Ghofur and his students (santri), guiding their daily lives within the santri habitus.
Chapter Six: The Case Study of Pesantren Sunan Drajat

The information provided below is the result of dozens of formal and informal interviews, and participant observation. Additional data came from records at Pesantren Sunan Drajat and a survey. Precisely 240 surveys were handed out to pesantren students (santri). Thirty surveys were distributed at each of the eight main schools, including: middle school (sekolah menengah pertama, SMP), male/female religious teacher training high school (mu’allimin/mu’allimat, MMA/MMT), senior madrasah (madrasah aliyah, MA), junior madrasah (madrasah tsanawiyah, MTs), senior school of economics (sekolah menengah ekonomi atas, SMEA), navy cadet high school, (sekolah menengah kejuruan kelautan, SMK Kelautan), automotive vocational high school (sekolah menengah kejuruan automotif, SMK Automotif), and tertiary college (perguruan tinggi, PT). The response rate was only 55, or 23 per cent, but was sufficient to reveal important information regarding the santri and parents connected to Pesantren Sunan Drajat.

Overview

On 7 September 1977, Kyai Maftukan (1909-1987) founded Pesantren Sunan Drajat in the littoral village of Banjaranyar, Paciran subdistrict, northern Lamongan. It was founded upon a religious primary school (madrasah ibtidaiyah, MI), called MI Al-Mu’awanah, which was established in 1966. In 1976, a more advanced religious school (madrasah diniyah) was added, and the following year the complex officially became Pesantren Sunan Drajat. Today, Pesantren Sunan Drajat is spread across 15 hectares of land and is a maze of dormitories and buildings, but its standout feature is a Taj Mahal-inspired pond and large mosque with tall minarets. Almost all the buildings, including the mosque, have white floors and walls with green roofs in accordance with the colours of NU. In addition, just 300 metres south of the pesantren complex, Kyai Ghofur owns a 35-hectare mine site for dolomite rock and phosphate, and it is his most profitable business operation. Kyai Ghofur claims to have purchased by himself all the land for his pesantren and mine, however this seems unlikely without help through his association within Golkar while it was the ruling party.

A bird’s eye view of the Pesantren Sunan Drajat complex shows it to be bottled-shaped; long and narrow in the north with a wider rectangular southern section. A road divides the north and south sections, which helps to keep the genders apart with all female santri housed in the north and males in the south. The northern section is a labyrinth of three and four story
buildings for classrooms, female dormitories, a prayer house, and a large kitchen. In the southern half of the eastern building is Kyai Ghofur’s residence, which occupies two stories; the bottom floor for him and his wife and family members, the second floor for guests, while the third floor is a female dormitory. Across from his residence is another three-story building; the top two levels are classrooms, while the bottom accommodates Kyai Ghofur’s sister and her husband and children. Adjacent is the main entrance, as well as some telephone booths (wartel) and two convenience stores. Security constantly monitors this entrance, and visitors must report (usually write in a book: name, time, purpose for visit, etc.), while santri must also report and obtain permission to leave from there.

A road runs through the centre of the pesantren’s south, dividing it into east and west. In the eastern quadrant there is a health clinic, a large house for Kyai Ghofur’s daughter and her family, male dormitories, the SMK, MA, and SMK Kelautan schools, and a radio station dedicated to broadcasting Kyai Ghofur’s sermons. The western quadrant has houses for more of Kyai Ghofur’s family members, male santri dormitories, makeshift wooden huts for the pesantren’s workforce, the MMA/MMT and SMP schools, a kitchen, an auditorium, two dirt fields where soccer, volleyball, and sepak takraw (foot volleyball) are played, the pesantren’s mosque, a pond, and a second entrance that can be locked. Along the southern boundary of the school are the university campus, laundry, carpentry sheds, and some houses for prominent pesantren members, including the education manager and chief builder. Along the southern perimeter is the back end of the SMP (southeast) and the SMK Kelautan schools (southwest), as well as a third entrance along a path that leads on to the graveyard complex of Sunan Drajat, which can be locked by a large gate.

**Santri Numbers**

In 2007, there were 4,238 santri studying at Pesantren Sunan Drajat. This compromised 2,907 santri mukim (boarding santri), and 1,331 santri mudik, or sometimes called santri kalong (homebound santri). There were 516 students at MI, 661 at SMP, 748 at MTs, 947 at MA, 401 at MMA/MMT, and 865 at the SMK schools. To educate these students, 274 teachers

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1 The separation of males and females is encouraged in the Qur’an, as in accordance with the Qur’anic verse 17: 32: ‘Nor come nigh to adultery: for it is a shameful (deed) and an evil, opening the road (to other evils).’

2 The 865 students of the SMK schools were divided between the three schools, including 479 students at the STM (sekolah teknik menengah, technical high school) 334 at the SMEA (sekolah menengah ekonomi atas, business and commerce high school), and the number of students at SMKK numbered only 52; see table 6.1.
were employed. Approximately a hundred manual-labour workers also resided at the pondok, most were senior santri or those who had graduated, but had failed to find employment. Their duties included constructing new buildings, performing maintenance tasks, cooking in the kitchen, collecting rubbish, and even gardening, while some also taught and conducted Qur’anic recitation (pengajian). These workers are not usually paid, but instead receive free food, clothing, and accommodation, and those that were paid would receive R.25,000 (AUD$3.13) per day.

The educational facilities at Pesantren Sunan Drajat were initially very rudimentary but have improved over the past quarter of a century. In 1986, Kyai Ghoafur modified the middle school into a madrasah tsanawiyah (MTs), an Arabic term reflecting the school’s central focus on religious studies. In 1988, a senior high school for religious studies, or madrasah alyiah (MA), was created. In 1992, Kyai Ghoafur established mu’allimin and mu’allimat (MMA/MMT); respectively male and female educational institutions aimed at intense Islamic studies for santri intending to become religious teachers, community figures, or future kyai. During that same year, a high school for economic studies (sekolah menengah ekonomi, SMEA) was founded, and in 1995, a senior technical high school college (sekolah teknik menengah, STM) was added. In 1999, a state-run middle school (sekolah menengah pertama, SMP) was established. All institutions at Pesantren Sunan Drajat provide graduating students with a nationally recognised high school certificate (surat ijazah).

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3 Kyai Ghoafur has helped to provide cheap housing to scores of teachers and their families. Many of whom are ex-students on meagre incomes. Many have families that reside in a local housing facility south of the pesantren complex, while those who are un-married reside at the dormitories with the senior santri (Interview with SMP Principal 30 March 2007). Many of these older santri also act as functionaries (pengurus). The average wage for a teacher at this pesantren ranges from R.150,000 to 250,000 per month (AUD$18.75 to $31.25), similar to most other pesantren. In contrast, a teacher at a government-run state-run school (negeri) earns between one and two million rupiah (AUD$125-250) per month.

4 The SMP operates under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education (Departemen Pendidikan), but follows the pesantren timetable and curriculum.
Tertiary level studies were added in 1998 by affiliating with the Islamic University of Lamongan (Universitas Islam Lamongan, Unisla) which opened a campus at the pesantren. In 2002, Pesantren Sunan Drajat was the first pesantren to introduce a navy cadet high school (sekolah menengah kejuruan kelautan, SMK Kelautan or SMKK). In mid-2009, Kyai Ghothur separated from Unisla and created his own tertiary institution called Ma’had Ali (Islamic College), to teach specifically traditionalist Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) and Islamic theology (tauhid). According to Kyai Ghothur, Ma’had Ali was designed to produce properly trained kyai. Although this institution offers some degrees majoring in English, Indonesian, and business, the range is very limited.

Traditionally, a pesantren accommodates only middle and senior high school santri. Pesantren Sunan Drajat has been expanded to include kindergarten (taman kanak-kanak, TK) and primary school (madrasah ibtidaiyah, MI). Although these are located outside, but close to the pesantren complex, they act as feeder institutions. Many TK students continue at the adjacent MI school, and later many who graduate from MI go to middle school institutions at Pesantren Sunan Drajat. TK and MI students do not reside at the pondok because they have

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Table 6.1: Pesantren Sunan Drajat Santri Numbers 2006-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institute</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP</td>
<td>661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTs</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMA MTS</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMA MA</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STM</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMEA</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMKK</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,238</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students living at Pesantren Sunan Drajat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male Dormitory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Dormitory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teachers at the Pesantren

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>274</th>
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Chapter Six: The Case Study of Pesantren Sunan Drajat
not yet reached puberty, so are not bound by Islamic obligations. Before puberty, it is not compulsory for children to perform the five daily prayers or fast during the holy month of Ramadan, nor are girls obligated to wear the headscarf (jilbab), but children are often encouraged to follow these practices by their parents and teachers.5

Kyai Maftukan

The founder of Pesantren Sunan Drajat was Kyai Maftukan, and a hagiography of his life provided by his family members depicts a glorified man; though no other sources about him are available to verify such stories. He was born with the Javanese name Martokan, in 1909 in Drajat village, Paciran, Lamongan. After Kyai Maftukan passed away, his son, Kyai Ghofur, decided to change the nomenclature of his father’s name from Javanese to Arabic to honour his contribution to the spread of Islam. At an early age, Maftukan’s family moved to Pasuruan, and he studied at Pesantren Wangun (Interview with Kyai Ghofur 12 June 2010). Maftukan’s daughter, Kotima, described him as an adventurous man who liked to climb mountains, including Mount Arjuno, over 3,000 metres high, near Malang. As the story goes, apparently he would fast for 40 days before climbing for mental and physical preparation (Interview with Kotima 11 June 2010). Kyai Ghofur said that his father shunned western-style clothes and luxuries, even radios and long trousers, and anything associated with non-Muslims (kafir), especially the Dutch colonisers (Interview with Kyai Ghofur 12 June 2010).

In the 1940s, Maftukan married Sitiminah (1918-2005) who was also from Paciran, Lamongan, but at the time they lived in Malang. In the late 1940s, he moved back to Paciran to be close to family, and they raised their five sons and five daughters there. In the 1950s and 1960s, Maftukan earned a living from selling clay bricks. According to his sister, Kotima, in the 1950s, an earthquake struck during Ramadan damaging many houses and buildings in northern Lamongan. Maftukan was generous and gave out free bricks to help rebuild the community, and he built one of the first mosques in the village of Banjaranyar using his clay bricks, which gained him the respect of the local community (Interview with Kotima 11 June 2010).

5 Students at kindergarten, not just here but throughout most of Java, are taught basic elements of Islam. Teachings include how to greet their elders by embracing their right hand to the child’s forehead; the Muslim greeting ‘Assalamualaikum’ (peace be upon you) and response ‘Waalaikum salam’ (and upon you be peace); prayer (solat) in both the physical action and verbal component; ablution (wudu); as well as other basic prayers (doa), like the prayer before eating, and so on. In addition, some girls begin wearing the headscarf (jilbab) as soon as they can walk, but this is at the discretion of the parents.
In 1966, Maftukan began teaching and conducting Qur’anic studies at the local primary school MI Al-Mu’awanah. Eleven years later, he created a pesantren and proclaimed it the resurrection of the fifteenth century pesantren headed by the saint Sunan Drajat.

In the early 1980s, as Kyai Maftukan become less active in his old age, responsibility as the pesantren guardian, or pengasuh, gradually transferred to his son, Abdul Ghofur. This prepared Ghofur as a kyai, rather than be a parvenu with no symbolic capital when his father died (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 30 January 2007). In 1981, they worked together to create a middle school. It was soon turned it into a madrasah tsanawiyah and integrated into the pesantren system after students expressed a desire to continue Qur’anic studies. This is considered the turning point in the pesantren’s change of leadership, but Kyai Maftukan still had final authority over the direction of the pesantren (Tim Peneliti dan Penyusun Buku Sejarah Sunan Drajat 1998: 271). On 1 January 1987, Kyai Maftukan died at the age of 78.

**Kyai Abdul Ghofur**

Abdul Ghofur was born on 12 February 1949 in the village of Banjaranyar in Paciran, Lamongan. He was the fourth child of ten children. Currently, Kyai Ghofur has seven children and three wives, but has divorced twice. In 1956, Ghofur began his primary and secondary school education at Pesantren Tarbiyatut Thalabah, run by KH Moh. Baqir Adelan, in the nearby village of Kranji (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 30 January 2007). In 1965, Ghofur moved to Jombang to attend senior high school at Pesantren Denanyar, where he studied for three years. During his first year there he witnessed the carnage following the failed Communist coup on 30 September 1965. He later studied at Pesantren Sumela in Jombang for a short time (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 30 January 2007).

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6 *Pengasuh* is a guardian or director, and it is common to hear *pengasuh pondok pesantren*, equivalent to *kyai*.

7 He recalls the mass killings and disappearance of people as Suharto’s began to take power and eliminated the communists and their suspected supporters. He also recalls how locals refused to eat fish after many bodies were thrown into rivers and waterways. Kyai Ghofur believes the official government position that the Communists were responsible for the crisis. Although he sees it as a dark period in Indonesia’s history, he understands how desire, human nature, and competing interests can drive people to commit mad and criminal acts. According to Kyai Ghofur, a reoccurrence of such violence is not impossible, but can be avoided if people have a true understanding of Islam (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 30 January 2007). Sartono (as quoted in Anderson 1990: 33) posits that the Western perspective of history, in the modern sense, is seen as a linear movement through time, whereas Javanese traditionally tended to see their history as a series of recurrent cycles. Anderson (1990: 34) provides his own interpretation of Javanese beliefs, showing that there are sharp contrasts between the *Jaman Mas* and the *Jaman Edan*, which can be translated as the Golden Age and the Age of Madness and refer to epochs of order and disorder.
For a year in 1968, Kyai Ghofur attended Pesantren Sarang in Rembang, Central Java, and for a second year at Pesantren Keramat in Pasuruan. In 1970-2, he resided (mondok) at Pesantren Bathokan in Pare, Kediri, where he learnt the indigenous martial art pencak silat, specifically the NU style pagar nusa. He then studied at Pesantren Lirboyo for another year. Ghofur also studied for a brief period at Pesantren Asembagus in Situbondo, and later at the famous Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang, before returning home to Lamongan (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 30 January 2007). In the mid-1970s, Kyai Ghofur fulfilled the fifth obligation of Islam by undertaking the haj pilgrimage to Mecca, and in 1977, Kyai Ghofur got married.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Kyai Ghofur was a diligent practitioner of pencak silat, regularly conducting public demonstrations to entertain crowds and raise money. In 1974, in Paciran, he established the Islamic Martial Arts Group (Gabungan Silat Pemuda Islam, GASPI) to teach and practise pencak silat (Tim Peneliti dan Penyusun Buku Sejarah Sunan Drajat 1998: 271). Stories of him pulling cars with ropes and breaking bricks made Kyai Ghofur a local luminary. In another demonstration, he would also put a goat carcass under his shirt and would stab into it and pretend he was bleeding (Interview with Kotima 11 June 2010). Apparently, it was so believable that many in the crowd were convinced he possessed supernatural ability and invincibility (ilmu kebal). The importance of these activities allowed Kyai Ghofur to cement himself firmly into the psyche of the local community as a man of great ability.

When Kyai Maftuka n passed away in 1987, Kyai Ghofur was ‘free’ (bebas) to lead the pesantren according to his own conscience and could fully embrace modernity and rescind his father’s Luddite approach (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 30 January 2007). Kyai Ghofur recognised that the horses once used by the wali songo to travel throughout Java in an endeavour to spread Islam had been replaced by motorbikes, cars, radio, television, and the internet, just as the Qur’an explained that the human race would continue to advance throughout history (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 30 January 2007). Today Pesantren Sunan Drajat is linked-up with radios in every dormitory and building, while advancements in the mobile phone technology allow these tiny devices to tune into any radio frequency. In late 2009, Kyai Ghofur ordered his pesantren functionaries (pengurus) to begin uploading his sermons on the internet so they could be accessed globally.
Kyai Ghofur boasted that he financed the construction of all the buildings and facilities at his pesantren. His income is derived from mining dolomite and phosphate, an Islamic banking system (baitul malwit tanwil, BMT), shops, a telephone service (wartel), two restaurants in Malaysia, fees from santri, as well as donations from businessmen and politicians, pesantren visitors and patients, and villagers who attend his sermons. The pesantren is also self-sufficient and has a semi-skilled workforce, with carpentry and building facilities, which are not designed to generate income, but rather independence and so that santri from the vocational schools can practise their trades (Tim Peneliti dan Penyusun Buku Sejarah Sunan Drajat 1998: 272). In July 2007, during an interview on JTV’s Ko Hin: Opo Maneh program, Kyai Ghofur declared that he had spent R.80 billion (AUD$10 million) on his pesantren since he inherited it in 1987 (JTV interview with Kyai Ghofur 21 July 2007). By 2010, Kyai Ghofur estimated he spent R.100 billion (AUD$12.5 million) on his pesantren, with monthly operating costs at around R.700 million (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 15 June 2010).

Kyai Ghofur’s decision to join Golkar and become publically supportive of it in 1985 after NU withdrew from the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP) assisted in the development of his pesantren. His allegiance to Golkar gained him the favour of the government, and as long as he publicly endorsed Golkar, government assistance was forthcoming (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 7 January 2007). The government provided speedy building approvals, logistical support, and sometimes even building materials and money. However, Kyai Ghofur maintained that outside assistance was limited, and it was himself who was responsible for raising funds to expand his pesantren. Kyai Ghofur conceded that his alliance with Golkar, and other political parties following the end of the Suharto regime in 1998, has always been for the benefit of his pesantren, as well as NU and the Islamic community (umat) (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007).

**Average Day of Santri at Pesantren Sunan Drajat**

Male santri mukim at Pesantren Sunan Drajat normally wake up at 4:00am to perform morning subuh prayer at the mosque. Since they are NU followers they usually also perform the qunut prayer (doa qunut) after the subuh prayer. From 4:30 to 5:30am, students participate in pengajian activities at their respective dormitories. Following this, santri shower and have

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8 Muhammadiyah consider doa qunut as bid‘a, because it was not taught by the Prophet Muhammad.
breakfast, and attend school at 7:00am until 12:30pm. After school, santri kalong return home, but santri mukim head to the mosque for zuhur prayer, and afterwards have lunch at various venues throughout the pesantren. At 3pm, santri go to the mosque for asar prayer and then head back to the dormitories for a shower before English class begins at 3:45pm. This study session lasts about an hour, and then santri can rest. At sundown, at about 6pm, santri go to the mosque for the evening maghrib prayer, followed by pengajian at either the mosque or in their dormitories. At 7:30pm, santri perform their last daily prayer, isa, at the mosque, and then eat dinner. At 8pm, there is a final pengajian in the dormitories, and at 9:30pm students return to their rooms to sleep, while some continue to do more Qur’anic recitation. Female santri follow a similar regime, except they do not pray or perform pengajian at the mosque, and instead do so at the musholla putri (female prayer house). In accordance with the Muslim Sabbath, santri have the opportunity to play and rest on Fridays.

Pesantren Sunan Drajat is accessible to the poor and santri mukim pay R.125,000 (AUD$17.50) per month, which includes food and accommodation. Less fortunate students receive a 50 per cent discount, while a third of santri study free of charge. Subjects follow state requirements and accreditation, granting students a formal graduation certificate (ijazah). This formal accreditation, the pesantren’s accessibility to the poor, and Kyai Ghofer’s reputation in the Bourdieuan sense of symbolic capital, has enabled Pesantren Sunan Draja educators to tap into the grassroots of Javanese society and attract many students from all over the country. According to the survey carried out for this project, 38.2 per cent of parents indicated that the main reason they chose to send their child to Pesantren Sunan Drajat was ‘to study religion’, while 43.6 per cent indicated it was because of the ‘quality of education’. A further 9.1 per cent choose the pesantren because of the ‘charisma of headmaster’, but for only 1.8 per cent it was because of the ‘cheap educational costs.’

Chapter Six: The Case Study of Pesantren Sunan Drajat
Illustration 5.1: Traditional Religious Symbols and Ornaments at Sunan Drajet Museum

Magical sword with the protective Qur'anic verse (Throne Verse; Ayat Kursi) engraved across the blade.

Magical daggers (*keris*) and weapons used by the Muslim saints who allegedly Islamised Java in fifteenth and sixteenth century.

*Photographs by Nathan Franklin*
Pengajian

Santri participate in daily Qur’anic studies called pengajian in learning from the Qur’an, Hadith, and kitab kuning. In terms of doctrinal learning, pengajian are one of the most important activities within the santri habitus. There are two forms, namely bandongan and sorogan. Bandongan is performed by a kyai or ustadz (Islamic teacher) who reads, while santri follow with using a copy of the text to add harokat markings completing the bald Arabic letters using syntax and morphology (nahwu-shorof) in addition to recording the teacher’s commentary in pegon. Pegon is the Arabic writing syllabary for Javanese words based on phonetic syllables. Pengajian performed in the sorogan method reverses the roles; students read the text while the teacher listens, corrects, and asks questions regarding its meaning and interpretation. Generally, santri at Pesantren Sunan Drajat are competent in written Arabic language, but lack the ability to speak it fluently. Kyai Ghofur rarely conducts sorogan style pengajian because he lacks the time, but he sometimes conducts short sorogan sessions with his youngest son, Obi, to groom him as his future successor. These pengajian, and ones he conducts in the villages, are profound and allow him to exercise symbolic power to create belief and influence people’s daily lives.

The Morning Pengajian

Every morning from 6:30 to 8am, except on Fridays, Kyai Ghofur performs a pengajian in the bandongan style, concentrating on two kitab kuning at a female prayer house (musholla putri). Kitab kuning discuss a range of subjects including, fiqh (jurisprudence), aqidah (belief), akhlaq (ethics), tasawuf (mysticism), nahwu-shorof (Arabic syntax and morphology), tafsir (interpretation), Hadith; Muhammadiyah reject most kitab kuning because they do not consider them sahih (authentic) sources of Islam. Female functionaries (pengurus) prepare the room, and place a cushion on the ground for Kyai Ghofur to sit and small wooden table for him to read from with a microphone to record and broadcast the pengajian through speakers and the radio. These sermons are replayed on the radio, and even recorded onto CDs for sale at local markets. Around 60-100 males and 60-80 females attend, and the genders sit on separate sides of the room, which is divided by a wooden screen. Their average age ranges between 18 to 25 years old. Common people (orang awam) do not attend, but they listen to
the sermon from the *pesantren* speakers or on the radio. Male (*putra*) *santri* usually wear a Muslim tunic (*baju koko*), a sarong, as well an Indonesian cap (*peci*) or Arabic style *kopiyah*. Females wear a veil, long Muslim attire (*busana Islam*), which covers everything except the face and hands, while some wear socks to cover their feet.

Kyai Ghofur dedicates the first hour of his morning *pengajian* to an exegesis of the *Ihya Ulum al-Din* (Revival of Religious Sciences) by al-Ghazali (AD 1058-1111). The remaining half hour focuses on *Mujarrabat Addairabi* (Book of Experiences), by Imam Ahmad Addairabi, which concerns the development of understanding Islam and the connection to the esoteric world. The *Ihya Ulum al-Din* was already known as a reference work in a Javanese *Primbon* (divining manual) of sixteenth century Java (Soebardi 1971: 339). For centuries, al-Ghazali has been considered one of the greatest thinkers and theologians of Islam. His text is divided into four parts and each contains ten chapters. The first part concerns knowledge and obligations of faith, such as ritual purity, prayer, charity, fasting, pilgrimage, and recitation of the Qur’an. Part two principally deals with people and society, including behaviour relating to eating, marriage, friends, livelihoods, and work. The third and fourth parts concentrate on the inner life of the soul and discuss the vices that people must overcome in themselves, and the virtues that they must strive to achieve (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 April 2007; www.ghazali.org 2008). The ethics that are propounded by the third and fourth parts of the *Ihya Ulum al-Din* have been widely studied in *pesantren* across Java. In fact, it might have been through *pesantren* that al-Ghazali’s ethical teachings found its way into Javanese literature (Soebardi 1971: 339). The significance of the ethical teachings of al-Ghazali in Java is proven by the existence of a Javanese-language abridgement of the third and four sections of *Ihya Ulum al-Din*, called the *Serat Mundijijat* (Soebardi 1971: 339). Al-Ghazali concluded that the Sufi mystics were the heirs of the Prophet (Glasse 1989: 137).

**Visitors and Guests**

Every day, except Friday, scores of people visit Kyai Ghofur, usually between the hours of 9am to 3pm. There can be hundreds on special occasions, including when families enrol and entrust their children to the care of the Kyai Ghofur, known as *pasrah*, or during ceremonies like *slametan* (ritual feast) and *tahlilan* (recitation of catechisms) for the death of someone.

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9 A good understanding of differences between the *santri* and *orang awam* can be sourced from Julian Millie’s (2008) article, ‘Non-Specialists in the *pesantren*: the social construction of Islamic knowledge’.
connected to the pesantren. Most visitors are actually patients who come to consult with Kyai Ghofur because he is also a traditional spiritual header. Many come from close by, but there are large numbers from neighbouring districts and even other provinces across Java, Bali, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan. There are even some from overseas, chiefly Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore. Local and foreign visitors alike are usually Muslims seeking an audience with Kyai Ghofur to receive advice, a blessing and prayer, spiritual healing, or even help finding a wife. Meanwhile, scores of others come every month to invite Kyai Ghofur to perform a public sermon in their village for events, including Islamic holy days, marriages, circumcisions, student graduations, and even the inauguration of a new pesantren.

Non-Muslims visit Pesantren Sunan Drajat as well, but are usually there for business purposes. In addition, politicians and government officials often visit too, and it is common for them to request support during elections or cooperation in a government program. Businessmen, politicians, government officials, and fellow Islamic figures and kyai, can come at almost any time of the day, and some stay the night in one of the guestrooms. Kyai Ghofur is able to attend to the needs of all his guests with the assistance of his family members and circle of handpicked secretaries and management staff, as well as maids (rewang). Their reasons for visiting are varied, but their purpose is the same: to meet Kyai Ghofur. The kinds of people and the number that come is an exemplification of the symbolic capital of Kyai Ghofur and the symbolic power he can extend beyond the walls of his pesantren to those who recognise his religious authority.

**Abdul Ghofur: A Traditionalist Kyai**

Pesantren Sunan Drajat is organised around the Islam calendar and timetable. A normal week begins on Saturday and finishes on Thursday, while Friday is the Sabbath according to Islam, and is the day of rest. Students of the public school system only have Sunday off and government employees usually have the full weekend, Saturday and Sunday. Kyai Ghofur criticises this arrangement since government employees and students at the state-run schools leave their activities at 11:00am on Friday to attend the Sabbath sermon (*khotbah*) and prayers (*jumatan*). Afterwards they go home, which Kyai Ghofur believes wastes half a day.

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10 People that sought Kyai Ghofur’s help to find a suitable wife were usually from Malaysia and Brunei.
11 The large numbers of people that invite Kyai Ghofur to present a *pengajian* is so numerous that often people must wait weeks or even months for availability.
Kyai Ghofur’s typical day begins with him waking up at 4:30am to perform morning prayer. At 6am, except Fridays, he conducts a pengajian. At 8am, he has breakfast, and he invites special guests to eat with him if they are staying at his pesantren. From 8:30am to 3:00pm, he sees his patients and guests who sit and wait at his residence. Occasionally, Kyai Ghofur has the opportunity to rest and sleep if there are no visitors. Fewer people visit during the eleventh month of the Javanese lunar calendar, known in ordinary Javanese (ngoko) as bulan sela (pronounced selo), because traditionalist Muslims believe it to be a month of misfortune as it sounds like kesusupan sela, meaning possessed by misfortune or evil. Between 3-6pm, Kyai Ghofur oversees the business matters of the pondok, or attends to guests. In the evening, he departs for his nightly pengajian sessions usually with a driver so he can sleep in the car to and from venues, but he will drive himself if the location is near and he is not tired.

Patients who come to see Kyai Ghofur seek spiritual treatment (pertolongan spiritual) and traditional remedies to help cure physical and mental illness, while some request religious blessings (berkat) or advice (nasehat) for both spiritual and worldly problems. Kyai Ghofur gives most patients nostrums and blessings called sarat. This sarat consists of blessed rice, salt, oil, or tonic herbal medicines (jamu) prepared by Kyai Ghofur, often with the help from family members, particularly his youngest son, Obi (b.1995), who is being groomed as the pesantren’s future kyai (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 17 March 2007). Kyai Ghofur recites Qur’anic verses to bless the sarat, and the oil is then put in a bottle with a written prayer inside.12 These prayers are derived from the Qur’an. One of the most common is Surat Al-Ikhlas (112:1-4), which is supposed to release people from desire, addiction, jealously, dilutions, and other emotions.13 Other prayers include ‘ayat kursi’ (throne verse), from Qur’anic verse 2:255, which is intended to repel evil and provide protection, as well as to improve one’s luck (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 17 March 2007).14

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12 The oil is applied as a rubbing ointment to sore or fatigued areas of the body, and is not for consumption.
13 Qur’anic verse 112:1: ‘Say: He is Allah, the One and Only; 2: Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; 3: He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; 4: And there is none like unto Him.’
14 Qur’anic verse 2:255: ‘Allah. There is no god but he, -the Living, the Self-subsisting, Eternal. No slumber can seize Him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there can intercede in His presence except as He permitteth? He Knoweth what (appeareth to Hid creatures as) before or after or behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. His Throne doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory).’
Another treatment that Kyai Ghofur provides includes charm needles, called *susuk*, which consists of inserting tiny shards of gold underneath the skin to the area in pain.\(^{15}\) Usually, if the *susuk* are inserted into the face, its purpose is to act as a magical charm to improve someone’s beauty, to attract wealth, or to increase charisma. According to Kyai Ghofur, these tiny shards of gold disintegrate and become part of the blood to make it flow more smoothly (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 17 March 2007). *Susuk* is usually more expensive than the other conventional remedies and generally a patient will specifically ask for this treatment, because it can cost upwards of R.170,000 (AUD$21.25).

Kyai Ghofur learnt spiritual healing, *sarat* and *susuk* treatment, and some acupuncture techniques, from his father and other teachers during his time in various *pondok*, as well as from reading books. One particular book is Imam Ahmad al-Dairaby’s *Mujarrabat al-Dairaby* (Book of Experiences), which he reads daily in front of santri. It concerns astrology (*ilmu nujum*) and is widely used for supernatural healing by astrologers and magicians in traditional *pesantren* (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 April 2007). Such books and their teachings are rejected by Muhammadiyah as *bid’a* (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 22 June 2007; Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010). According to Kyai Ghofur, because of this approach, Muhammadiyah are missing out on some of the secrets of Islam.

Kyai Ghofur’s healing techniques and his knowledge of Islam have allowed him to develop a service in treating and healing people’s physical and mental illnesses. Problems range from physical pain to mental problems, including bodily pains and injury, stress, hallucinations, madness, jealousy, anger, gambling, drug addiction, and practically anything. He is even asked for advice on marriage and divorce, and even business success as some believe he can predict the future. In return, patients give him money, which ranges between ten thousand (AUD$1.25) to hundreds of thousands of rupiah. Generally, Kyai Ghofur charges no fixed amount as money given is normally considered a religious donation (*zakat*). Kyai Ghofur is able to absorb power from his ability to treat people, and believes he earns religious merit (*pahala*) for helping fellow human beings.

The Javanese system of astrology (*ilmu nujum*) and cosmology (*ilmu falak*), as well as numerology and divination (*ilmu petangan*), hold great significance for traditionalists.

\(^{15}\) *Susuk* can also be made of silver or diamond, but Kyai Ghofur prefers gold.
According to Kyai Ghofer, this is because the composition of the cosmos helps to predict dates that bring good fortune for marriage, circumcision, giving birth, and just about any festival and ritual (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 17 March 2007). In Javanese numerology the number nine is of particular importance as the highest Hindu-Arabic numeral before numbers are cyclically repeated. Kyai Ghofer believed that the universe is dictated by the number nine and it can be found in dates, symbols, names, and words, for example the *wali songo*, or nine saints, that Islamised Java, and there are even nine letters in the word ‘*wali songo*’ (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 17 March 2007). Another example is Indonesian Independence Day, on 17 August 1945, which can be viewed as seventeen minus eight (August being the eighth month) equalling nine, one multiplied by nine equals nine, and four plus five equals nine. Dutch scholar, Mulder (1996: 59), also suggests that the date for independence was deliberately selected because of numerical significance.  

Kyai Ghofer often invoked divine intervention from the *wali songo*, and in particular, Sunan Drajat, even inviting Islamic figures, politicians, and businessmen to pray, at this saint’s graveyard complex. In early 2007, when Makin Abbas was attempting to become head of PKB in Lamongan, Gus Dur visited the mosque at Pesantren Sunan Drajat and the Sunan Drajat graveyard complex. During his visit at the site, he was silent because apparently he spoke to the spirits; according to Kyai Ghofer, it concerned Abbas (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 17 March 2007). Many businessmen and politicians, including bupati candidate Tsalits, would visit these sacred places to receive blessings (*barakah*). Such beliefs should not be dismissed as simply folklore as Quinn (2009) notes that Indonesian presidents, apart from Habibie, have sought *barakah* from these holy sites.

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16 Gus Dur, former NU Chairman (1984-1999) and grandson of NU founder Kyai Hasyim Asy’ari, became President of Indonesian in 1999; one multiplied by nine hundred and ninety nine is triple nine. Kyai Ghofer also quoted the following words to all have nine letters: Indonesia, Majapahit (an Indianised Kingdom based in East Java that spread across most of modern-day Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and perhaps even the Southeast Philippines in 1293-1500), Sriwijaya (also spelt Srivijaya, a Kingdom based at Palembang, in East Sumatra in circa 700-1300), Singosari, (Singosari is derived from the middle aged Kingdom Singhasari (1222-1292) Pajajaran and Siliwangi (Siliwangi was a king of the Hindu-Sundanese Kingdom Pajajaran, in present-day Banten). In addition, according to Kyai Ghofer, Islam came to Java in 1404 (Kyai Ghofer failed to explain where this date came from); one plus four plus zero plus four equals nine. The Prophet Muhammad lived until he was 63 years old; six plus three is nine, while the fourth successor, Ali, lived until 72 years old, seven plus two is nine (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 17 March 2007). These views also fit with the views of Anderson (1990: 26), who noted that for the Javanese especially powerful words provide a source of power.

17 For further reading see Mulder (1996: 56).
Chapter Six: The Case Study of Pesantren Sunan Drajat

Traditionalism

The NU style of Islam is ritualistic and steeped in Javanese heritage, and this has a particular effect on how Kyai Ghofur perceived himself in the pesantren system and umat. The consequence of this can be explained by the concept of symbolic violence, where kyai occupy the dominant position in the santri habitus and NU community so santri and orang awam comply. Kyai Ghofur likened his pesantren to a kingdom (kerajaan) where he was the ‘king’ and could command his santri to do whatever he wished (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 17 March 2007). Dhofier acknowledges the claim that a kyai’s pesantren is like a ‘small kingdom’ (kerajaan kecil) in which the kyai ‘is the absolute source of power and authority’ (Dhofier 1999: 34). Further, that ‘no santri can challenge the authority of Kyai, exempt another greater ulama’ (Dhofier 1999: 34). This is derived from the concept of tawadhu’, which remains strong among the NU community. Tawadhu’ denotes respect towards superiors and elders (sesepuh), and reflects the hierarchical dispositions of Javanese society.

In the santri habitus, tawadhu’ is even greater than in the general community of orang awam since the santri’s respect for their kyai is absolute. NU employs the ‘faithful reliance’ (taqlid) approach towards respected religious leaders, and veneration includes supplicating to Allah at the gravestones of deceased Muslim saints and scholars. This obedience is summed up by the pesantren adage: ‘we hear and obey’ (Arabic: ‘sami’na wa atho’na’; Indo: kami dengar kami taati). In some cases, santri are completely emotionless, which evokes the Javanese concept of pekewuh and sungkan, to be coy and shy, denoting a feeling of awkwardness that is considered correct when one is in the presence of someone of higher status. Through symbolic power infused in traditionalism, Kyai Ghofur is able to make people see and believe his vision of the world, at least as far as religious behaviour is concerned.

In Java, deference towards venerated pesantren headmasters, or kyai sesepuh, is paramount. At Pesantren Sunan Drajat, and at NU communities generally, traditionalists expressed their respect through speech, behaviour, titles of address, etc. Throughout Pesantren Sunan Drajat’s classrooms and dormitories, Kyai Ghofur’s portrait was placed alongside the photos of the Indonesian President and Vice-President. These visual displays of deference for Kyai Ghofur can be contrasted with the fact there were no photos of the Kyai Mu’rob at Pesantren Karangasem. At Pesantren Karangasem there was one painting of its founder, Kyai
Abdurrahman Syamsuri, at the haj pilgrimage booking office, and some small photos of him in several other offices. It should be noted, however, there were more photos of Muhammadiyah founder, Kyai Ahmad Dahlan, located in many classrooms, next to photos of the President and Vice-President.

The Pesantren Sunan Drajat system invokes all the religious and cultural characteristics of an NU institution, and classical Javanese etiquette remains strong there. This is exemplified with the highly respectful manner in which santri and visitors treat Kyai Ghofur, which ultimately grants him symbolic capital with the right to be listened to and speak on social matters. His position within the field of political Islam is legitimate and one that carries symbolic power creating a worldview, and appears unchallenged in the way of symbolic violence as people submit to his superiority. Javanese generally refer to an important person by using halus language, as well as respectful titles and terms. For example, abah or buya (master of religion), or simply pak (mister or father), then kyai, and sometimes haji (indicating fulfilment of the pilgrimage to Mecca), and finally his name, Abdul Ghofur. It is common to hear Abah Kyai Haji Abdul Ghofur, or a shorter version like Abah Kyai Ghofur, or just Kyai Ghofur.

The Indonesian first person address for ‘you’ (Anda) is considered too direct and impolite (kasar) for kyai, and even the ‘high Javanese’ (kromo) term panjenengan is considered direct. Therefore, most people use titles like those listed above. Meanwhile, at village sermons, additional academic and honorific titles are employed, including doctor (dokter) and professor (profesor), to honour Kyai Ghofur as an ulama.

When santri and functionaries walked past Kyai Ghofur, his wife, Ibu Nyai (generic term of a kyai’s wife), as well as his children and other family members, they stepped to the side and bent down to let one arm hang to the ground, while uttering ‘excuse me’ (nuwun sewu) in Javanese. This behaviour reflects the Javanese concept of andhap-asor, meaning ‘low, humble’, which encourages people to restrain oneself and put others first (Errington 1988: 38). Such humility is manifested in everything from physically self-lowering in the presence of a king, or kyai, entering a room where people are seated, serving food to one’s master or guests, as well as verbal expression in which one engages in routinised self-effacement in style and content of speech (Errington 1988: 38). Santri and guests also expressed deference by kissing Kyai Ghofur’s right hand and embracing it on their forehead upon greeting and leaving him.

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18 For further reading of terms for person in Javanese see Errington (1988: Chapter 5)
After *pengajian* sessions, *santri* place Kyai Ghofur’s shoes at the exit and no one moves until he has left the area. In contrast, many of these physical cultural practices were absent from Pesantren Karangasem; although they used respectful titles, including *kyai* and *ustadz* (teacher), they excluded other honorific terms, such as *abah, dokter,* and *profesor.* This follows Muhammadiyah’s efforts to avoid a cult-like attitude (*mengultuskan*) and blind obedience (*taqlid buta*) towards *kyai* and *ulama,* which is an anathema to Muhammadiyah’s aim to reform (*pembaruan*) Islam and apply individual scholarly interpretation (*ijtihad*). However, Kyai Ghofur believes that Muhammadiyah have twisted and erroneously condemned NU’s politeness towards their religious leaders as innovations (*bid’ah*).

Kyai Ghofur pursued the accumulation of *barakah* (blessings) and *pahala* (religious merit), through following the five pillars of Islam (proclamation of the faith, five daily prayers, giving of alms, fasting in Ramadan, and the *haj* pilgrimage), as well as the *sunnah* (Islamic practices as set out by the Prophet Muhammad). However, he also included additional elements which only NU practitioners employ. Among the most prominent activities, is the *doa qunut.* In addition, the Sufi *tarekat* order of Alawiyya was introduced to Pesantren Sunan Drajat in 2004. It was created by Ahmad al-Alawi (1869-1934) from Mostaghanem, Algeria, whose doctrine stressed the practice of systematic spiritual retreats (*khalwah*) and the invocation of the Divine Name (*dhikr Allah*) (Glasse 1989: 31-2). Like all *tarekat,* it is an order of mystical practice, a Qur’anic recital group, with strict adherence to the rules of the *shari’ah* in rituals and social matters, with the aim of bringing people closer to God. Kyai Ghofur lacks the time to lead the group, and it is headed by a senior functionary at the *pesantren.* Another major point of contention is the difference in *rokaat,* or prostrations during Ramadan. During the non-obligatory, but highly recommended, congregational prayers (*tarawih*) during Ramadan, NU perform 23 *rokaat,* while Muhammadiyah perform 11. In addition, there is the difference in determining the date of *Idul Fitri,* which celebrates the end of Ramadan. Muhammadiyah refer to the *hisab* system, which involves calculations, while NU uses the *rukyat* system where people confirm sighting the new moon to begin the new month. Such distinctions differentiate the *cultural capital* and *santri habitus* of the two groups.
The Relationship with the Local Community and Government

The relationship of Kyai Ghofur with the local community is integral to the success of his pesantren, which has in turn helped to shape the character of the district. Kyai Ghofur has also helped to guard NU Muslims from the advances of the reformist Muhammadiyah by advocating that Javanese customs and Islam can coexist while respecting the divinity of Allah. Further, he believes that cultural ritualism enhances piety and people’s understanding of Islam, so long as people worship only Allah. At the practical, worldly level, people need general education to survive in the modern world, and Kyai Ghofur has dedicated his pesantren for the benefit of all humans and their advancement. Pesantren Sunan Drajat provides education for thousands of students who would otherwise have to be accommodated in the already crowded government-run schools. It seems likely that pesantren system will remain largely a rural phenomenon. This is because pesantren life is difficult, the cheaper cost of land in rural Java compared to the metropolitan areas, as well as the integrated nature of pesantren within local village-based communities.¹⁹

As mentioned above, Pesantren Sunan Drajat is one of only a few pesantren in Lamongan to operate a state-run (negeri) middle school (sekolah menengah pertama, SMP). This arrangement was possible through following the national educational curriculum, but the school has an additional Islamic studies syllabus. In line with the rest of the pesantren, the first day of the week begins on Saturday; whereas all other public SMP have Sunday off. Accordingly, all educational institutions throughout the pesantren, including its SMP, perform the flag raising ceremony (upacara bendera) on Saturday when they begin the new week; in contrast, state-run schools conduct it on Monday.

Facilities and services at Pesantren Sunan Drajat benefit the local community, and reduce the pressure on the government. In 2007, a new building for the Religious Senior High School (MA) was constructed at Pesantren Sunan Drajat at a cost of R.2 billion (AUD$250,000). The pesantren received R.200 million (AUD$25,000) from the Lamongan Government, while Kyai Ghofur funded the remaining costs. This was a significant saving for the government, and the arrangement was mutually beneficial for it and Pesantren Sunan Drajat.

¹⁹ All the famous pesantren, including Pesantren Gontor in Ponorogo, Pesantren Tebuireng and Pesantren Denayar in Jombang, Pesantren Langitan in Tuban, as well as Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem, and many others, are located in rural areas.
In August 2007, hundreds of people were invited to the marriage of Anwar Mubarok, the second eldest son of Kyai Ghofur. In order to maintain Pesantren Sunan Drajat’s status within the community, prior to the wedding, Kyai Ghofur repaired the pothole-riddled village road that passed the pesantren’s main gates. He arranged a deal with the Lamongan Government where he would bear the costs, and later the government would provide reimbursement, but this never eventuated. Kyai Ghofur said that a decrepit road leading to his pesantren was embarrassing and that an important kyai should not be outdone by the local village chief (Informal conversation with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 1 August 2007).

A long-term project that Kyai Ghofur has been overseeing since 2007 is the construction of a mosque just outside the pesantren walls, at an equivalent height to a four or five story building. The new, larger mosque is needed because the one at Pesantren Sunan Drajat has become overcrowded during pengajian activities, particularly on Thursday nights where all santri, both male and female attend, requiring many to sit outside on tarpaulin sheets. Funds for construction of the mosque came from the local community, Kyai Ghofur, and the Lamongan Government. According to Kyai Ghofur, Lamongan district head (bupati) Masfuk made a pledge during his bid for re-election in 2005, that he would donate money. After his second and final five-year term ended in 2010, Kyai Ghofur was disappointed that Masfuk only provided R.10 million (AUD$1,250). The total funds needed are tens of billions of rupiah (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 15 June 2010).

Since reformasi, Kyai Ghofur has maintained cordial relations with the local government, but his relationship with Bupati Masfuk deteriorated towards the end of the bupati’s tenure in power. This is principally because, according to Kyai Ghofur, Masfuk is a member of Muhammadiyah and favoured this community, to the neglect of NU. Masfuk never visited Pesantren Sunan Drajat during research phase for this study. The concept of silaturrahim, brotherly Muslim visit, is critical to maintaining good relations between the local government and kyai in the area. Kyai Ghofur felt like he was ignored by Masfuk who had disregarded the importance of silaturrahim (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 15 June 2010).²⁰

²⁰ In comparison, the deputy district head (wakil bupati) Tsalits, who is also a member of NU, came dozens of times, on both formal and informal occasions.

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Kyai Ghofur’s relationship with Masfuk deteriorated in the second half of 2009 because Masfuk reneged on a deal made with Kyai Ghofur and other NU figures to support deputy bupati, Tsalits, for bupati at the May 2010 election for district head (pemilihan kepala daerah, Pilkada). Kyai Ghofur maintained a direct link with the local government via Tsalits, the deputy bupati (2005-2010), who helped provide government assistance, including the obtaining of building permits, educational accreditation, and the like. Kyai Ghofur and Tsalits’ campaign team (tim sukses) worked diligently for Tsalits to be elected bupati, but failed. Nevertheless, Kyai Ghofur was aware that he had to foster cordial relations with the new bupati, Fadeli, to ensure continued government support.

**Business Interests**

The business activities of all kyai are essential for the survival and growth of their pesantren. As described by Headley (2004: 50), ‘the entrance to a kyai’s home is still often a maze of bails and crates. Nothing obliges him to separate his commercial activities from his role as a local teacher of orthodoxy.’ Furthermore, ‘it is in this context that kyais often separate their white (keputihan) world from the workaday world where they have to deal with kafir [non-Muslims/infidel] with whom they are reluctant to marry or to cohabit in other than commercial ways’ (Headley 2004: 50). Pragmatic kyai realise that successful business practices do not discriminate against gender, race, or religious differences. Kyai Ghofur explained that religious practices and obligations are related to the afterlife (akhirat), while matters involving economic and business are related to everyday world (dunia) issues. Therefore, dealing with the kafir is permissible; and many Muslims, both of traditionalist or modernist persuasions, agree that dealing with non-Muslims is essential to remain engaged with, and modernise like the advanced world (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 21 July 2007). Kyai Ghofur often preached that to ‘live once and die poor is a loss’ (hidup sekali, mati miskin, rugi).

Kyai Ghofur maintained that violating the laws of Islam is sometimes necessary in spreading Islam and acquiring the means to do so, including raising money. He believes if five sins (dosa) can bring 50 degrees of pahala, then sinning is permissible. Every year, before the holy month of Ramadan, Pesantren Sunan Drajat hosts the ‘Great Celebration’ (Haul Akbar), which normally runs for eight days. Market stalls, gaming arenas, and restaurants are set up

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every night inside the pesantren complex. There are daily speeches and sermons from special guests, including kyai from other pesantren, ulama, and local politicians. In addition, organisers enhance the appeal of the event by advertising that prominent figures will appear as guest speakers, but they do not usually come. In 2007, posters and flyers advertised that Muhammad Maftuh Basyuni, the Minister of Religion, and Sri Sultan Hamengkubwono X of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and Governor of the Yogyakarta Special Region, would attend, but both failed to make an appearance. During the evenings, thousands of local residents descended upon the pesantren. Contrary to normal pesantren conventions, women and men are allowed to interact freely, while some women do not cover their intimate parts of the body (aurat), which includes everything except the hands and face. Kyai Ghofur believed this attracts people to the pesantren and improves perceptions that pesantren are neither backward nor closed societies, but places of human development to enrich society and whose members are propagators of Islamic orthodoxy and defenders of the umat.

The largest portion of Pesantren Sunan Drajat’s funds came from the 35-hectare mine site that stretches across a hill that is laden with carbonate mineral dolomite. Dolomite rock is sold for the production of float glass, but can also be used for fertilizer and potting mix. Pesantren Sunan Drajat management sells it for both purposes. The excavation, refining, and packaging, of the dolomite are carried out near the excavation site. Production levels are steady, with many domestic sales and regular export orders from overseas, generating billions of rupiah every year. Kyai Ghofur also owned a small barn for livestock animals nearby, with around 20 cows and several bulls, as well as about 50 goats. He also owned some aquaculture ponds for fish farming along the nearby seashore, as well as two restaurants in Malaysia, a drinking water company called Quadrat, and a business that sells juice extracted from Indian mulberry (mengkudu) for medical purposes. Income from these businesses was modest, but relatively small compared to the income derived from the mine.

### Radio Station

Throughout Lamongan, radios are tuned into 97.2 FM, the frequency of Persada (Persatuan Santri Sunan Drajat; The Unity of Sunan Drajat Santri) radio station run by Pesantren Sunan Drajat. People are eager to hear Kyai Ghofur’s pengajian because they consider it rare for such accessible and qualified exegeses of kitab kuning. The radio service provides the
opportunity for *orang awam* to listen to *pengajian* that are closed normally to the public. Some people in the local community believe that there is a decline in moral values, and that *pengajian* are important to educate the community about Islamic values to improve society. Radio is free, and people can listen in while working and going about their daily lives. In January 2007, Ustadz Sharyul, who regularly presents on the radio, claimed that over 15,000 people listen to Persada daily (Interview with Ustadz Sharyul 15 January 2007).

The significance of the radio service was reflected in survey data where 89.1 per cent of parent respondents indicated that they most often heard Kyai Ghofur’s *pengajian* on the radio. Further, 70.9 per cent said that they listened to his sermons on a daily basis and 9.1 per cent heard it once a week. On 22 August 2009, Pesantren Sunan Drajat management begun uploading and streaming *pengajian* on the internet (at www.radiopersadafm.com) which can be accessed anywhere in the world. The radio station also broadcasts songs, advertising, general news, as well as talkback and interview programs. Persada normally generates enough income to cover costs, but if there are budgetary shortfalls Kyai Ghofur pays the bills.

**Agribusiness**

Kyai Ghofur is a senior advisor to the Agribusiness Communication Forum for Pondok Pesantren (*Forum Komunikasi Pondok Pesantren Agribisnis*). He has even received accolades for his hard work, including the prestigious Kalpataru award from President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) in June 2006 for the category of Leadership on Preservation and Environment (*Pembina Bidang Kebersihan dan Lingkungan*) (Kompas 17 June 2006). In 2001, Kyai Ghofur helped create the Agribusiness Communication Forum for Pondok Pesantren. He also works with the Association of Indonesian Farmers (*Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia*, HKTI) and the Nahdlatul Ulama Institute for the Development of Agriculture (*Lembaga Pengembangan Pertanian Nahdlatul Ulama*). The General Chairman of HKTI is former head of the Indonesia’s Special Forces Command (*Komando Pasukan Khusus*, Kopassus), Prabowo, who also founded the Great Indonesia Movement Party (*Gerakan Indonesian Raya*, Gerindra). Prabowo, and HKTI Deputy Chairman, Rahmat Pumbudy, regularly visit Pesantren Sunan Drajat. The HKTI have encouraged Kyai Ghofur to become a pioneer in the mulberry juice industry and to expand his animal husbandry activates, but his
relationship with Prabowo goes beyond agribusiness and into the world of politics, as discussed in the following chapter.

**Sunan Drajat Legacy**

Central to Kyai Ghofur’s understanding of Islam is the exhortation of Sunan Drajat (*Wasiat Kanjeng Sunan Drajat*). Kyai Ghofur also has this written in Javanese *honocoroko* script on the main archway entrance of the pondok. In Javanese it reads:

*Wenehono Teken Marang Wong Kang Wuto*
*Wenehono Mangan Marang Wong Kang Luwe*
*Wenehono Busono Marang Wong Kang Wudho*
*Wenehono Iyupan Marang Wong Kang Kudanan*

Translation:

Give a walking stick to a person who is blind
Give food to a person who is hungry
Give clothing to a person who is naked
Give an umbrella to a person who is in the rain

The above exhortation promotes the act of giving in accordance with *zakat*, the giving of alms, which is the third pillar of Islam. Apparently, it also has a hidden meaning, or further interpretation. According to Kyai Ghofur, the giving of a walking stick to a blind man is the equivalent of giving education to someone who is uneducated or narrow-minded. The giving of food is considered the empowerment of someone to achieve their potential. The final two, the giving of clothing and an umbrella, are the providing of internal and external means for an individual to protect and take care of oneself. This has been made into a song, which is played multiple times daily on the radio. Kyai Ghofur was confident that his pesantren provided such empowerment to his santri, and thereby equipped them with all the necessary tools to become model citizens and defenders of the umat.

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21 The song lyrics are: ‘*Wenehono teken marang wong kang wuto. Wenehono mangan marang wong kang luwe. Wenehono busono marang wong kang wudho. Wenehono iyupan marang wong kang kudanan. Itulah wasiat kanjeng Sunan Drajat. Empat perkara yang disampaikan pada umat. Sunan Drajat adalah seorang pejuang. Yang terkenal sebagai seorang dermawan. Sunan Drajat seorang pejuang. Menyebar kan Islam di Bumi Pertiwi.*’ Translation: ‘Give a walking stick to a person who is blind. Give food to a person who is hungry. Give clothing to a person who is naked. Give an umbrella to a person who is in the rain. That is the exhortation of the noble Sunan Drajat. Four principles that were given to the umat. Sunan Drajat was a guardian. Who was a famous philanthropist. Sunan Drajat the guardian. Who spread Islam in the Native Lands.’
Village Pengajian

In East Java, the term *pengajian* refers to both Qur’anic recitation and religious rally or sermon. Qur’anic recitation, with commentary and where santri record it, is normally only conducted in the pesantren. Meanwhile public sermons are conducted in the villages (desa) and village hamlets (kampung). *Pengajian*, including Qur’anic recitation with santri and sermons to the public, are two of the most important *dakwah* activities of all kyai and endow them with *symbolic power*. *Pengajian* are a defining ability, and must be practised and perfected over many years. Public sermons usually involve a kyai preaching to the rural Javanese, and sometimes urban, masses in a manner they can comprehend. Often Javanese language is used because not all rural Javanese can speak Indonesian, and it also makes them feel more comfortable when a local is speaking. Kyai Ghojur believes that *dakwah* through *bilisan*, or to proselytise through verbal means, is more successful and rewarding, as well as peaceful, as opposed to *bi al-hal*, or physical action, as employed by the radical vigilante Islamic Defenders’ Front (*Front Pembela Islam*, FPI).

Usually the *pengajian* component is the final event at village festivals, weddings, graduation ceremonies, circumcisions, or Islamic Holy Days. Kyai Ghojur is hugely popular at these events and is always the main attraction. At a typical village *pengajian* a makeshift stage is erected for the occasion, and comedians, bands, and orchestras entertain the crowd, which is ended with a religious sermon. Kyai Ghojur’s sermons usually last an hour and a half. People sit and listen, while the sermon is broadcast through large speakers, which is often recorded by a film crew hired by the event organisers. The front of the crowd is comprised of important local male residents, religious figures, the village chief, and occasionally local politicians, who all sit in luxurious high chairs. In front of them are usually tables lined with bowls of fruit, cakes and other snacks, smokes, and drinks. The rest of the crowd sit on plastic chairs or tarpaulins on the ground, but men and women are seated separately. Kyai Ghojur’s sermons always encourage traditionalism, such as *ziarah* (the visiting of the graveyards of Muslim saints), *pahala* from being pious, as well as building or creating anything that can benefit humanity, including a road or school, and that receiving *pahala* from these deeds continues into the afterlife. Further, Kyai Ghojur promotes rituals and festivals unique to NU, like *slametan* meals and *tahlilan* chanting for the deceased. In addition, he encourages, and has even instructed, NU Muslims to support political candidates from the NU constituency.
After every sermon, Kyai Ghofur and important members who are in attendance are treated to dinner. Crowds at weddings and circumcisions are given dinner or bags of treats at the end of the sermon. Donations for Kyai Ghofur are arranged prior to the sermon or are collected from the crowd during the oration; the amount can range from four hundred thousand to two million rupiah (AUD$50-250). Sometimes the poorer villagers give food, such as bags of mangoes, eggplant, jackfruit, durian, and even jars of honey, which Kyai Ghofur shares with his family and his pesantren staff.

Conclusion

Kyai Ghofur's pengajian in the rural communities across East Java bestow great amounts of symbolic capital to him. This is further enhanced because technology has enabled him to be heard every day as his live sermons or past recordings are played over the radio. The fact that Kyai Ghofur is head of a massive pesantren supposedly linked to the Muslim saint Sunan Drajat, whether perceived or real, empowers and legitimises the pesantren status and that of its kyai within the psyche of the umat. Even the Muhammadiyah community of Paciran and Lamongan acknowledge Kyai Ghofur's success and his tireless efforts to spread Islam and heighten people’s awareness of their faith and to fulfil their Islamic obligations. Muhammadiyah leaders also praise him for reminding Muslim pilgrims not to worship dead saints, but Allah. However, for decades, Kyai Ghofur has advocated that one of the most effective ways to empower the Muslim community and strengthen NU involves politics. Translating this symbolic capital from the religious domain to politics stretches beyond symbolic power of Kyai Ghofur as he believes that through conventions of symbolic violence locals automatically cooperate and submit to his political urgings, but as we shall see in the following chapter, religious behaviour and political behaviour operate independently.
Illustration 5.2: *Pengajian* at Pesantren Sunan Drajat

Kyai Ghofur conducting his morning *pengajian*, recorded for broadcast on the radio and internet, as well as for sale on DVD.

*Santri* participate in Kyai Ghofur’s *pengajian*.

*Photographs by Nathan Franklin*
Chapter Seven: Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Political Islam
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This chapter examines the political dimensions of Pesantren Sunan Drajat and its leader Kyai Abdul Ghofur. Whilst Kyai Ghofur identifies with NU, he is not an advocate of the Islamic parties. He was once a card-carrying member of the ruling party Golkar because he saw it to represent the interests of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and moderate Islam, and could provide access to government support. Since reformasi in 1998, which severed Golkar’s rule over Indonesia, Kyai Ghofur has publically endorsed, and even campaigned for political candidates he believed best represent the NU constituency and could provide personal benefit to him and his pesantren. To this end, he has supported various individuals, political parties, and coalitions, at different elections. In 2009, he was an unofficial senior advisor to the pro-nationalist Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Gerindra). In a further effort to secure his involvement in the party, Kyai Ghofur used his influence for his son, Gudfan Arif, to become Gerindra’s East Java Provincial Chairman.

Kyai Ghofur's involvement with politics, and in particular at the district (kabupaten) level, has often resulted in disappointment that the electorate has not voted according to his political messages. This exposed the limitations of the political role of the pesantren system and kyai in trying to instruct Indonesians at the ballot box. It demonstrated that locals differentiate between religious authority and political authority, limiting his symbolic power in trying to affect political outcomes as locals defy their position with the structure of symbolic violence to submit to kyai in terms of political behaviour.

In the post-New Order era, Kyai Ghofur has struggled to adapt to the diversity of political freedom and real party competition. This is compounded by disunity within the NU community, particularly during local elections for district head, or Pilkada (pemilihan kepala daerah), in Lamongan. Although the Lamongan electorate want their district head (bupati) to hold devout Islamic values, their voting pattern has shown they want leaders who can deliver modernity, economic development, and social equality. In recent elections, politicians from the Muhammadiyah constituency have fulfilled such expectations, and they have endeavoured to project an image that is inclusive towards NU Muslims. The previous two bupati, Faried (1989-2000) and Masfuk (2000-2010) and the incumbent Fadeli (2010-2015), have originated from the Muhammadiyah constituency, but they formed coalitions with representatives from
NU. Even Kyai Ghofer sees the importance of NU-Muhammadiyah coalitions, with preferably NU having the dominant role.

The difficulty for Kyai Ghofer to get his nominated candidate or party to win can be seen from his changing political alliances and his endorsement of a different political party at nearly every election since reformasi. Nationally, in the 1999 legislative election, he supported the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) and for its leader, Gus Dur, to become president. In 2004, Kyai Ghofer backed Megawati and her running mate, Hasyim Muzadi, the then Chairman of NU, for president and vice-president, but they lost to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Yusuf Kalla. In 2009, Kyai Ghofer supported Prabowo Subianto and his Gerindra party, who formed a coalition with Megawati and her Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDIP). In that election, Megawati and Prabowo ran for president and vice-president respectively, but SBY and his new running mate, Boediono, defeated them. At the provincial level, during the first direct gubernatorial election in 2008, Kyai Ghofer supported the NU female candidate, Khofifah, who lost narrowly to Soekarwo.

At the district level, Kyai Ghofer’s political manoeuvring has been more profound. The Pilkada of May 2010 provided direct evidence of Kyai Ghofer’s involvement in local politics. However, his involvement in Pilkada predates this. In 2000, Kyai Ghofer supported Masfuk’s election for bupati, which at the time was still chosen by the local People’s Legislative Assembly (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD), and the largest portion of which was from PKB and they supported Masfuk. At the 2005 Pilkada, after regional autonomy led to direct elections for bupati, Kyai Ghofer once again supported Masfuk because his new running mate was the former NU leader of Lamongan, Tsalits Fahami, who was also Kyai Ghofer’s friend.1 Of all the elections since reformasi, Kyai Ghofer’s greatest ambition was for the election of Tsalits as bupati at the 2010 Pilkada in an effort to end Muhammadiyah’s recent domination of the district’s top position. Kyai Ghofer said that it was ‘obligatory’ (‘wajib’) for NU members to vote for Tsalits and his running mate, Subagio Rahmat (Speech by Kyai Abdul Ghofer 20 November 2009). In fact, the Shafi’i jurisprudential school of thought (mazhab), which NU members follow, considers wajib as one of the five principal

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1 Masfuk’s deputy in 2000-2005, Soetarto, left Masfuk and ran with the rival bupati candidate, Taufikurrahman, in the 2005 Pilkada. The Taufikurrahman-Soetarto duo lost to Masfuk-Tsalits.
values representing ‘an act whose performance entails reward, and whose omission entails punishment’ (Hallaq 1997: 40). Despite Kyai Ghofur’s efforts, this duo came third, and the Muhammadiyah cadres, namely Fadeli and his running mate, Amar Saifudin, won.

This chapter posits that kyai and the pesantren system in Lamongan have helped to develop a particular political culture whereby Islamic values and political Islam are important considerations for many voters. However, this has not led to subservience to a kyai’s political instructions breaking the notion of symbolic violence within the Islamic community (umat) on political behaviour. Feedback from surveys conducted for this project found that although some Javanese believe kyai involvement in politics has benefits, there were a significant number of people connected to Pesantren Sunan Drajat who disapprove of it. Nevertheless, 65.5 per cent of all respondents connected to Pesantren Sunan Drajat indicated that they prefer NU candidates to those from Muhammadiyah, and only 3.6 per cent preferred Muhammadiyah over NU, while 29.1 per cent said they preferred both equally. Surveys from Pesantren Karangasem mirrored these results in the favour of Muhammadiyah candidates.

**History of Political Involvement**

Pesantren Sunan Drajat founder, Kyai Maftukan, did not have any specific interest in politics, but his son and successor, Kyai Abdul Ghofur, has been politically active for over a third of a century. A document from the National Archives in Jakarta shows that Kyai Ghofur joined the ruling party, Golkar, in 1977 (Arsip Nasional 1997: 295). However, Kyai Ghofur said he did not openly declare this affiliation until 1985 to avoid antagonising fellow NU members, once the NU leadership announced the ‘return to the charter of 1926’ (‘kembali ke khittah 1926’) policy in late 1984 (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007). This policy aimed to recalibrate NU’s focus as a socio-religious organisation, rather than a political entity. Subsequently, NU ceased its political association with the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP). This allowed Kyai Ghofur to associate with Golkar freely, and he urged fellow NU members and kyai to do the same. Golkar used the opportunity to cajole many kyai in Lamongan to endorse the party, which resulted in its support in the district jumping from 59.7 per cent in 1982 to 79.2 per cent in 1987.
Kyai Ghofur believed it was a mistake that NU ever joined PPP. Instead, NU should have joined Golkar and acquiesced with Suharto’s regime, which would have rewarded its members with lucrative ministerial positions, and as district heads and governors (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007); when NU allied itself with Sukarno and his Indonesian Nationalist Party (*Partai National Indonesia*, PNI), its members were granted ministerial portfolios, including Second Deputy Prime Minister, Religious Affairs, and Agriculture (Fealy 1996: 28). Further, Suharto would have provided NU institutions, including pesantren, with generous government assistance (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007). Kyai Ghofur believed NU’s integrity would not have been diminished if it acquiesced with Suharto, despite perceptions that his government was a corrupt, repressive, and authoritarian regime. In fact, NU might have been able to correct some of these shortcomings, but more importantly the benefits to NU would have provided local communities across Indonesia with better NU facilities and thereby increased piety and social development throughout the nation (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007).

Kyai Ghofur enjoyed the benefits of years of cooperation with the New Order government to develop his pesantren and business interests, which made him very rich. Kyai Ghofur’s role was relatively benign, so long as he publically supported Golkar and gave it legitimacy to rule, the government would provide favourable treatment to Kyai Ghofur and his pesantren. He was eventually persuaded by the party’s leadership in Lamongan to run for the local parliament (DPRD). In 1997, his success was assured and he was elected as a member of the DPRD. In that election, 70 per cent of residents in his village of Banjarwati voted for Golkar; however the greater subdistrict of Paciran was won by PPP with 55.8 per cent of the vote (Golkar Lamongan 1997). The New Order system ensured that Golkar won in the district with 68.2 per cent of the vote, and thereby controlled 24 of the 40 seats in the DPRD (Golkar Lamongan 1997). Kyai Ghofur’s political career was short-lived because the following year *reformasi* ended Golkar’s 32-year rule, which paved the way for free and fair elections. During the interim presidency of B.J. Habibie, Kyai Ghofur retained his seat in the Lamongan DPRD, but he did not re-contest it at the 1999 general election.

*Reformasi* in 1998 allowed residents in Lamongan to vote according to their conscience and more accurately reflect the political culture and demography of the district. In Lamongan at the 1999 parliamentary election, Golkar’s vote dropped to 11 per cent of the vote, while the
quasi-NU political vehicle PKB won convincingly with 42.5 per cent. However, support for PKB dropped to 37.3 per cent in 2004 and 19.8 per cent in 2009; though this is not unique to Lamongan and reflects a national downturn in support for the party. Furthermore, the Paciran subdistrict, where Pesantren Sunan Drajat is located, has been won by PAN candidates from Muhammadiyah in the three legislative elections since reformasi. This was also a reflection of the Muslim demography there; further examined in chapter eight.

In the 1955 general election, political Islam showed prominence as the Muslim party Masyumi won in the district with 39.6 per cent and the NU party was third most popular with 16.6 per cent. The elections during the Suharto regime were managed for Golkar to win, and do not represent an accurate barometer of people’s political inclinations, but there remained a sizeable portion of the electorate that supported the Islamic parties. In the 1971 election, support for NU in Lamongan increased to 27 per cent of the vote, but only after Masyumi was disbanded in 1960 and its successor, Parmusi, mustered 7.1 per cent, whereas Golkar won comfortably with 63.3 per cent. This trend continued throughout the Suharto’s New Order regime and Golkar won every election in Lamongan, and indeed the country. However, Golkar was less successful in Paciran, and in the five elections between 1977 and 1997, the Muslim party, PPP, won. This was largely because the Muhammadiyah community there supported political Islam and refused to endorse Golkar, whereas some NU leaders acquiesced with the regime (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 30 November 2007).

It appears that during the New Order, Kyai Ghofur conflated conventions of symbolic violence concerning his religious position within the santri habitus and umat to include following his political preference. When political manipulation for Golkar to win ceased he did not end his efforts to employ symbolic power to dictate voting patterns. During the wins of PKB after democratisation, Kyai Ghofur likely again equated its popularity to his support for the party. However, once his political preference was out of step with the community, the assumption that symbolic violence would naturally maintain political subservience proved that kyai are unable to carry the electorate.

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2 In 1999, 2004, and 2009, nationally PKB attained 12.6, 10.6 and 4.9 per cent.
Views on Politics

Pesantren Sunan Drajat lacks a modern and unbroken history like, for example, Pesantren Tebuireng.3 Pesantren Tebuireng was established in 1899, and it played a pivotal role in the foundation of NU in 1926 (Dhofier 1999: xx). Its leaders have often been a part of the national elite, in cabinet and parliament (Dhofier 1999: 78). Kyai Ghofur stated publically that he aspires to similar achievements, aiming to have his santri alumni occupy important positions in political parties and government. There is evidence of some success at the local district political level, and in particular through the patronage of Tsalits as Lamongan deputy bupati (2005-2010) (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 7 January 2007).

Pesantren Sunan Drajat is similar to Pesantren Tebuireng as both defend conservative ideas of Islam and contribute to the character of the surrounding area. Furthermore, both support the accommodation of modernity and seek to contribute to society’s developmental needs. Although Pesantren Sunan Drajat cannot boast a century-long existence, Kyai Ghofur promotes purported links to the fifteenth century saint Sunan Drajat. In modern-day Indonesia, a pesantren cannot rely just on its historical reputation, its headmaster must develop a cohesive relationship with the political and business community. Neglecting these issues and failure to engage with the mainstream community may ostracise a pesantren and its leadership by not only the political and business community, but also the umat.

In 1998, Kyai Ghofur had only just begun his political career the previous year in the local DPRD in Lamongan, and he did not support reformasi. Aside from his political allegiance with the ruling party, he believed that Indonesia lacked the maturity to function as a coherent democracy. He still believes that despite some reforms Indonesia remains half a century away from operating as a cohesive democracy (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007). To support his position, he cites consistent weak coalition governments and a system which impedes the process of agreement by politicians and parties, leaving election promises unfulfilled, while passed laws are compromised by too many amendments. Kyai Ghofur regarded President Suharto as a benevolent autocrat, who at least held elections every five years. In the districts and provinces, elected members of the DPRD parliaments were mostly from the local community, and although they were part of the New Order regime, they were

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3 Tebuireng is sometimes spelt Tebu Ireng.
nevertheless representative of their local communities (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007).

Although Kyai Ghofur acknowledged corruption and the suppression of civil liberties, including prohibiting the creation of new political parties, robust political competition, press freedom, unions, etc., he posited that stability and nation building were most important, whereas a free civil society and democracy would follow later. Modernity and development are the priorities of most political parties, but he believed that Indonesian politics had become dominated by money politics and corruption, and that the nation’s future had become unpredictable and politicians lacked vision. A free civil society had also given rise to new, often deviant religions, as well as vigilante groups like the Islamic Defenders’ Front (*Front Pembela Islam*, FPI), and terrorist groups, including Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which create another problems. Kyai Ghofur believed that strong opposition parties and compromises in coalition power-sharing deals hampered the government’s ability to resolve problems and fulfil election promises. Further, that criticism from opposition parties was an unnecessary distraction and exposed leaders to public scrutiny removing their ‘mystical nature’. He believed that leaders have a divine right to rule and that they possess special powers and abilities, and so access to them should be restricted to those who understand the necessities of the state and the *umat*, such as *ulama* and *kyai*, to advise on matters concerning modernity, social and economic development, and laws and religion. Despite the flaws of any leader, he claimed that *kyai* were representatives of the *umat* and had a duty to maintain patronage to those in power to ensure the continuation of government support for grassroots communities like *pesantren*, even if it meant dealing with dictators or those with a different view.

Kyai Ghofur believed that good leaders should be venerated and respected, and opposing them is disrespectful and detrimental to society. Further, anarchy, chaos, and other provocations, by those who are ill-informed or do not understand, should not be tolerated. The greater good of the *umat* is more important than the liberty of the individual; it is therefore necessary to have this structure, which leads to freedom. Without structure, there is chaos. Ultimately, for Kyai Ghofur some suppression is necessary and important to the preservation of social morality. Later, when leaders retire, they must be forgiven for any past mistakes, as they are merely human, and not perfect like a prophet. Former leaders should be thanked for their contribution to society and the *umat*. In this way Kyai Ghofur was opposed to the notion of charging the
former president, Suharto, with offences relating to corruption, his role in killing communists and left-wing sympathisers in the 1960s, human right abuses in East Timor, Aceh, and Irian Jaya, and other abuses (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007).

Kyai Ghofur criticised the new situation as worse than under Suharto because successive administrations, including under Gus Dur (1999-2001), Megawati (2001-2004), and SBY (2004-2014), failed people’s expectations. He cited still rampant corruption, the imprisonment of the head of the Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, KPK), Antasari, and the arrest of his two deputies, Bibit and Chandra, who were both later released. Although, the KPK did not exist under Suharto, according to Kyai Ghofur there was at least a form of ‘controlled corruption’ (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 17 July 2008).

Efforts to unify NU in its political manoeuvring have been attempted. In an interview in November 2009, the chairman of the East Java Provincial chapter of NU, Mutawakkil Alallah, said that he planned to propose at the March 2010 National NU conference (muktamar) in Sulawesi, that NU endorse only one candidate during elections. He believed this did not contravene NU’s policy of ‘Khittah 1926’ to remain politically neutral as he explained that NU would not be directly involved in politics, but merely give blessing to one candidate (Interview with Mutawakkil Alallah 17 November 2009). Such an agreement was not reached at the muktamar, where, instead the mood was in favour of depoliticising NU. The newly elected NU Chairman, KH Said Aqil Siradj, specifically promised to abstain from political involvement. Some commentators, including prominent Islamic scholar Van Bruinessen, believed his election prospects were enhanced because of his pledge to avoid politics, as well as his refusal to accept political and financial support from President SBY (Van Bruinessen April-June 2010). Kyai Ghofur’s opinion on the matter was that the NU organisation itself should press all political parties and governments to be more accommodating and protect NU and Muslim interests (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 18 November 2009).

Kyai Ghofur’s conceptual view of the state is that people need to be civilised by it, which is necessary to achieve unity, stability, and prosperity, and that the state must uphold religious values and promote Islamic aspirations. The state and government should remain secular but follow the divine wisdom of Islam and be flexible and pragmatic in both religious interpretation and application; the Pancasila model. Divine guidance should stem from the
proven successful, peaceful methods through an artistic-cultural (seni-budaya) approach, based on the wali songo tradition, which ulama, kyai, and the pesantren system, could ensure. This inferred the NU community since Muhammadiyah reject the wali songo approach, preferring reformism (pembaruan) and scholarly interpretation (ijtihad). Kyai Ghofur believed the whole world could be Islamised if all dakwah methods follow the wali songo example, since he himself drew inspiration from these saints, who he considered successors of the Prophet Muhammad (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 18 July 2008). Although he acknowledged the success of Islamisation in the Middle East, he affirmed that Indonesia has its own unique Islamic history, which should be preserved, continued and enhanced; only denied by Muhammadiyah because of an overzealous and literalist interpretation of what constitutes innovation (bid’a) (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 17 July 2008).

Kyai Ghofur proclaimed that the seni-budaya approach was successful because of its tolerance towards the local customs and traditions, and rather than replacing them, Islam synthesised with them. Moreover, a similar type of synthesis has taken place with the nation’s politics where Pancasila-based political parties and politics per se, had synthesised to become enriched and empowered through accommodating Islamic values. Although, Pancasila parties do not advocate for shari’ah law, they continue to support the maintenance and development of religious facilities and institutions, such as the pesantren system. Kyai Ghofur believed that adequate funding and investment from the government were needed to ensure that the pesantren system remained the cornerstone to traditional Islamic education and guardians of the nation’s moral and religious integrity (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 18 July 2008).

Kyai Ghofur adheres to Ahlus-Sunnah wal-Jama’ah (Aswaja), which is a doctrine that can be translated as ‘the followers of the Prophetic Tradition and the Community’, typically used by the NU community to identify themselves. He, like many who follow Aswaja, is heavily influenced by the mystical teachings of al-Ghazali. Al-Ghazali is considered a ‘middle-roader’ because ‘he tried to make mysticism orthodox and, on the other hand orthodoxy mystical’ because he believed that the mystical element of religion ‘is most vital and makes religious life a reality’ (Sheikh 1963: 617). This underlies Kyai Ghofur’s support for political Islam and the parties that promote the empowerment of Muslim society, provide assistance to pesantren, and help increase piety and fulfilment of religious obligations, while acknowledging the ancient, mystical traditions of Java (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 17

Chapter Seven: Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Political Islam
Politicians and parties, like PKB, PKNU, Golkar, and Gerindra, that recognise Aswaja tend to hold ulama and kyai in high esteem for their cultural capital and symbolic capital, which grants Kyai Ghofer their respect, attention, and sometimes his council as they seek his advice or blessings.

Despite Kyai Ghofer’s aspiration for more political inclusiveness towards Islam, his view on shari’ah law is that it is not necessary. This, he explained, was because once the umat have a sufficient understanding of Islam people will naturally incorporate shari’ah and sunnah into their daily lives. He believed that if shari’ah law was implemented in the country, all Muslims must comply with it, however. He fears that the radical Muslims will introduce a form of shari’ah law that specifically prohibits traditional customs practised by NU Muslims. Kyai Ghofer cited the slametan (Muslim feast), tahlilan (recitation of catechisms for the deceased), and ziarah (the visiting of graveyards of Muslim saints) because these are considered innovations (bid’a) by the strict Muslim groups, specifically the Justice Prosperous Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 18 July 2008).

He cited the election of a PKS candidate, Ahmad Heryawan, as governor of West Java in 2008-2013, and warned that some traditionalist practices would be ‘outlawed’ (dilarang) under the ‘dangerous’ (bahaya) PKS (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 18 July 2008). After five years in office, the West Java governor and his PKS never outlawed any traditionalist practices in West Java.¹

Post-Suharto Politics

In 1998, the emergence of NU’s most respected figure, Gus Dur, and PKB as a political force was in direct opposition to Kyai Ghofer’s association with Golkar. In order to resolve this dilemma, Kyai Ghofer endorsed Gus Dur and his PKB. However, Kyai Ghofer did not become a member of PKB, nor did he renounce his membership with Golkar. Kyai Ghofer’s support for the NU leader was part of the broader movement of the NU pesantren and kyai network, as it was also the mood of the general public in Lamongan to support Gus Dur for president. Subsequently, in the 1999 general election, PKB won 42.5 per cent of the vote in

¹ Heryawan was re-elected Governor of West Java, and will serve a second term (2013-2018). However, West Java is known for its Islamic radicals, who have been active and increased their attacks on the deviant Ahmadiyah Islamic sect during recent years. In February 2011, three Ahmadiyah members were killed by a mob of radicals in a West Java village with none of the twelve perpetrators charged with murder, and none received more than six months imprisonment (The Jakarta Globe 5 August 2011).
Lamongan, which gained it 17 of the district’s 40 DPRD seats. For the district, PKB’s success was the highest of any single party representing the Muslim constituency in Lamongan’s history, eclipsing Masyumi’s win in 1955 of 39.6 per cent. In the former PPP stronghold of Paciran, PKB attained 35.8 per cent, coming second to the Muhammadiyah political vehicle PAN, which achieved 38.3 per cent.

Nationally in 1999, PKB gained 12.6 per cent of the vote, making it the third biggest party in the country after PDIP and Golkar, which gained 33.7 and 22.4 per cent respectively. Despite leading a smaller party, Gus Dur manoeuvred to secure more votes in the nation’s parliament than his rival Megawati, who headed PDIP. Subsequently, Gus Dur become Indonesia’s fourth Indonesian president in October 1999, while Megawati become vice-president. Kyai Ghofur was pleased with Gus Dur’s success and linked this attainment of temporal power to the divine year 1999 *masehi* and 1420 *hijra* because of the reoccurrence of ‘9’; despite the fact that 1999 is *masehi*, or Christian calendar, while 1420 *hijra* can be calculated as 1 plus, 4 times 2 (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007). However, Gus Dur’s presidency was plagued by a fragile economy and a weak coalition government, compounded by his unpredictable and erratic nature, and exacerbated by rushed reforms and his angering the country’s powerbrokers. Eventually the nation’s parliament lost patience with their leader and impeached him in July 2001. Kyai Ghofur opined that Gus Dur was too emotional and this had clouded the president’s ability to lead. His dismissal enraging the NU community, and according to Kyai Ghofur, apparently up to two hundred thousand NU supporters in Lamongan were prepared to travel to Jakarta to defend their leader (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007). However, Gus Dur’s close friend, Dato’ Ravi Dharan, spoke of Gus Dur’s unwillingness to cause bloodshed. Even until the end, Gus Dur refused to spill blood for the presidency, and apparently ordered Kyai Ghofur and the NU supporters not to come to Jakarta (Interview with Dato’ Ravi Dharan 2 February 2007). After the impeachment, Megawati was elevated to the position of president, and she was able to lead a relatively stable government for the remaining presidential term, which expired in 2004.

In the April 2004 legislative election, Kyai Ghofur supported PKB, and although Gus Dur lost the presidency, PKB remained highly popular in Lamongan. Support for PKB declined, but it remained by far the most popular party with 37.3 per cent of the vote in the Lamongan district. This was more than twice as popular as its nearest rival, PAN, which attained 17.4 per cent in
Lamongan. In Paciran, PKB attained 32.8 per cent, but second to PAN, which achieved 37.9 per cent. Nationally, PKB’s support also dipped slightly to 10.6 per cent. In May 2004, a month after the legislative election, Megawati visited Pesantren Sunan Drajat on her campaign ‘safari’ trail through Central Java, East Java, and Bali. Her purpose in visiting Pesantren Sunan Drajat was to persuade Kyai Ghofur to endorse her and running-mate Hasyim Muzadi, who was the then NU Central Chairman (*Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama*, PBNU), in the forthcoming presidential election (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007). Apparently, she also went there to oversee her assistance program to empower independent institutions in grassroots communities (Tempointeraktif 14 May 2004).

Gus Dur did not contest the presidency in 2004, but there were other candidates running that represented the NU constituency. Of the five pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates, two tried to attract the NU vote, namely Megawati-Muzadi and Wiranto-Salahuddin Wahid. The emergence of Gus Dur’s younger brother, Salahuddin Wahid, or Gus Sholah, as a vice-presidential candidate caused internal divisions within NU community over who to support. Kyai Ghofur reluctantly supported PDIP’s Megawati-Muzadi duo, because he felt it was his religious and moral obligation to support NU’s leader, Muzadi. Kyai Ghofur admitted that he became half-hearted about supporting this duo because Gus Dur and his PKB refused to endorse them. Instead, Gus Dur and PKB, as well as Kyai Ghofur’s former party Golkar, which emerged as the largest party nationally after the legislative election in April 2004, endorsed Wiranto-Gus Sholah.

In Lamongan during the first round of the presidential election, Wiranto-Gus Sholah were the most popular presidential pair winning 34.3 per cent of the district’s vote, while Megawati-Muzadi ranked fourth on 18.8 per cent. Wiranto-Gus Sholah’s popularity was tied to Gus Sholah’s image as a local *kyai* at Pesantren Tebuireng in the neighbouring district of Jombang. Meanwhile, for the Paciran subdistrict, former Muhammadiyah leader Amien Rais and his running mate Siswono Yudo Husodo won 47.5 per cent of the subdistrict vote. However, such popularity could not be replicated nationally and Wiranto-Gus Sholah and Amien- Husodo, as well as fifth contending duo Hamzah Haz-Agum Gumelar, did not qualify for the second round of the election. The two frontrunners, Megawati-Muzadi and SBY-Kalla, contested it,
but Kyai Ghofur maintained his support for Megawati-Muzadi. Kyai Ghofur admitted that SBY was a likeable figure with a refined (halus) nature who had become popular after a public fallout with the President Megawati just months before the elections. Further, Megawati lacked support as her presidency was unpopular and Muzadi was running for the vice-president, which some considered an inferior role (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 22 May 2007). The Indonesian Survey Institute (Lembaga Survei Indonesia, LSI) found that about 82 per cent of voters believed that ‘Yudhoyono gets things done, is decisive, charismatic, inspiring, caring, honest, reliable and smart’. This compared to 54 per cent for these same qualities in Megawati, and during her time in office many people became dissatisfied with rising living costs and difficulty in finding employment (Liddle & Mujani 2005: 122-123).

In the run-off election, SBY won in every subdistrict and collected 64 per cent of the vote in Lamongan, compared to Megawati’s 36 per cent (KPUK 2004b). SBY’s support in Lamongan was higher than the national result of 60.6 per cent. The win provided him a mandate to lead a stable coalition government for a full presidential term in 2004-2009. Local Javanese often spoke of how they liked SBY for his halus, but firm rhetoric, combined with courteous behaviour and body language, like for example, talking while using charming hand gestures almost like a conductor during musical piece, as opposed to yelling and thrusting a clenched fist or pointed index finger into the air.

In 2007, Kyai Ghofur maintained some commitment to Golkar and occasionally attended party events. This was exemplified in March 2007, when senior Golkar members and the nation’s DPR House Speaker, Agung Laksono, visited Pesantren Sunan Drajat. The position of DPR Speaker is one of the most prestigious and important positions in the Indonesian political process with the ability to influence debate on laws and policies that pass through parliament. Laksono’s visit was to coincide with the laying of the first brick of the Ma’had Ali (Islamic College). Kyai Ghofur ordered pesantren functionaries (pengurus) to set up banners and a makeshift rostrum and stage for the event. It was a relatively large affair, and senior Golkar members from Lamongan and East Java were present, as well as many common people (orang awam), and some of the older santri were in attendance. Laksono spoke of Golkar’s vision to develop the country with a commitment to the small people (wong cilik) and religious values,

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5 In Lamongan, the second most popular in the first round of the 2004 presidential vote was Yudhoyono-Kalla on 25.7 per cent of the vote, followed by Rais 19.8 per cent, Megawati 18.8 per cent, and last was Hamzah Haz 1.3 per cent (KPUK 2009c).
as well as the *pesantren* communities throughout the nation. He said that working with people like Kyai Ghofur, the Pesantren Sunan Drajat community, and local *wong cilik*, would help achieve this objective. As a gesture of his support for the *pesantren* community, Laksono donated seven new computers to Pesantren Sunan Drajat.

Laksono also spoke about the changing role of politics in the country and that although regional autonomy had changed Jakarta’s ability to manage directly the affairs of the districts (*kabupaten*); at least representatives responsible for the area were close to their constituents. Moreover, efforts could be coordinated through local politicians such as Tsalits, the deputy *bupati*, and Makin Abbas, Lamongan DPRD Secretary, who were both in attendance. Kyai Ghofur treated the DPR Speaker and his entourage to a private lunch where Kyai Ghofur reiterated the importance for politicians to look after *pesantren* communities because of their importance to help educate the nation’s children. Laksono acknowledged this point and also emphasised the strategic role that *kyai* play in the social development of the country with programs such as general education, family planning, and modernity. The event underscored Golkar’s political objective to engage grassroots communities and the party’s desire to continue its close relationship with Kyai Ghofur, which was personified by Laksono, one of its highest profile members, travelling to Pesantren Sunan Drajat just ‘to lay a brick’.

During 2007 and 2008, senior Lamongan Golkar members visited Kyai Ghofur regularly at his *pesantren*. Their purpose was to maintain good relations with the Pesantren Sunan Drajat community. However, as the 2009 legislative and presidential elections approached, Kyai Ghofur sensed that Golkar was losing support from the electorate because it lacked a popular and high profile leader. Its then national leader and Indonesian vice-president, Kalla, was unpopular in Lamongan, and the rest of Java, because he was not Javanese and he was seen as a weak leader (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 November 2009). After over 30 years of affiliation, Kyai Ghofur disassociated himself from Golkar in early 2009 when it was announced that Kalla would run as Golkar’s candidate for the presidency. Immediately, Kyai Ghofur reoriented his support for Prabowo Subianto and his Gerindra party. Prabowo had also left Golkar after failing to become the party’s presidential candidate, but on 20 February 2008, he founded Gerindra to pursue his political ambitions.
Kyai Ghofur and Gerindra

Within a year of Prabowo establishing Gerindra, Kyai Ghofur became an unofficial advisor to the party and supported it at the April 2009 legislative election. He believed that Prabowo and Gerindra would provide strong and stable leadership, but importantly would represent the interests of NU (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 10 November 2009). Kyai Ghofur was pleased that Gus Dur and his daughter Yenny Wahid also endorsed Gerindra. Gus Dur had been legally estranged from PKB after the pro-Muhaimin faction won recognition from the Supreme Court and the government. Consequently, PKB no longer followed Gus Dur orders, and instead supported SBY for president because the party was one of the ruling coalition partners. Yenny Wahid said that her pro-Gus Dur PKB faction supported Prabowo because they shared similar nationalist-religious ideologies, declaring that, ‘Both parties share a similar political platform in fighting poverty and empowering poor families worst hit by the prolonged global economic turndown’ (The Jakarta Post 16 March 2009).

After Prabowo returned to Indonesia from self-exile in Jordon following a fallout with other factions of military when Suharto was removed, Kyai Ghofur and Prabowo were acquainted through the Association of Indonesian Farmers (Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia, HKTI). Prabowo is its Chairman and Kyai Ghofur is involved in various agri-business programs supported by HKTI. Since 2006, they have developed a close friendship, sharing similar views on socio-religious and political affairs underlying their nationalist and patriotic views. Kyai Ghofur said he and Prabowo believed governing should emphasise sovereign and territorial integrity, with national unity of utmost importance. Both professed protectionist attitudes particularly towards the foreign ownership of businesses and industry in Indonesia. Further, Kyai Ghofur believed that a president must act as a benevolent ruler like Suharto, and he saw Prabowo in a similar way (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 November 2009).

Kyai Ghofur believed that temporal power and spiritual power are intertwined and thus religious guidance from people like himself was important to the reputation of leaders. Kyai Ghofur stated that Prabowo understood the importance of Javanese Muslim heritage and that the Gerindra leader recognised the benefit in the preservation of the pesantren system (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 November 2009). Also adding to Kyai Ghofur’s fondness for Prabowo is the fact that Prabowo provided him with financial donations and
technical support, and in particular with helping to develop Pesantren Sunan Drajat’s radio station (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 November 2009). Prabowo’s close associate, Rahmat Pampudy, the Deputy Chairman of HKTI, also visits Pesantren Sunan Drajat on dual matters concerning agricultural programs and promoting Prabowo’s political interests. Pampudy visited Pesantren Sunan Drajat regularly and often spoke of Prabowo’s ambitions for Indonesia to become a great nation and restore the country’s strong image and international standing (Interview with Rahmat Pampudy 2 April 2007).

In 2009, Kyai Ghofur actively promoted Gerindra, and arranged for his eldest son, Gudfan Arif, to join the party and nominate as a candidate for the national DPR in the legislative election. Kyai Ghofur encouraged people to vote for Gerindra through sermons broadcast through his radio station and during his nightly sermons held at villages across rural Java. In addition, political paraphernalia, such as posters, stickers, calendars, etc., were produced. Some featured Gudfan and Prabowo, others included photos and references to Kyai Ghofur and Pesantren Sunan Drajat. These were given to people throughout Lamongan and could be still seen in November 2009 at small stalls (warung), shops, and private homes. After it was announced that Prabowo was a vice-presidential candidate, he visited Pesantren Sunan Drajat in June 2009 (Kompas 24 June 2009).

In early 2009, Gerindra hastily formed a campaign team (tim sukses) in Lamongan. It comprised largely of NU members, who were mostly young and enthusiastic, but inexperienced. Gerindra’s principal reliance on Prabowo’s charismatic and nationalist image, and Kyai Ghofur’s symbolic capital, to attract votes was a failure. In Kyai Ghofur’s home subdistrict of Paciran, Gerindra attained 6.3 per cent, but only 2.4 per cent of the district vote, denying it any seats for political representation in the Lamongan DPRD. At the provincial level for East Java, its support was 5.1 per cent. Meanwhile, Gerindra attained 5 per cent of the national vote, but enough to exceed the parliamentary threshold of 2.5 per cent and was awarded 26 seats. Efforts to get Kyai Ghofur’s son, Gudfan, elected to the DPR also ended in failure.

Kyai Ghofur did not believe that Prabowo’s alleged human rights abuses or travel bans to enter the United States diminished Prabowo and Gerindra’s popularity. Rather, it was because other parties did not ‘play fair’ through deceitful tactics, including spreading misleading
information about rival parties and through vote-buying (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 November 2009). Gerindra was not innocent of ‘vote-buying’ tactics itself, as the party spent a large amount of money during the election campaign. Prabowo was backed by his billionaire brother, Hashim Djojohadikusumo, and even used his brother’s private jet to traverse the nation. In addition, anyone who joined the party would receive free healthcare for the first year, and in just over a year Gerindra expanded its membership to more than ten million (ABC1 2009). Their campaign promoted Prabowo as a champion of the rural poor, as a strong and decisive leader wanting to modernise the economy and reduce poverty and was marketed as an agent of change, and he even compared himself to Barack Obama (ABC1 2009).

The poor result of Gerindra in Lamongan suggests that voters did not share Kyai Ghofur’s political style of reactionary conservatism; rejecting a return to the politics of New Order cronyism. An administration where Kyai Ghofur held a direct relationship with the vice-president would have greatly enhanced Kyai Ghofur’s standing in the local community, and boosted his **symbolic capital** and **symbolic power** locally. Further, Kyai Ghofur’s pesantren and business interests would command attention from the highest institutions of government. The fact that voters of the district still preferred PKB and PAN reflects their political culture for Islamic inclusiveness, as well as NU and Muhammadiyah identities, which do not wed them to the lower religious class position under kyai when it comes to politics based on principles of **symbolic violence**, demonstrating independence.
This calendar head is part of the political paraphernalia that could be seen throughout Lamongan promoting Kyai Ghofur’s son Gudfan Arif in the lead up to the April 2009 legislative election. Bottom left caption under Prabowo reads: TNI Retired Lieutenant-General Prabowo Subianto, Indonesian Presidential Candidate 2009-2014. Caption under Kyai Ghofur wearing a turban reads: KH Abdul Ghofur, Leader of Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat, Advisory Council of the Gerindra Party. Caption on the right reads: Gudfan Arif, S.IP (Son of KH. Abdul Ghofur), Indonesian DPR Legislative Candidate for the electorate of Gresik-Lamongan.

*Photograph taken by Nathan Franklin*
Kyai Ghofur’s was guilty of nepotism within Gerindra as his son, Gudfan, became a candidate for the party during the April 2009 election for the national DPR, but fell short of votes need to be elected. Gerindra’s powerbrokers compensated Gudfan with the East Java Provincial Chairmanship. However, Gudfan’s patronage to his father caused dissatisfaction within the party; some members felt that Kyai Ghofur wielded undue influence in the affairs of the party. In June 2010, one member burnt a photo of Kyai Ghofur to protest his interference with the party. In September 2010, Gudfan was removed from his position with the consent of Prabowo (Surya.co.id 22 October 2010). To mend grievances, East Java Gerindra officials visited Kyai Ghofur in March 2011 to express their desire for his continued guidance of the party; he replied that he still supported the party despite his son’s removal (Surabayapagi.com 11 March 2011).  

Kyai Ghofur maintains that Prabowo’s failure in the 2009 presidential election was because the former soldier ran for the vice-presidency, instead of the presidency; but could have won if Megawati and Prabowo’s positions were reversed. Some consider the vice-presidency a subordinate role to the president, while many regarded Megawati as a weak leader whose claim to fame is only through her father, Sukarno, Indonesia’s first president (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 November 2009). Megawati and Prabowo’s positions reflected the parliamentary election result where PDIP attained 15 per cent of the national vote, compared to Gerindra’s 4.5 per cent. It is worth noting that an arrangement where the smaller party positioned its leader for the presidency is not unprecedented. After the 2004 legislative election, SBY became president despite the fact that his PD attained 7.5 per cent, while his running mate, Kalla, was from Golkar, which achieved 21.6 per cent.  

Prabowo has indicated his intention to participate in the 2014 presidential election, coinciding with the end of SBY’s second and final term. However, it seems unlikely that his party will attain the necessary 20 per cent of the overall vote in 50 per cent of Indonesia’s provinces to launch a presidential bid, so Gerindra will have to form a coalition to meet this requirement.  

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6 In a further sign of cordial relations, Prabowo visited Kyai Ghofur in December 2013, when Pesantren Sunan Drajat hosted the East Jawa Provincial GP Ansor Conference (VIVAnews 21 December 2013).  
7 Megawati has never actually won the presidency. In 1999, she was elected vice-president, and only become president by way of default after Gus Dur’s impeachment in 2001.  
8 Gus Dur also secured the presidency in 1999 despite the fact that his party attained 12.6 per cent of the national vote, compared to PDIP’s 33.8 per cent and Golkar’s 22.5 per cent, giving these parties proportionate seats in the nation’s parliament, which then elected the president.
Kyai Ghofer believes once President SBY retires, voters will support Prabowo because of his military background. As PD increased its first election result by nearly three-fold, from 7.5 per cent in 2004 vote to 20.4 per cent in 2009, Kyai Ghofer believes that Gerindra will follow this pattern in 2014 (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 20 November 2009). In February 2011, Gerindra merged with ten smaller parties, and Prabowo predicted his party could increase its popularity to 13 per cent in 2014, which would improve his future prospect for winning the presidency (The Jakarta Globe 19 February 2011). However, history has shown that results of recent elections have fallen painfully short of ambitious estimates by party leaders.

**Pilkada Elections**

The May 2010 Pilkada in Lamongan was only the second direct election for the position of bupati and deputy bupati for the district. Its localised nature exposed a clear link between politics and Kyai Ghofer when he became the chief supporter of Tsalits’ bid for bupati. For Kyai Ghofer the main objective was for Tsalits to become bupati in 2010-2015 to ‘represent the NU constituency because Muhammadiyah candidates had occupied the position for 20 years’ (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 18 November 2009). In the lead-up to the Pilkada, Kyai Ghofer spread these political messages through village sermons, as well as Qur’anic recitations (pengajian) broadcast through his radio station. Despite Kyai Ghofer’s efforts to help, Tsalits attained only 14.5 per cent of vote, whereas the Muhammadiyah candidate Fadeli won the election with 41 per cent; importantly Fadeli was able to capture a large portion of the NU vote when he was endorsed by PKB.

To broaden appeal beyond the NU constituency, Tsalits chose Subagio Rahmat as his deputy candidate because of his Muhammadiyah bona fides; calling themselves the Sahabat (Friend) duo. However, Rahmat was virtually an unknown figure and the main party to endorse the pair was the National Awakening Party of the Ulama (Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama, PKNU) – a minor party in the district. Also lending them support were Gerindra, the Patriot Party (Partai Patriot, PP), and the Peoples’ Conscience Party (Partai Hati Nurani, Hanura), which were all minor parties. PKNU was founded on 21 November 2006 with disaffected

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9 The other candidates were Fadeli and Saifudin, whose catch-cry slogan was ‘Faham’, meaning ‘understanding’, Ongki Wijaya Ismail Putra and Basir Sutikno (Obama; playing on the name of American President Barack Obama), and Suhandoyo and Kartika Hidayati (Sehati; meaning harmony).

Chapter Seven: Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Political Islam
PKB members who become disillusioned by Gus Dur (Ma'ruf 2007: 5). PKNU draws upon the same traditionalist-conservative Muslim constituency as PKB, and even proclaims its party platform on one of NU’s core principles, namely *Ahlul-Sunnah wal-Jama’ah* (Aswaja); the group of Muslims destined to enter heaven (Ma'ruf 2007: 13). At the 2009 legislative election, PKNU failed to win a seat in the nation’s DPR due to insufficient votes of 1.5 per cent; less than the 2.5 per cent needed to qualify for parliamentary representation. However, in the Lamongan DPRD it has five seats after it attained 7.2 per cent of the district vote (KPUK 2009b, 2009c). Gerindra on the other hand, has 26 seats in the national DPR, but has none in the Lamongan DPRD. Meanwhile, PP has no seats in the DPR, but does have three in the Lamongan DPRD, and Hanura has 20 in the DPR, and one in the Lamongan DPRD. The combined strength of these four parties equalled 17.3 per cent of the district vote, awarding them nine seats in the Lamongan DPRD.

The larger NU political vehicle, PKB, did not endorse Tsalits, choosing instead to join a coalition with PAN, PPP, PD, and Golkar to support Fadeli and his running mate, Amar Saifudin, who was also the head of PAN in Lamongan. Together these five parties achieved 57.4 per cent of the district vote in 2009, giving them 30 of the 50 seats in Lamongan’s DPRD (KPUK 2009b, 2009c). Ninety-nine national, provincial, and district figures, also endorsed Fadeli’s bid for *bupati*, many from NU, including PKB leader and Minister of Manpower and Transmigration, Muhaimin Iskandar, PKB’s Minister for Development of Disadvantaged Areas, Helmy Faisal, and the leader of the NU Youth Helpers Movement (*Gerakan Pemuda Ansor*, GP Ansor) and East Java Deputy Governor, Saifullah Yusuf (Jawa Pos 5 May 2010). Helmy Faisal was a friend of Kyai Ghofur’s, and visited Pesantren Sunan Drajat on several occasions during 2007 and 2008; Kyai Ghofur disapproved of Faisal’s endorsement of Fadeli. This support improved Fadeli’s appeal to both the NU and Muhammadiyah communities. A third contending duo was Suhandoyo-Kartika Hidayati (Sehati) supported by PDIP and PKS with respectively ten seats and one seat in the Lamongan DPRD, while a fourth was the independent Ongki Wijaya-H Basyir (Obama) with no parliamentary support.

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10 The PKNU declared that they are representative, first, of the ‘*nahdliyin*’, or NU followers, second, of those in the *umat* that adhere to the concept of Aswaja. Third, include the nationalists that do not wish for a decline in the role of Islam, and for Islamists who do not wish for the decline of nationalism. The fourth group are non-Muslims, because PKNU is also committed to their rights and protections in order to avoid discrimination (Ma'ruf 2007: 15).
For the 2010 Pilkada, Tsalits-Subagio had a website dedicated to their campaign, but internet access in Lamongan remains limited, so candidates relied on political rallies and speeches to connect with voters.\(^{11}\) Tsalits’ campaign team included numerous people and committees, but most important was the advisory council (*dewan penasehat*), which comprised 17 members. At the top of the list was Kyai Ghofur, followed by senior members of PKNU, including Ubaiddillah Faqih (Gus Ubaid), Choirul Anam, Idham Cholied, and Arif Junaidy. Also on the list was Kyai Aziz, the Lamongan leader of the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI), who is Kyai Ghofur’s friend and ally.

Kyai Ghofur’s ambition to get Tsalits to become *bupati* began prior to the 2005 Pilkada when Kyai Ghofur brokered a deal involving Tsalits to run as *deputy* with the incumbent *bupati*, Masfuk. In exchange, after Masfuk’s second and final term ended, Muhammadiyah powerbrokers, including Masfuk and PAN’s leadership in Lamongan, would support Tsalits candidacy for *bupati* in 2010. Masfuk turned to Kyai Ghofur after losing the support of PKB who nominated their own candidate, Taufikurrahman, in the 2005 Pilkada; PKB endorsed Masfuk as *bupati* in 2000 when the position was elected by parliament. In order to appeal to the NU community, Masfuk offered Tsalits the position of deputy *bupati* because he was the NU leader of Lamongan. However, by late 2009, Masfuk and Muhammadiyah powerbrokers had reneged on their promise to back Tsalits at the 2010 Pilkada.

After Fadeli secured the backing of PKB, including its leader, Makin Abbas, who was also Lamongan DPRD Secretary, Muhammadiyah powerbrokers abandoned their commitment to Tsalits. This infuriated Kyai Ghofur, because he had helped Abbas when Gus Dur denied him the leadership of PKB in Lamongan in 2007. Abbas visited Pesantren Sunan Drajat numerous times pleading for Kyai Ghofur’s help. In March 2007, Kyai Ghofur organised for Gus Dur and Abbas to meet at his pesantren to discuss the PKB leadership of Lamongan. After the meeting, Gus Dur went to the Sunan Drajat graveyard and mosque apparently to speak with the spirits about the issue; he later gave Abbas his approval.\(^{12}\) Ironically, at the time, Kyai Ghofur privately said that Abbas was not traditionally NU, but rather Muhammadiyah (Informal conversation with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 20 July 2007). In the lead up to 2010 Pilkada, Kyai Ghofur felt betrayed by Abbas, who was no longer beholden to Gus Dur after he

\(^{11}\) Their website was: www.sahabat-lamongan.blogspot.com.

\(^{12}\) Quinn has described the Javanese phenomenon of talking to deceased saints in seeking guidance and empowerment in temporal matters, including Indonesian presidents Suharto and Sukarno (Quinn 2009).
became estranged from PKB in 2008, and any consideration for the wishes of the former president ended when he passed away on 30 December 2009 (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 15 June 2010).

Kyai Ghofur’s support for Tsalits was aimed at preventing Fadeli, and Muhammadiyah, from winning the position of bupati. Kyai Ghofur provided political advice to Tsalits, endorsed him during sermons, joined him at public rallies, and even gave financial support. In late 2009, Kyai Ghofur donated R.25 million (AUD$3,125), and more throughout the campaign (Interview with confidential source 15 November 2009). It was needed as Tsalits was deemed the ‘poorest’ candidate in the Pilkada by the District Electoral Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kabupaten, KPUK) (Maiwanews.com 12 April 2010). According to Kyai Ghofur, money is vital because to run a full and effective district-wide campaign a candidate may have to spend as much as R.2 billion (AUD$250,000) (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 10 November 2009). However, when a candidate spends vast amounts of money it often leads to local rumours of vote-buying and electoral manipulation. Tsalits and Subagio, as well as members of their campaign, alleged that the Fadeli camp donated tens of millions of rupiah to Muhammadiyah institutions throughout Lamongan, which could not be proven. With moral and financial backing of Kyai Ghofur, it did not matter that Tsalits was the ‘poorest’ candidate. However, after receiving such assistance, Tsalits would be morally obliged to recompense Kyai Ghofur, likely through the amenities of government favouritism and access to the office of bupati.

The fierce competition and Kyai Ghofur’s desire for Tsalits to win became very public, and surreptitious tactics were replaced by direct instructions for people to vote for Tsalits through exertions of symbolic power. In the lead-up to the Pilkada Kyai Ghofur frequently travelled with Tsalits to small villages throughout Lamongan to conduct sermons, which were usually attended by several hundred, sometimes thousands of locals. On one particular occasion in November 2009, Tsalits was the first to speak about his vision and mission as bupati, which centred on continued progress and development, as well as big projects for the district. This was followed by an hour-long sermon by Kyai Ghofur, and from the rostrum he preached:

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13 The KPUK declared Kartika, who ran for deputy bupati with Suhandoyo from PDIP, the ‘richest’ candidate (Maiwanews.com 12 April 2010).
The time has come for the *bupati* of Lamongan to be from NU. For 20 years, Lamongan has been led by a *bupati* from Muhammadiyah. Now the time has come for an NU person to become *bupati*. Who else, if not Pak Tsalits? There is no one else, because Pak Tsalits has been the leader of IPNU, Ansor, Mu’allimin, and NU.\(^{14}\) (Speech by Kyai Abdul Ghofer 20 November 2009).

Kyai Ghofer instructed all those connected to Pesantren Sunan Drajat to vote for Pak Tsalits, including alumni *santri*, and the families of current *santri*, all patients and guests who come to Pesantren Sunan Drajat, as well as listeners of his sermons. During Kyai Ghofer’s consultations with his patients and guests, he continued to preach the same message. Kyai Ghofer described that when a patient says, ‘Pak Kyai my head hurts’, he would reply, ‘I will pray that your head gets better quickly, but you must promise that you and your family with vote for Pak Tsalits’ (Interview with Kyai Ghofer 18 November 2009). These instructions to patients became common practice during the campaign period. He also reiterated to people that Muhammadiyah’s interests would not be marginalised either as the deputy *bupati* candidate, Rahmat Subagio, was from Muhammadiyah. Such messages and the tactics used were clear signs that Kyai Ghofer was trying to enforce the parameters of *symbolic violence*, correlating his knowledge or *cultural capital* to treat patients while producing ideas and belief through the expression of *symbolic power*.

Interviews and conversations with guests at Pesantren Sunan Drajat and nearby local residents about Kyai Ghofer’s involvement with politics revealed three major options. These were also mirrored in survey data feedback where participates were specifically asked to comment on whether it was ‘necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics.’ Survey feedback from parent respondents of *santri* at Pesantren Sunan Drajat indicated that the first group, 14.6 per cent, believed it was ‘necessary’ for *kyai* to be involved in politics, and the second and biggest group, 47.3 per cent, said it was ‘up to each kyai’.\(^{15}\) This compared to the third group, 23.6 per cent, that believed that *kyai* should ‘not at all’ be involved in politics.\(^{16}\)

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\(^{14}\) IPNU: *Ikatan Pemuda Nahdlatul Ulama*, NU Students Association; Ansor or GP Ansor, *Gerakan Pemuda Ansor*, Youth Helpers Movement; *Mu’allimin*: Religious Teachers’.

\(^{15}\) At Pesantren Karangasem almost double the parent respondents, or precisely 28.6 per cent, believed it was ‘necessary’ for kyai to be involved in politics, and 25 per cent believed it was ‘up to each kyai’, compared to just 14.3 per cent that believed that kyai involvement in politics was ‘not at all’ necessary.

\(^{16}\) The remaining 12.7 per cent responded ‘don’t know’ and 1.8 per cent did not answer this question.
In the survey, one group of people believed that kyai in politics had a positive impact as kyai possess moral integrity, experience, and religious knowledge. Other respondents disapproved of kyai involvement because they believed that the affairs of his pesantren might be affected and ‘experience negative consequences’, but many of these same individuals conceded that it was a kyai’s democratic right to be politically involved. Some of those that answered ‘necessary’ explained that kyai are ‘leaders of the umat’ and therefore understand ‘what is best’. Another respondent believed it was beneficial for kyai involvement in politics because they would at least ‘refer to the Qur’an and Hadith’, while another responded that it was necessary ‘because kyai are scholars of Islam, while religion is the foundation of life.’ There was a consensus from those that answered ‘necessary’, as kyai can ensure the safety and moral integrity of society. Those that responded ‘up to each kyai’ mostly qualified this by saying that it was the right of all citizens to participate in the democratic and political process. The explanations from those that responded ‘not at all’ cited that kyai who get involved in political affairs will only look after their own interests, and will neglect the umat and their pesantren.

Kyai Ghofur believes that his position within the umat endows him with symbolic power so he can command the public to vote a particular way, but voters showed otherwise. Since the end of the New Order regime, managing the outcome of elections for a party to win is no longer possible, and despite Kyai Ghofur’s best efforts, Tsalits was outmatched in the Pilkada of May 2010. There were multiple factors that affected Tsalits’ popularity, including factionalism within the NU community, an ad hoc campaign style and promises, as well as the mood and desire of the electorate. However, introspection is not something Indonesian politics has fully developed. Instead of constructively criticising themselves for shortcomings and mistakes to improve for the next election, losing candidates and parties often blame rival parties for unfair electoral conduct and vote-buying, as well as corruption within the Indonesian electoral commission and other institutions, particularly the police, for not ensuring a fair election. Kyai Ghofur was also guilty of averring similar allegations towards the winning pair. This situation has the potential to undermine the legitimacy, stability, and mandates of winning candidates and parties; the International Crisis Group identified such electoral issues in a report in 2010 (ICG 8 December 2010). Tsalits and the other candidates reluctantly recognised Fadeli’s victory, but only after the Constitutional Court in Jakarta ordered 35,112 votes be included in the final tally after these ballots were initially declared invalid because of
a hole punched through a blank fold of paper. However, these additional votes followed the trend of the district and did not alter the result.

Table 7.1: Lamongan Pilkada Results 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Supporting Parties</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masfak – Tsalits (Massal)</td>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>350,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taufikurrahman – Soetarto (Tato)</td>
<td>PKB and Golkar</td>
<td>247,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suwito – Suhandoyo (Susu)</td>
<td>PDIP</td>
<td>64,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>662,539</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(KPUK 2005)

Table 7.2: Lamongan Pilkada Results 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Supporting Parties</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fadeli-Amar Saifudin (Faham)</td>
<td>PKB, PAN, Golkar, PD, and PPP</td>
<td>268,806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suhandoyo-Kartika Hidayati</td>
<td>PDIP and PKS</td>
<td>251,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsalits -Sugaio (Sahabat)</td>
<td>PKNU, PP, Gerindra, Hanura</td>
<td>94,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ongki Wijaya-H Basyir (Obama)</td>
<td>Independent candidate</td>
<td>40,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>655,915</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(KPUK 2010)

Kyai Ghofur has never been critical of himself regarding the limits of his symbolic power for electoral influence in political failures, instead he blamed the inability of its leaders to unite and capitalise on potential support from NU followers. He claimed, and probably partly true, that disunity between NU figures undermined the political representation of the NU constituency, citing as an example disputes between Gus Dur and Muhaimin Iskandar in 2007-8, and also Kyai Ghofur himself and Makin Abbas, the leader of PKB in Lamongan. Kyai Ghofur often commented during his sermons that NU members in politics should learn from Muhammadiyah because they were better organised and carried a consistent message. Kyai Ghofur commended Muhammadiyah because of its cohesive and internally stable nature, in contrast to NU that frequently experiences internal conflict amongst its leadership. According to Kyai Ghofur, these disputes within NU cause anger, frustration, and self-harm resulting in potential supporters voting for other candidates and parties during elections (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 18 November 2009).

Senior Muhammadiyah members acknowledge their own success. Imam Robandi, the Muhammadiyah East Java Chairman of the Council for Primary and Secondary Education, in
a speech at Pesantren Karangasem commended Muhammadiyah for its success in producing cadres that had joined politics. Despite Muhammadiyah claiming only four million followers, or less than one in eight, in East Java, and an underdog status to the larger NU community, some Muhammadiyah members have made significant inroads into high ranking political positions across East Java, including Lamongan (Speech by Imam Robandi 27 June 2007). In 2008, two more Muhammadiyah members were added to this list, namely Suyoto, the bupati of Bojonegoro district, as well as Soekarwo, the East Java Governor.
Illustration 6.2: Campaigning for the NU Bupati Candidate

A campaign billboard promoting Tsalits for bupati. Top poster reads: It is time, come on, make it happen. The secretary of the BBM (Bina Bangsa Mandiri, National Self-Development Foundation), come on, make Lamongan better and developed once more!

Kyai Ghofur instructs Lamongan residents to elect Tsalits and support NU’s interests during the production of campaigning material.

Photographs by Nathan Franklin
Survey Data from Pesantren Sunan Drajat

Survey data from 55 parents, with at least one child studying at Pesantren Sunan Drajat, provided an overview of their social status, as well as insightful admissions and perceptions regarding Kyai Ghofur’s political manoeuvring and influence. Parents were predominantly villagers of whom nearly three-quarters, 72.7 per cent, earned less than R.1 million (AUD$125) a month. Around a third of respondents were employed as farmers, a quarter as entrepreneurs, and almost a further quarter as housewives. Close to half, 45.5 per cent, completed primary school education, 29.1 per cent middle school, 20 per cent senior high school, and 3.6 per cent tertiary level. Almost a third, 32.7 per cent, attended middle school at a private school, 20 per cent at a pesantren, and 7.3 per cent public school. For those that completed senior high school, 12.7 per cent studied at a pesantren, 9.1 per cent public high school, and 7.3 per cent private school.

Almost two-thirds, 65.5 per cent, of respondents preferred political candidates from NU, and a majority, 54.5 per cent, preferred Islam as the platform (asas) for political parties, compared to 29.1 per cent who favoured the Pancasila ideology. Nearly all respondents, 98.2 per cent, had listened to one of Kyai Ghofur’s sermons and 70.9 per cent on a daily basis, with nine out of ten hearing it on the radio. Forty per cent stated that Kyai Ghofur had advised them on voting preferences, and 70 per cent said that they believed he had the potential to influence people’s vote. In persuading voters, 41.8 per cent believed Kyai Ghofur to be strongly influential, 10.9 per cent mildly influential, but 21.8 per cent believed he had no influence at all.

In terms of specific elections, a majority 58.2 per cent of survey participants voted for the Masfuk-Tsalits duo in the 2005 Lamongan Pilkada. Over a third, 36.4 per cent, admitted that Kyai Ghofur had influenced this decision and 40 per cent believed he had played an important role in the success of Masfuk-Tsalits as bupati and deputy bupati. At the 2003 election for the East Java governor, 14.5 per cent voted for the Imam Utomo (governor in 1998-2008), but 63.6 per cent did not answer the question. This was possibly because the election was indirect with the provincial DPRD electing the governor, and for those that did vote only 7.3 per cent said Kyai Ghofur had influenced their decision. In reference to the 2004 national legislative election more than half, 52.7 per cent, voted for PKB, and 29.1 per cent said that Kyai Ghofur influenced this decision. In the 2004 presidential election, 29.1 per cent voted for Megawati,
25.5 per cent for SBY, 5.5 per cent Wiranto, 1.8 per cent Rais; somehow 16.4 per cent voted for Gus Dur despite the fact he did not contest the election, and over a third, 34.5 per cent, indicated that Kyai Ghofur had influenced their vote. Before the first round of the election for governor, 52.7 per cent believed Kyai Ghofur favoured the Khofifah-Mudjiono duo for the governorship. Almost a third, 32.7 per cent, indicated they would, and a further 29.1 per cent said they might, consider Kyai Ghofur’s preferences in the forthcoming 2009 national legislative election; potentially 61.8 per cent in total. Similarly, 43.6 per cent said they would, and 23.6 per cent said they might, consider his advice at the 2009 presidential election; potentially 67.2 per cent in total.

The survey data results indicated that during election time between a quarter to a third of parents connected to Pesantren Sunan Drajat were influenced by Kyai Ghofur’s political messages, which were most likely heard on the radio. However, around two thirds expressed interest in his advice for the 2009 legislative and presidential elections. In spite of Kyai Ghofur’s political manoeuvring, only 14.5 per cent believed it was necessary for kyai to be involved in politics, while 47.3 per cent judged it as up to each kyai, and 23.6 per cent said not at all. Although most approved of kyai involvement in politics, a significant number disapproved and cited that a kyai should confine his duties to the religious world. With such high approval ratings and potential to influence votes, it is understandable that Kyai Ghofur believes that common people remain complicit and should behaviour according to the culture of symbolic violence.

Fifty-five santri at Pesantren Sunan Drajat also participated in the survey. Nearly all, 96.4 per cent, had families that lived in Lamongan and over a third, 34.5 per cent, of the santri respondents lived at the pondok. Most, 85.5 per cent, affiliated with NU, and 58.2 per cent preferred political parties with an Islamic asas, whereas 29.1 per cent favoured the Pancasila. Two principal reasons why santri studied at Pesantren Sunan Drajat included 43.6 per cent for the quality of education and 34.5 per cent to study religion. Nine out of ten indicated an interest to study at university, and 45.5 per cent hoped to study at an Islamic state university, and the two most popular subjects were 20 per cent for medicine and 16.4 per cent religion.

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17 It could be that those who stated they voted for Gus Dur meant they voted for Gus Dur’s PKB or they were confused with the 1999 election.
18 Participants also provided written views on kyai in politics, which is available in the appendix.
There was a three-way tie for the preferred future occupation with 18.2 per cent for each, religious teacher, public teacher, and medical doctor.

In regards to questions concerning political attitudes, consideration was given to the fact that santri had not voted before. Nevertheless, over 30 per cent believed that their family’s voting behaviour was influenced by Kyai Ghofer’s preference during elections, and a similar number cited he had the potential to influence the electorate. However, only one out of ten believed that Kyai Ghofer’s influence over their family’s vote was very big, while over 30 per cent said ordinary, but 44.6 said they did not know. Around half of the santri believed Kyai Ghofer does influence the vote of the electorate and a similar number considered him strongly influential. When asked if it was necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics, 23.6 per cent thought necessary, 38.2 per cent up to each kyai, while 14.5 per cent said not at all. Surprisingly, responses from santri were only slightly higher than their parents’ in regards to their perception of the electoral influence of kyai since one might expect those within the santri habitus to have more faith in their kyai.

Parents and santri who participated in the survey perceived that Kyai Ghofer’s comments and manoeuvring on political matters attracted the attention of around half the local community. However, survey data indicated that Kyai Ghofer influenced only about a third of santri families at elections. Nevertheless, accessibly of kyai to the rural communities grants them the opportunity to talk to the umat and express political opinions with a sizeable portion taking notice. Therefore, the public perception that kyai are influential politically remains high, but those that actually follow a kyai’s political messages can never be known exactly, although it is certainly lower than perceived. Notwithstanding the actual number of influenced voters, the perception that it is high endows kyai with symbolic capital and with the symbolic power to do so.

Upon comparing survey data results from Pesantren Sunan Drajat to Pesantren Karangasem, it is apparent that more parents are influenced by Kyai Ghofer than Kyai Mu'rob when they cast their ballots. Kyai Ghofer has unparalleled access to umat because his sermons are broadcast on the radio, and almost every respondent had heard one of his sermons. Forty per cent of parents said that Kyai Ghofer had instructed them who to vote for at an election; three times

19 Exactly 87.3 per cent were aged less than 19 years old in 2008 when the survey was conducted.
higher than Kyai Mu'rob at 12.5 per cent. As one might expect, Pesantren Sunan Drajat respondents favoured candidates who they believed represented the interests of the NU community; in reverse to their Pesantren Karangasem counterparts who preferred those representing the Muhammadiyah constituency.20

The 2008 Gubernatorial Election

On 23 July 2008, East Java held its first direct gubernatorial election (pemilihan gubernur, Pilgub), and five candidate pairs contested it. This included, Khoififah-Mudjiono (Kaji) representing the Patriot Party (Partai Patriot, PP), Sudjipto-Ridwan Hisjam (S-R) of PDIP, Soenarjo-Ali Maschan Moesa (Salam) from Golkar, Achmady-Suhartono (Aschan) of PKB, and Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf (Karsa) of PAN. Prior to this, elections for the governorship were decided by the provincial DPRD. In the 2008 Pilgub, no gubernatorial pair achieved more than the required 30 per cent of the vote. Therefore, the two front runners, Soekarwo-Yusuf and Khoififah-Mudjiono, who received respectively 26.4 per cent and 24.8 per cent of the vote, contended a run-off election on 4 November 2008 (Jawa Pos 2 August 2008: 1).

In July 2008, Khoififah came second in Lamongan achieving 27.6 per cent of the vote, and in Paciran she was also second on 31.6 per cent. She was beaten by Soekarwo who won 27.8 per cent of the vote in Lamongan, and 36 per cent in Paciran (KPUK 2008b). However, after the other candidates had been eliminated, the second round of voting swung in favour of Khoififah. The result was 56 per cent in Lamongan, and in Paciran it was 50.8 per cent, while Soekarwo received 44 per cent and 49.2 per cent (KPUK 2008a).

For Kyai Ghofur it was important that an NU candidate became governor, rather than deputy, so he publicly endorsed Khoififah. However, he also privately supported Moesa since he was the formerly the head of NU in East Java, but was disappointed that he was running for the deputy position. Kyai Ghofur said that because of the numerous contenders from NU he was unwilling to openly oppose any, and in particular Moesa, who he referred to as the ‘Number one NU man’ in East Java because of his position as NU Chairman for East Java (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 18 July 2008).

20 Analysis of survey data from Pesantren Karangasem is discussed in chapter eight; full details available in the appendix.
During the first round of the election, Kyai Ghofur remained relatively neutral because there were many NU figures. This included, first, Moesa, but was compelled to resign before the Pilgub because of his commitment to the ‘Contract of Association’ (Kontrak Jam’iyah) that prohibited NU representatives from taking up political positions. Second, Khofifah has a long history of activism in NU and was also Minister for Women’s Affairs during Gus Dur’s administration in 1999-2001. Third was Achmady, who was bupati of Mojokerto, but resigned two years ahead of the end of his term to compete in the Pilgub as Gus Dur’s handpicked candidate for PKB. The final contender, Yusuf (Gus Ipul), was the NU National Chairman of GP Ansor, and was once a DPR parliamentarian in 1999 and 2004 and served State Minister for Acceleration of Development in Underdeveloped Regions in 2004-2007. However, Yusuf and Moesa were vying for the deputy position, which Kyai Ghofur criticised as like a ‘spare tyre’ (ban serep). Khofifah and Achmady were contesting the top position, but Kyai Ghofur preferred Khofifah because she was a more prominent NU figure despite being a woman.

When the run-off election drew nearer, Kyai Ghofur employed a more active approach and began to openly support Khofifah-Mudjiono. This was principally because PKS backed Soekarwo. According to Kyai Ghofur, PKS is a ‘dangerous’ party for NU because of its rigid stance on innovations (bid’a) in Islam, including an apparent desire to prohibit the traditionalist recitation of catechisms (tahli lan) and the ritual feast (slametan) for deceased Muslims. Further, as Kyai Ghofur explained, although PAN is close to Muhammadiyah, chiefly because its founder Rais is the former Chairman of Muhammadiyah, PAN is at least a Pancasila party. However, Kyai Ghofur views PKS with suspicion and he fears its fundamentalist Wahhabi inclinations underlie an agenda to introduce shari’ah law and turn Indonesia into an Islamic state.

Kyai Ghofur held a meeting at his pondok with several members of the local NU community, including kyai, ulama, and even the deputy bupati of Lamongan, Tsalits. The meeting discussed how NU in Lamongan could help boost Khofifah’s popularity in the district. The group telephoned Khofifah on speakerphone to pledge their support. Kyai Ghofur spoke first, giving his blessing and support, which was reiterated by Tsalits. During this gathering, Kyai Ghofur stated that it was ‘obligatory’ (‘wajib’) for all NU members to support Khofifah. Furthermore, he announced that he would openly state in his sermons that Khofifah was the
best candidate for East Java, which may have helped Khoifah win over Lamongan in the run-off election.

Support from kyai does help to build up the religious and moral credentials of a candidate. Kyai Ghofur, and Kyai Mu’rob at Pesantren Karangasem, would state often in their interviews and discussions that they support candidates based on, first, their benefit to Islam and proselytisation (dakwah), and second their ability to help develop the country. Underpinning this also is a candidate’s affiliation to either NU or Muhammadiyah. Kyai Ghofur always champions a politician with an NU background over one from Muhammadiyah. However, he is a realist and will work with politicians, parliamentarians, district heads, and others who were Muhammadiyah, including bupati in Lamongan.

**Conclusion**

Kyai Ghofur’s symbolic capital and symbolic power attracts political representatives from the district, provincial, and national levels, who seek his endorsement to broaden their electoral support. Such representatives are not confined to NU members who wish to attract this constituency. Muhammadiyah Muslims also understand that visiting local NU kyai through the gesture of brotherly Muslim visit, or silaturrahim, is important as these religious figures are an integral part of the umat throughout Java. In this way, it is certain that politicians will continue to approach well-known religious figures, like Kyai Ghofur, to attract local support. The temptation for kyai to become involved in politics will remain high because of its potential to bring rewards. Kyai Ghofur and his fellow NU kyai and religious leaders are not advocating for shari’ah law or major Muslims policies, but they would like to see their pesantren communities receive government assistance and prosper into the future. Although kyai influence on people’s political preference is limited, and concentrated during elections, since reformasi voting patterns show that support for moderate politicised forms of Islam has naturalised.

Kyai Ghofur preferred the style of politics of the New Order regime, where election results were predictable, socio-political and religious issues remained wedded within the rules of symbolic violence, and a relationship existed which granted him government favouritism. His political motivations are an extension of his ambition to spread and strengthen NU, which are
underpinned by his desire to continue the *dakwah* missionary activities of the *wali songo*. However, such his objectives also appear to stem from a more personal nature and what he might gain from his acquiescence with people in power. Kyai Ghofur’s long association with Golkar during the New Order regime helped him develop his *pesantren* and cement himself into the *umat*. Although his commitment to the development of Indonesian society and the *umat* is noble, his *ad hoc* alliances and tactics have often been unsuccessful in the post-Suharto era, confusing many locals. Perhaps the answer for this apathy towards his political instructions lies with Indonesia’s more recent political history, where people got tired of being pressed to vote for the same corrupt, unaccountable regime, and overthrew it after 32 years. Forcing people to vote a certain way is to deny Indonesia’s recent historical events, and voters have demonstrated that they will punish underperforming politicians by denying them re-election.

Alliances between Muhammadiyah and NU candidates for the positions of *bupati* and deputy *bupati*, for example, have been successful. At a religious rally in Lamongan city in August 2008, Afnan Anshori, the former Muhammadiyah leader for Lamongan in 2000-2005, stated that the strongest and most balanced political force was the pairing of NU and Muhammadiyah, where the top position could go to the Muhammadiyah member and deputy position to NU, or *vice versa*. This ensured that the interests of both NU and Muhammadiyah are protected. Both groups understand the need to attract bi-partisan support from the two constituencies, and never to marginalise the other. Muhammadiyah candidates avoid public favouritism towards either NU or Muhammadiyah, and this approach has been successful.

The fact that Muhammadiyah members are winning throughout Indonesia, and even in East Java, namely Lamongan in 2005 and 2010, the Bojonegoro district in 2007, and the East Java province in 2008, reflects several developments. First, Indonesia has become a mature democracy, which is inclusive and pluralistic. Second, *kyai* are limited in their ability to exert *symbolic power* across the *umat* as people are not bound by *symbolic violence* to vote according to religious identity linked with complicity to *kyai*. Third, *kyai* from NU are divided in their political alliances, which has undermined strategies to unite their organisation as a homogenous entity during elections. NU members who compete against each other diminish their appeal, which has allowed the non-aligned and Muhammadiyah candidates to win. Nevertheless, in Lamongan, the NU constituency remains strong and the NU-aligned
PKB retains its position as the most popular party. However, it has been shown that campaigns that hinge largely on NU credentials do not attract sufficient votes. Therefore, candidates must expand their core political values and base to include broader mainstream qualities to satisfy the electorate.

The difficulty for NU to unite rests with its inability to sanction members over inappropriate religious or political behaviour. Normally, NU leaders ignore members who are disobedient or unruly until the situation becomes problematic and even irreconcilable. Communication is conducted in a private manner, and non-conforming members are visited by local, and sometimes provincial or national NU leaders or venerated elders (sesepuh). Other tactics include not inviting misbehaving members to special events and denouncing them publicly. The most public cases of disunity often involved Gus Dur. He had public rows with various people, including national NU leader Hasyim Muzadi, Muhaimin Iskandar from PKB, Choirul Anam who left PKB to help found PKNU, and even his own cousin, Saifullah Yusuf. Muhammadiyah on the other hand, can sanction its members by revoking the use of their name, as well as terminating funding and administrative support; but never as drastic as the Catholic Church, which can excommunicate its members. The behaviour of some of NU’s respected figures since reformasi has caused the organisation internal disunity and problems, and challenged their commitment to the return to khittah policy. However, nationally NU’s political inclinations have waned since Gus Dur passed away in December 2009, and in March 2010, Said Aqil Siradj was elected as NU leader, vowing to avoid politics and respect the khittah principle for the betterment of NU and Islam in Indonesia.
Illustration 6.3: Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Political Figures

From left to right: Kyai Ghofer, Dato’ Ravi, Imam Nahrawi, Gus Dur, and far right (cut out) Makin Abbas. Kyai Ghofer recites a Qur’anic prayer at the Pesantren Sunan Drajat mosque.

From left: Tsalits, Agung Laksono, and Kyai Ghofer. Laksono cuts a ribbon to open the Ma’had Ali College at Pesantren Sunan Drajat.

Photographs by Nathan Franklin
Chapter Eight: The Case Study of Pesantren Karangasem
Chapter Eight: The Case Study of Pesantren Karangasem

This chapter investigates Pesantren Karangasem as a case study to represent reformist and modernist Muslims in Lamongan. It was chosen because it is the largest Muhammadiyah pesantren in Lamongan, and one of the oldest and largest of its kind in Indonesia. Its close proximity to Pesantren Sunan Draji also provided the opportunity to conduct a cross-comparison with this Nahdatul Ulama (NU) pesantren. Generally, pesantren are not linked to Muhammadiyah, and although in Lamongan this seems to be a popular trend with thirteen Muhammadiyah pesantren in the district, throughout Indonesia this scenario is quite rare.¹ According to statistics in 2000, only 184 pesantren, or roughly 1.6 per cent, were affiliated to Muhammadiyah.² This is because pesantren are not considered to represent modernist Islam, and instead Muhammadiyah prefer the Western-style school as a model for education (Sukma, Joewono & Centre for Strategic and International Studies 2007: 27). This position was given further weight by Muhammadiyah Chairman, Din Syamsuddin, who stated that it is not the intention of his organisation to promote the spread of Muhammadiyah pesantren (Interview with Din Syamsuddin 7 July 2007). However, as is discussed in this chapter, Pesantren Karangasem has all the characteristics of a common Javanese pesantren, but with differences that are distinctly Muhammadiyah in character.

In 1948, Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri (1925-1997) founded Pesantren Karangasem in Paciran, Lamongan. The pesantren is currently headed by Kyai Anwar Mu’rob (b. 18 August 1938), but compared to his predecessor he is not as well-known and thus has less symbolic capital. The primary focus of their santri habitus is to exert symbolic power to inculcate its santri in theology of Islamic reformism (pembaruan) and the practice of scholarly interpretation (ijtihad). This approach provides the doctrinal platform to expunge traditionalist syncretic Islam. In terms of the wider community, the leaders of Pesantren Karangasem exercise symbolic power to reform and purge Islam in the area of superstition (takhayul), innovations (bid’a) and myth (churofat), or TBC, as well as idolatry (musyrik) and customs.

¹ In fact, many Muhammadiyah followers are unaware that their organisation has associated pesantren and they believe that such institutions are exclusively connected to NU. When they hear ‘Pesantren Karangasem’ they think that it refers to a pesantren in the east Bali district of Karangasem.
² In 2000, there were 11,312 pesantren in Indonesia (Tempo 1 March 2004: 30). In 2007, 8 per cent, or 1,172, of Indonesia’s 14,656 registered pesantren were defined as ‘modern’, not necessarily Muhammadiyah (Departemen Agama 2007b: iv). It is not known how many were associated to Muhammadiyah, perhaps 1.6 per cent if the pattern from Tempo (1 March 2004: 30) remains valid.
(adat) that they consider un-Islamic. It must be noted that musyrik and adat are often conflated in TBC rhetoric concerning Islamic purification.

Pembaruan is conducted principally through education and Islamic proselytisation, or dakwah, in the local Islamic community (umat). The aim is to return to the normative teachings and practice of Prophet Muhammad, or sunnah based on Hadith (verified prophetic stories of Muhammad) as the crucial complement to the Qur’an. Muhammadiyah adherents apply ijtihad to determine all practices for purity. Pesantren Sunan Drajat’s principal source after the Qur’an and Hadith is al-Ghazali’s Ihya’ Ulum al-din (Revival of Religious Sciences). In contrast, Pesantren Karangasem educators teach from an additional text, namely the Bulugh al-Maram (Attainment of the Objective According to the Evidence of the Ordinances), by Ibn Hajar Asqalani (AD 1372-1449). Muhammadiyah approves of Bulugh al-Maram because they consider it ‘authentic’ (sahih) as it is based on the six authentic Hadith collections. These different doctrinal sources have led to differences in religious practices, interpretation, and distinct cultural capital, dividing NU and Muhammadiyah. These differences between the two Islamic groups are referred to as ‘undefined Islamic law’ (khilafiyah; sometimes called persilihan, or gap, in Indonesian); not to be confused with the Sunni-Shiite dichotomy.

The successful spread of reformist Islam and establishment of Muhammadiyah in Lamongan has been chiefly because of local kyai, many of whom were formerly associated with NU, and through the pesantren system (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003; Sjamsudduha 1999: 59). Without these symbolic ‘traditionalist’ institutions, pembaruan may have failed, but Muhammadiyah did have to compromise by operating outside of the normal parameters of reformism and modernism. This is because the use of the pesantren as centres for a pedagogy supporting a specifically santri habitus is predicated on the dispositions of the kyai, santri, pengajian (Qur’anic recitation), and other paraphernalia associated with the pesantren system. As a consequence Muhammadiyah, at least in Lamongan and East Java, recognises and legitimises this traditional system of Javanese Islamic education.

As previously discussed in chapter five, Muhammadiyah has had to soften its approach and tolerate those of its followers who still continue some heterodox practices consisting of

3 In some cases, sunnah prevails over the Qur’an as, for example, when the Qur’an refers to three daily prayers (11:114 and 24: 58), but the sunnah stipulates five (Glasse 1989: 381; Glasse cited verse 11:116, but verification found it to be 11:114).
traditional syncretic and NU-style Islam, although the ultimate goal remains to reform this predicament completely. Nevertheless, by using the classical Javanese pesantren system, it enabled institutions like Pesantren Karangasem to change local cultural and religious capital, which is predicated on belief and dictates behaviour, of ‘misguided’ Muslims. Since the 1950s, Muhammadiyah shifted its strategy to spread its reformist theology through ‘physical action’ (‘bi al-hal’), including community service, charity programs, building educational facilities and other public utilities, as well as through religious guidance and dakwah (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 253). Muhammadiyah appeased local opposition by building schools, madrasah, pesantren, hospitals and healthcare clinics, and libraries, as these facilities benefit the community as a whole (Chamin, Baidhawy & PSB-PS UMS 2003: 25).

In this chapter, there is frequent reference to the leadership of Pesantren Karangasem, rather than just to Kyai Mu'rob. This is a reflection of the school’s collective administration as opposed to, for example, the authoritative kyai-ship of Pesantren Sunan Drajat. The affairs of Pesantren Karangasem are administered through a kyai council (dewan kyai). Therefore, executive power, decisions, and symbolic power, are shared among three of the school’s most senior leaders, Kyai Mu’rob, Kyai Umar Faroq (Kyai Syamsuri’s younger brother), and Ustazd Hakam Mubarok (the eldest son of Kyai Syamsuri). There are also three advisors to this group, namely Ustazd Mufti Labib (a son of Kyai Syamsuri), Ustazd Abdul Quhan (son in-law of Kyai Syamsuri), and another teacher, Ustazd Mudoriah (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 21 July 2007; Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007). This administrative structure was supposed to emulate Muhammadiyah-style governance, but notably four of the six members on the dewan kyai were close family. Notwithstanding, their aim was to promote a pluralistic structure and to avoid producing a cult-like attitude (mengultuskan) towards kyai, which Muhammadiyah believes is an anathema to the reformist and modernist process of Islam. Such issues are further discussed as this chapter provides a profile of Pesantren Karangasem and its founder Kyai Syamsuri, as well as the current leader Kyai Mu’rob. Other aspects covered include the approach of Pesantren Karangasem educators to reforming and modernising Islam, as well as daily activities in the santri habitus.

Data cited in this chapter were obtained through research conducted at Pesantren Karangasem from June to December 2007, and in June to August 2008, as well as short visits in November.

4 Other teachers that contribute advice to this council includes Fatih, Zainal, Hamdan and Madjid.
2009 and June 2010. During these periods, participant observation was employed, as well as dozens of interviews with Kyai Mu’rob, pesantren’s senior teachers (ustadz), santri, local villagers, as well as senior Muhammadiyah leaders and officials at the district, provincial and national level. In July 2008, 150 surveys were handed out to santri at Pesantren Karangasem examining the link between politics and this pesantren. The response rate was 56 completed surveys, or 37 per cent. This survey was almost identical to the one designed for Pesantren Susan Drajat and was divided into two sections. The first part consisted of 22 questions to be answered by the student, and the second, 35 questions, for one of the student’s parents. Thirty surveys were given to santri at each of the following faculties: middle school (sekolah menengah pertama, SMP), religious middle school (madrasah tsanawiyah, MTs), senior high school (sekolah menengah atas, SMA), religious senior high school (madrasah aiyah, MA) and a vocational college (sekolah menengah kejuruan, SMK). It was distributed exactly half between males and females. Female respondents were almost double that of males at 37 and 19 respectively, most likely because the English class I taught at Pesantren Karangasem had more females in it and I sought their help to encourage students to return their surveys.

Pesantren Karangasem

Pesantren Karangasem was founded on 18 October 1948 (28 Dzul Hijjah 1367) by the late Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri. Kyai Syamsuri was born in August 1925, and was relatively young when he founded his own pondok at the age of 23. He headed the pesantren until his death on 27 March 1997, and since then his successor, Kyai Mu’rob, has been the pesantren’s headmaster. Kyai Syamsuri established Pesantren Karangasem to educate locals and strengthen Islam in the area, as well as to produce future proselytizers of Islam (da’i) (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009). Apparently, the pondok begun with only one santri (Ponpes Karangasem 2009). According to Pesantren Karangasem administrative records, in the academic year of 2006-7 there were 1,425 santri studying at the school, of which 684 were boys and 741 girls. Further, there were 214 santri mukim (boarding santri), divided between 93 putra (males) and 121 putri (females), while the remaining 1,211 were santri mudik (homebound santri).

5 According a senior female teacher, Bariroh (interview on 16 November 2009), Pesantren Karangasem had about one thousand santri mukim in its heyday before the split.
6 Pesantren Karangasem usually refers to who reside at the pondok as santri, while those that do not live there are normally referred to as siswa/siswi.
Pesantren Karangasem use a simple monetary system: what they earn is what they can spend. This system is referred to as ‘single door’ (satu pintu) economics (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 June 2007; Pemerintah Lamongan 2003: 16). According to a local government document, in 2003, Pesantren Karangasem earned approximately R.2.6 billion (AUD$325,000) for the year, or on average R.221.6 million (AUD$27,700) per month. This same document stated that this was principally derived from its 2,430 students (Pemerintah Lamongan 2003: 16). Pesantren Karangasem educators were always reluctant to discuss financial matters, but they often complained of a very limited budget to purchase even basic items, let alone modern luxuries like computers and internet access.

Pesantren Karangasem is situated down a crowded and narrow street about half a kilometre south of the Daendels Road, which runs along the north coast of Lamongan. There are three pesantren located down this lane: respectively, Pesantren Mazra’atul Ulum, Pesantren Modern, and Pesantren Karangasem. Although the latter two are associated to Muhammadiyah and the Paciran village is predominantly Muhammadiyah, Pesantren Mazra’atul Ulum is affiliated with NU. Nearby is the Paciran subdistrict branch building of Muhammadiyah, and there is also a medical clinic, and a number of schools and vocational colleges run by Muhammadiyah.

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Table 8.1: Pesantren Karangasem Santri Numbers 2006-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institute</th>
<th>Boarding</th>
<th>Day Student</th>
<th>Internal</th>
<th>External</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TK</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>97 85</td>
<td>72 63</td>
<td>24 22</td>
<td>97 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIM Karangasem</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>149 150</td>
<td>103 99</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>149 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTS Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>17 27</td>
<td>43 48</td>
<td>22 9</td>
<td>14 12</td>
<td>60 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>36 34</td>
<td>98 97</td>
<td>21 21</td>
<td>29 34</td>
<td>134 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>15 9</td>
<td>28 33</td>
<td>18 14</td>
<td>10 10</td>
<td>43 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMA Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>19 51</td>
<td>77 189</td>
<td>34 41</td>
<td>36 123</td>
<td>96 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMK Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>5 0</td>
<td>82 0</td>
<td>5 0</td>
<td>45 0</td>
<td>87 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAI Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>17 18</td>
<td>8 9</td>
<td>9 9</td>
<td>17 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahfidzal Qur’an</td>
<td>1 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>93 121</td>
<td>591 620</td>
<td>283 256</td>
<td>168 214</td>
<td>684 741</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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7 This calculates to about R.91,000 ($11.40) per student per month; although the amount of students seems high as it is 1,005 more pupils than in 2006, only three years after the government document was published.

8 Pesantren Mazra’atul Ulum is affiliated with NU and is run by KH Muhammad Zahidin Asyhuri. According to the Department of Religion in Lamongan this pesantren had 1374 santri in 2007 (Departemen Agama 2007a).
The Pesantren Karangasem Complex

Pesantren Karangasem is about three hectares in size and is surrounded by village houses to its north, south, and west. The school has two entrances on its west side, one that passes Kyai Mu’rob’s home and the other next to the pesantren’s high school (SMP). Along the pesantren’s eastern side is a water estuary that connects onto the Java Sea. There is no security or any signage to suggest that visitors must report, as is common with many pesantren, and only the south entrance can be closed off by a gate. The pesantren blends into the village with the highest building two stories high and the pesantren mosque, Mesjid Al-Mana, about three stories high. Buildings at the compound had white walls and floors with blue roofs, but in 2010, except for the roofs, everything was painted light beige.

Pesantren Karangasem has the typical design of a Javanese pesantren. Entering through the north entrance one will pass Kyai Mu'rob’s residence, which also has rooms on the second level to accommodate female students learning to memorise the Qur’an (tahfidzul Qur’an). Next door is the mosque, and directly across the road is the female dormitory and a small office that organises haj pilgrimages and umroh (lesser haj to Mecca usually lasting nine days). Past the mosque is a play area surrounded by classrooms to the north and a male dormitory to the east. Continuing south through the middle of the pesantren are MTs and SMP schools. Behind the MTs is an open area where soccer and badminton are played, and nearby is another building with a kitchen and eating area for santri, which also has a male dormitory on the second floor. In front of the MTs is a crowded complex of residential housing for many of Pesantren Karangasem’s teachers, which also accommodates some ordinary villagers. Further south is the religious senior high school (MA) and the state high school (SMA). Behind the SMA is the home of Ustadz Mubarok, who is the designated future kyai. Separating the SMA and crowded village houses is a second road that joins onto the main thoroughfare, which connects on to Daendels Road.

Also operated by Pesantren Karangasem is a vocational college (SMK), which is located about five hundred metres west of Pesantren Karangasem along the Daendels Road. The SMK teaches motor mechanics and machinery engineering. In addition, there is a third site for orphans (panti asuhan), which is located about a kilometre east of Pesantren Karangasem. Pesantren Karangasem also has affiliated institutions for kindergarten (taman kanak-kanak, Chapter Eight: The Case Study of Pesantren Karangasem
and a religious primary school (madrasah ibtidadiyah, MI), which are located adjacent along the north side of the Pesantren Karangasem complex. In addition, there is an affiliated Muhammadiyah Islamic College (Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Muhammadiyah, STAIM) directly north of Pesantren Karangasem on the Daendels Road.

Although the facilities mentioned above provide education from kindergarten to university level, the educational system of Pesantren Karangasem is mainly focused on middle and senior high school. Santri mukim perform daily pengajian, as well as intimate Qur’anic learning circles called halaqah, whereas santri mudik, who return home after classes, participate in fewer Islamic studies. All students are supposed to recite the Qur’an for at least 15 minutes before class begins in the morning, but supervision is lax and this is principally an individual activity. There are frequent pengajian activities involving all pupils, usually conducted in the school hall or sometimes at the mosque, and all students receive daily formal religious learning (diniyah) in class. In addition, both santri mukim and santri mudik are encouraged to live according to sunnah and to reconcile their religious values with modernity. The pedagogy of the santri habitus provides all santri, including santri mudik, with the austerity of a lifestyle where sunnah is practised by everybody. This santri habitus is supposed to heighten their understanding of how religion can operate in a modern society.

Pesantren Karangasem derives its name from when the pondok was situated under a large ‘tamarind tree’ (pohon asam). The fact that the pondok was in the yard (karang) under this tree led locals to the name it Pondok Karangasem (lit. pondok in the yard of the tamarind tree). The pondok started with modest beginnings with just one student, but eventually it grew into a more formal institution and became Pesantren Karangasem (Ponpes Karangasem 2009). Since its establishment, its leadership has promoted reformist-style Islam, although not initially pembaruan, but emphasis was given to the importance of the two holy texts of Islam, the Qur’an and Hadith. Despite the longevity of Pesantren Karangasem, its leadership only added the suffixation ‘Muhammadiyah’ in 2001 following a decision by the pesantren’s dewan kyai (Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007). However, as of 2010 it had not been officially approved by Muhammadiyah (Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010; Interview with Zainal Anwar 24 November 2009).
Until 1983, Pesantren Karangasem was about a hectare larger than it is today. The reduction in size is because of a split between the pesantren’s leaders, namely Kyai Syamsuri and Kyai Ridwan Syarqawi (1914-1990). The causes of the split are discussed later in this chapter. Apparently the two kyai collaborated shortly after the establishment of Pesantren Karangasem, but first met in the 1930s when they attended pengajian studies together at the local prayer house Langgar Luwur. Originally, Pesantren Karangasem was the pondok, or dormitory and place of pengajian activities, led by Kyai Syamsuri. The other location (now Pesantren Modern), about 150 metres north of Pesantren Karangasem, was headed by Kyai Ridwan and was where formal schooling was provided.

After the split, Kyai Ridwan added dormitory and pengajian facilities to his school to provide his santri with a complete santri habitus. He then named the school Pesantren Modern. Similarly, Kyai Syamsuri created formal schooling at Pesantren Karangasem. In 2009, a senior teacher at Pesantren Modern, Ustadz Musnal Abit, said in an interview that there were 2,550 santri at the school, divided between 1,150 boys and 1,400 girls. The 2,550 santri included students from kindergarten to university. However, there were only 150 santri mukim who reside at the pondok, of whom exactly 60 were boys and 90 were girls (Interview with Ustadz Musnal Abit 26 November 2009). In 2010, Pesantren Karangasem and Pesantren Karangasem continue to operate independently, and both are an integral part of the local milieu and Muhammadiyah community.

Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri

Abdurrahman Syamsuri, also nicknamed Yi Man, was born sometime in August 1925 in the village of Paciran and was the second of seven children in his family. His father, also called Syamsuri, and grandfather, Kyai Idris, were both local religious figures. His father was a farmer and taught religion, and his grandfather was a well-known local kyai. They had a significant influence on Syamsuri and encouraged him to memorise the Qur’an, which apparently he did within seven months at the age of 15 (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 31). By the age of 23, he founded his own pondok and from age 47 he would lead Muhammadiyah in Lamongan for 18 years in 1972-90, then as deputy for another five years in 1990-95. Records regarding the places and accounts of Syamsuri’s life, particularly his study activities, are scanty and are often inconsistent. The accuracy of information from books and other records
was often questionable, and so cross referencing was necessary. Through this information and additional interviews, it was possible to piece together a historical profile of Syamsuri; probably the most important Muhammadiyah figure in Lamongan during the twentieth century.

Syamsuri began his studies with his father and grandfather, who both taught religion at a wooden prayer house, Langgar Duwur, which his grandfather, Kyai Idris (d. 1939), built in 1930 (Departemen Agama 2007b: 183). It remains in use and still stands behind some houses at the Pesantren Karangasem complex. Syamsuri commenced his formative studies at a local Islamic primary school (MI) in Paciran. In the early 1930s, he studied in Ngawi district, East Java, for several years (Departemen Agama 2007b: 184). He returned to Lamongan to study for three years at Pondok Kranji, in Kanji village, Paciran, which taught traditional Islamic education. Nearby, he continued his religious education at Pesantren Al-Amin in the village of Tunggul, Paciran, in 1938-40 (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 32).

Pesantren Al-Amin and its leader, Kyai Muhammad Amin Mustofa, were particularly important for introducing elements of Islamic reformism to Syamsuri. Kyai Amin was born in 1912 and he founded Pesantren Al-Amin in 1936. He studied at several pesantren, including Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang, Pesantren Termas, Pesantren Ngelom Sepanjang (somewhere west of Surabaya) and Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik (Sjamsudduha 1999: 54; Syuhadi 2006: 14). It is purported that Kyai Amin was so talented that he memorised the Qur’an in three months. Kyai Amin’s attitude towards Islam changed sometime around 1930-1, when he spent seven months studying in Saudi Arabia. He was introduced to reformist ideas during this time, but never actually became a member of Muhammadiyah, but his teachings were reformist in nature emphasising the need to refer to the Qur’an and sunnah. He familiarised his santri to Islamic texts (kitab) with conducting question and answer sessions, techniques which were uncommon in the traditional pesantren system at the time (Sjamsudduha 1999: 54). Kyai Amin did not like to use prayer mats (sajadah) adorned with patterns or pictures, and if the mat was adorned he would turn it up-side down. Another reformist attitude was that he believed the Javanese drum, known as beduk or kentongan, should not be used as an instrument in the call to prayers (Syuhadi 2006: 16).
Kyai Amin became an important community leader for three reasons. First, he wrote a *kitab* text called *Aqa'id al-Madriyah* (Creeds of City Dwellers) in Arabic language using the song-poem style, known as *nazam*, which made it easier to recite and comprehend. Second, he became the leader of the Islamic paramilitary group Laskar Hizbullah on the north coast of Lamongan. In November 1945, Kyai Amin led Laskar Hizbullah in the famous Battle of Surabaya in the East Java capital (Sjamsudduha 1999: 54). He continued local resistance in Lamongan until he was finally killed by the Dutch on 28 July 1949. He was buried in the village of Dagan in Solokuro, Lamongan, where his grave remains today. Locals believed Kyai Amin died as martyr (*syahid*) because he engaged in holy war (*jihad*) against the Dutch, who were considered infidels (*kafir*) (Interview with Kyai Miftahul Fatah Amin 26 November 2009; Jawa Pos 10 November 2009). Third, he left a legacy through his *santri*, who went on to become Muhammadiyah leaders. These included Kyai Syamsuri (Muhammadiyah Leader of Lamongan, *Pimpinan Daerah Muhammadiyah*, PDM), Kyai Ahmad Khozin (PDM Bojonegoro), Kyai Mahbub Ilhas (PDM Tuban), Kyai Showab Mabrur (founder of the Muhammadiyah Laren branch), Khozin Jalik (founder of the Lamongan city branch) S. Nuryadi (founder of the Muhammadiyah Solokuro branch), and Kyai Karim Zen (founder of the Muhammadiyah Paciran branch) (Sjamsudduha 1999: 55; Syuhadi 2006: 16).

Kyai Amin is credited with introducing Syamsuri to reformism through emphasising reference to the Qur’an and Hadith (Interview with Kyai Miftahul Fatah Amin 26 November 2009). At Pesantren Al-Amin, Syamsuri also learnt Arabic grammar and morphology (*nahwu-shorof*), as well as interpretation (*tafsir*) of the Qur’an and Hadith (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 32). It was also at this time that Syamsuri allegedly completed his memorisation of the Qur’an. In addition, Kyai Amin helped develop Syamsuri’s *dakwah* skills by taking the young *santri* around the community during his *pengajian* activities, and sometimes asked Syamsuri to deliver the sermon (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 32).

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9 According to email on communication with Muhammadiyah Chairman for East Java, Syafiq Mughni on 9 October 2010: It is likely that the creed of this *kitab* was composed in response to questions addressed to the writer by city-dwellers.

10 Locals believed that Kyai Amin’s *jihad* was supported by the Qur’an (Interview with Hakam Mubarok on 20 November 2009 and Interview with Afnan Anshori 26 November 2009). Specifically Qur’anic verse 22:39: ‘To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged; and verily, Allah is most powerful for their aid.’

11 Syamsuri was so devoted to Kyai Amin, like a servant to a king, or ‘kawula’, as described by Syamsuri’s son, Hakam Mubarok, that at one o’clock every morning, Syamsuri would wake to perform the non-obligatory *tahajud* prayer and fill up his *kyai’s* bath with water. Apparently, Kyai Amin did not know who was readying his bath each morning until one day he heard the bathwater running and yelled out, ‘who is that?’, to which the reply
In 1940, Syamsuri continued his quest for religious knowledge and studied at a pesantren in Tulungagung for another four years (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 32). Supposedly, he would walk to Tulungagung from Lamongan, said to be a three-day journey (Informal conversation with Kyai Symasuri’s two younger sisters 26 November 2009). In 1944, Syamsuri studied at the famous Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang for another year (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005; Suprajoga 1980: 8). He studied under NU founder, Mbah KH. Muhammad Hasyim Asy’ari; a famous scholar and Hadith specialist, or ulama ahli hadis (Barton 2002: 39; Dhofier 1999: 6). Specifically, Kyai Asy’ari was known for concentrating on the Hadith collections of Imam Bukhari and Imam Muslim (Dhofier 1999: 9). Six decades later, these are two of the principal Hadith texts that Pesantren Karangasem educators use and are recognised by Muhammadiyah as sahih (authentic) sources (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 16 July 2008).

In 1945, Syamsuri relocated to study at Pesantren Kedunglo in Kediri for a year (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 32; Suprajoga 1980: 8). In 1946, Syamsuri returned to his home village of Paciran, only to find locals fighting against the Dutch for independence. Apparently, he used to participate in marching and other military drills with Kyai Amin’s Laskar Hizbullah (Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007). Syamsuri despised the Dutch colonisers and encouraged the local community to oppose them. There are some local anecdotes that he actively participated in opposing the Dutch, but principally he preached to the community that it was their religious duty to resist the Dutch infidels. Some of his closest religious associates, including Kyai Amin and Kyai Ridwan, who were prominent members of the movement for independence, were targeted by the Dutch authorities. Kyai Ridwan was captured, but was able to escape with the help of locals who hid him in the jungles in south Paciran, or modern-day Solokuro (Interview with Afnan Anshori 20 November 2009). As stated earlier, Kyai Amin was killed by the Dutch in July, just five months before the end of the war of independence on 27 December 1949.

was, ‘it is me, Abdurrahman Syamsuri’ (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009). Kyai Amin was so impressed by Syamsuri, who by that time had become his favourite and most talented santri, that he organised for Syamsuri (barely in his teens) to marry his daughter, Rahimah, who was only nine years old at the time. However, the marriage was brief and the two got divorced before having any children (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 32). Apparently, Kyai Amin stated that he wanted to re-establish a family connection in the future. In 1970, a family connection was re-established when one of Kyai Syamsuri’s daughters, Zakiyah, married Kyai Amin’s son, Safik Surianto (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009).
Joining Muhammadiyah

Literary sources and interviews provide conflicting accounts of when Syamsuri identified himself as Muhammadiyah. However, it is generally accepted that the seeds of critical thinking towards Islam were planted during his studies at Pesantren Al-Amin in the mid to late 1930s; it allowed him to accept the Muhammadiyah approach of *ijtihad* and *pembaruan*. Syamsuri’s son, Ustadz Labib, suggested that his father was formally introduced to Muhammadiyah during the early 1950s when he was a member of the Masyumi youth wing, the Indonesian Islamic Youth Movement (*Gerakan Pemuda IslamIndonesia*, GPII). At the time GPII and Muhammadiyah, although separate entities, had close relations with the Islamic party Masyumi (Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007).\(^\text{12}\) Kyai Syamsuri formally joined Muhammadiyah in the early 1960s, but apparently he took some years to remove heterodox (*israiliyat*) stories from his sermons (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 33; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 21 July 2007).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Pesantren Karangasem pioneered the association of *pesantren* with Muhammadiyah. However, Pesantren Karangasem was not founded in this way, and the *pesantren* was established many years before aligning itself with Muhammadiyah. Kyai Syamsuri and Pesantren Karangasem were already well-known and part of the local milieu before beginning to promulgate *pembaruan*, which likely facilitated local acceptance towards this new style of Islam. In 1976, as discussed in chapter five, his relationship with Muhammadiyah led to the accusation that he was part of the Holy War Command (*Komando Jihad*), which purportedly wanted to establish an Islamic state and opposed the government. Kyai Syamsuri was arrested and several weeks later released without charge. Although Syamsuri’s treatment did compel the Pesantren Karangasem leadership to be cautious of their commentary regarding the government, it did not deter their commitment to the Muhammadiyah movement (Interview with Kyai Umar Faroq 23 November 2009).

Since the 1960s, Pesantren Karangasem has remained as one of the largest *pesantren* affiliated to Muhammadiyah in Indonesia. In the 1970s, according to the Department of Religion, only a few other *pesantren* were associated with Muhammadiyah, including Pesantren Gombara in Sulawesi, Pesantren Mu’allimin Mu’allimat in Yogyakarta, as well as Pesantren Darul Arqam

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\(^\text{12}\) Nationally, Masyumi attained 20.9 per cent (KPU 1999a).

The Pesantren Karangasem Family

Kyai Syamsuri’s first marriage ended in divorce, but later in life he became polygamous and wed another three women. Together these women bore him 29 children, but as of 2009, seven had passed away. His second wife had twelve children, his third had eight, and his fourth had nine. In 2009, Kyai Syamsuri had 69 grandchildren and 15 great grandchildren (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 33; Interview with Bariroh 16 November 2009).14 Ustadz Mubarok is the oldest son from the second wife, and although the pesantren leadership promotes modernist attitudes and should disregard blue-blood lineage, he is the preferred male to inherit the position of kyai because of his status as the eldest son. This succession will proceed once Kyai Mu’rob becomes physically or mentally unfit to lead Pesantren Karangasem, or passes away (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008).

Kyai Mu’rob himself has only ever been in one life-long monogamous relationship, fathering twelve children. Kyai Mu'rob was interviewed about why some kyai indulge in polygamy and why they often have many children. In regards to marriage, he replied that it is considered a religious blessing (pahala) to get married, and polygamy was permitted as stipulated in the

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13 List confirmed by Muhammadiyah Chairman for East Java, Syafiq Mughni, via email on 26 August 2010.
14 Although the text by Fatichuddin & Hamid (2005: 33) stated that he had 30 children, interviews discovered he in fact had 29 children.
Kyai Mu'rob qualified this with the common adage that polygamous marriages must be fair and consented to by all people involved. Further, that the Prophet was allowed to have more than four wives since he was granted this permission, which is explained in the Qur'an. In response to having lots of children, Kyai Mu'rob said to have a child is regarded as a gift (anugerah) from Allah and that it is legally forbidden (haram) in Islam to use contraception (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). Kyai Mu'rob also said that it was important for a man to marry a woman because of her intelligence, rather than the attraction of her physical appearance, so that she could to help educate one’s children (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007).

Muhammadiyah Leader

Despite the fact that Kyai Syamsuri had his pesantren and family affairs to manage, he somehow found time to lead Muhammadiyah in Lamongan for 18 years. It is worth mentioning that in the pesantren system typically the wives (ibu nyai), along with assistance from maids (rewang), do most of the raising of a kyai’s children. Kyai Syamsuri’s leadership roles included a position on the three-member presidium of Muhammadiyah in Lamongan from 1972 to 1976, and he became Lamongan’s first Muhammadiyah Chairman from 1977-1979. He was re-elected to the same position in 1979-85, and again in 1985-90, and in 1990-5 he became deputy chairman (Syuhadi 2006: 101-8). Kyai Syamsuri was also a member of the Central Muhammadiyah Decision Making Council (Majelis Tarjih Muhammadiyah Pusat, MTMP) (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007). The MTMP was founded in 1927 and is one of Muhammadiyah’s councils that is authorised to perform ijtihad (Dewi 2008: 162-3). According to Kyai Mu'rob, MTMP examines issues regarding religion and the

15 Qur’anic verse 4:3: ‘If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, Marry women of your choice, two or three or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one, or (a captive) that your right hands possess, that will be more suitable, to prevent you from doing injustice.’

16 I found out later that this is actually indicated in Qur’anic verse 4:129: ‘Ye are never able to be fair and just as between women, if it is your ardent desire: But turn not away (from a woman) altogether, so as to leave her (as it were) hanging (in the air). If ye come to a friendly understanding, and practise self-restraint, Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.’

17 Qur’anic verse 33:50: ‘O Prophet! We have made lawful to thee thy wives to whom thou hast paid their dowers; and those whom thy right hand possesses out of the prisoners of war whom Allah has assigned to thee; and daughter of thy paternal uncles and aunts, and daughter of thy maternal uncles and aunts, who migrated (Makka with thee; and any believing woman who dedicates her soul to the Prophet if the Prophet wishes to wed her;—this only for thee, and not for the Believers (at large); We know what We have appointed for them as to their wives and the captives whom their right hands possess;— in order that there should be no difficulty for thee. And Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

18 During research, some poor young locals married in a religious ceremony known as ‘nikah siri’ or ‘kawin siri’, which requires only a religious person to sanction it, but this is not recognised by the state.
accommodation of modernity, including government laws and programs, family planning (keluarga berencana, KB), medicine, organ donating, cloning, bioethics, and so on (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007).

Aside from Kyai Syamsuri’s various leadership positions, generally most Lamongan residents and kyai, from both Muhammadiyah and NU, respected Kyai Syamsuri. People often said that this was because of his extensive knowledge of the Qur’an and the Hadith and his ability to perform simple but detailed interpretation (tafsir) of the holy texts. He delivered sermons in a story or narrative style, like kyai from NU, but intertwined reformist and modernist Muslim perspectives. Crucially, members of the NU community, especially kyai, acknowledged Kyai Syamsuri’s scholarly religious qualities and commitment to developing the umat through education and dakwah. Local kyai from NU and common people (orang awam) commended Kyai Syamsuri’s willingness to mix with the NU community. Further, since Kyai Syamsuri was founder (pendiri) and director (pengasuh) of Pesantren Karangasem his kyai-ship was considered equal to that of any kyai from NU.
Illustration 7.1: Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri and Pesantren Karangasem

Kyai Syamsuri, founder of Pesantren Karangasem and prominent Muhammad figure in Lamongan.

An archway at the main entrance to Pesantren Karangasem. A common scene where pesantren complexes are located amongst crowded villages.

Photographs by Nathan Franklin
The Split

Shortly after Pesantren Karangasem was founded, Kyai Syamsuri and Kyai Ridwan collaborated to lead the pesantren. Kyai Syamsuri headed the pengajian and dakwah activities, while Kyai Ridwan was in charge of leading general education and formal religious learning. Based on interviews with Kyai Abdul Karem Zen (former headmaster of Pesantren Modern), as cited in Samid (1995: 67-8), in 1957 Kyai Ridwan created the Madrasah Islam, which affiliated with Pesantren Karangasem to provide general education. A year later, it became Madrasah Muhammadiyah, and in 1961, it changed again to Pendidikan Guru Agama (Religious Teachers’ College, PGA). The PGA initially provided for only four years of learning, but in 1972 was extended to six years to accommodate growing pressure from the Suharto government to accommodate general education. In 1978, the PGA was divided into madrasah tsanawiyah Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah religious middle school, MTsM) and madrasah aliyah Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah religious senior high school, MAM). However, the two kyai separated in 1983, which split the pesantren in two.

There is general consensus in the Muhammadiyah community in Lamongan that there were no major theological differences between Kyai Syamsuri and Kyai Ridwan. Compared to Kyai Ridwan however, Kyai Syamsuri was more attuned to local apprehension of pembaruan. Kyai Syamsuri did not specifically denounce traditionalist Islam, whereas Kyai Ridwan expressed a rigid interpretation (tafsir) of pembaruan, and was less tolerant towards those who did not practise pure Islam. In fact, he was once forcefully ejected during a sermon he delivered because of his ‘Wahhabi’ and fundamentalist views regarding Orthodox Islam and criticism of traditionalists in Lamongan (Interview with Afnan Anshori 20 November 2009; Samid 1995: 98). Notwithstanding, the two kyai combined their talents to lead Pesantren Karangasem for over three decades.

In 1983, a rift developed between Kyai Syamsuri and Kyai Ridwan. It ended with the latter breaking away and severing his facilities from Pesantren Karangasem's northern section where the MTsM and MAM were located, which would later be turned into Pesantren Modern. Interviews uncovered that the row between the two kyai began over a disagreement regarding how to use funds donated to Pesantren Karangasem from Saudi Arabia. Saudi funding was

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19 This paralleled the government Pendidikan Guru Agama Negeri (Government Islamic Teacher’s College, PGA, the forerunner of Istitut Agama Islam Negeri, IAIN).
not unique to Pesantren Karangasem, or Indonesia for that matter, as this was a trend going back a decade earlier. Following the growth of oil revenues from the early 1970s and the ferocious rivalry with Shiite-Iran after the 1979 Revolution, the Sunni-Saudi government poured funds into Indonesia and other Muslim-majority countries (Hefner 2009: 88). One interviewee, who wished to remain anonymous, stated the amount to be several hundred million rupiah, or the equivalent of several billion rupiah in today’s value.

Most accounts of the split recall that Kyai Syamsuri instigated the separation, and because he was considered the junior, that is younger kyai, it was disrespectful behaviour against the older and more senior Kyai Ridwan. Accompanying Kyai Ridwan’s departure were two senior teachers, Abdul Karem Zen and Ahmad Munir; who would both lead Pesantren Modern after Kyai Ridwan’s death; the former has retired, while the latter is the school’s current kyai. Kyai Syamsuri was followed by his deputies, Anwar Mu’rob, Aliwanso and Kyai Syamsuri’s younger brother, Umar Faroq. Aliwanso died in 1994, and Mu’rob become kyai of Pesantren Karangasem after Kyai Syamsuri passed away in 1997, while Faroq visits regularly from his home in the village of Weru, Paciran (Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007).

Although Kyai Ridwan and Kyai Syamsuri passed away in the 1990s, relations between Pesantren Karangasem and Pesantren Modern have not been reconciled. According to an interview with Ustadz Labib (21 July 2007), apparently Kyai Karem Zen and Kyai Munir believed that Pesantren Karangasem is somehow not quite (kurang) Muhammadiyah. However, during interviews, members from Pesantren Modern, including Kyai Karem Zen and Kyai Munir, acknowledged Pesantren Karangasem as part of the Muhammadiyah movement and recognised their commitment to pembaruan, and particularly that of its founder, Kyai Syamsuri. Although they remain in opposition, Kyai Munir said that their relationship had improved since the mid-1980s, when relations were ‘hostile’ (‘permusuhan’) (Interview with Kyai Ahmad Munir 27 November 2009).

Differences between the two Muhammadiyah pesantren have become institutionalised as alumni members from Pesantren Modern occupy executive positions of the Muhammadiyah East Java provincial chapter (Pimpinan Wiliyah Muhammadiyah, PWM), as well as at the Lamongan district chapter (Pimpinan Daerah Muhammadiyah, PDM). East Java PWM Chairman, Syafiq Mughni, and PWM Secretary, Nadjib Hamid, as well as Lamongan PDM
Chairman, Mustofa Nur (who took over as PDM Chairman in late 2008 when his predecessor Abdul Fatah died), are alumni members of Pesantren Modern. These individuals have blocked Muhammadiyah provincial and district support to Pesantren Karangasem. Mughni and Hamid acknowledged the commitment of the Pesantren Karangasem community to pembaruan, but argued that the pesantren’s management and administrative style was not consistent with operations where Muhammadiyah could ensure proper oversight and supervision of standards and procedures (Interview with Nadjib Hamid 23 November 2009; Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010). Mughni’s explained that Pesantren Karangasem leadership was not open and transparent, and they acted as though facilities belong to themselves, rather than to Muhammadiyah (Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010).

The main controversy during the time of research (2007-10), involved members of Pesantren Modern using their influence in Muhammadiyah to obstruct Pesantren Karangasem’s plans to build a hospital in Paciran. According to Ustadz Labib, one strategy included members from Pesantren Modern compiling a dossier of incidents concerning Pesantren Karangasem’s clinic in Paciran. Apparently, one recorded incident detailed how someone on the clinic’s first floor threw a banana peel onto a neighbour’s roof. Another was that water in an underground well became contaminated by the clinic 50 metres away. There were more farcical, exaggerated, and probably fabricated, stories that were documented (Interview with Mufti Labib 10 June 2008). Ustadz Labib alleged that his opponent presented the dossier to Lamongan’s bupati, Masfuk, along with the argument that Pesantren Karangasem was not part of Muhammadiyah in an effort to prevent local government approval of their hospital. However, Masfuk’s response was that anyone seeking to build a hospital that would benefit the people of Lamongan would receive his permission (Interview with Masfuk 11 June 2008; Interview with Mufti Labib 10 June 2008). When Mughni was questioned about the dossier, he only confirmed that he and his colleagues had presented a case to Masfuk that they did not support the building of the hospital (Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010).

The above situation was likely linked to the fact that Mughni and Hamid have a personal connection to the Pesantren Karangasem and Pesantren Modern conflict. Mughni is the grandson of Kyai Ridwan, while Hamid considers himself a graduate of Pesantren Modern,

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20 Apparently the late Abdul Fattah was trying to improve relations between Pesantren Karangasem and Pesantren Modern, but this ended when he died (Interview with Afnan Anshori 20 November 2009).
although he studied before the split when only Pesantren Karangasem existed (Interview with Nadjib Hamid 23 November 2009). Mughni’s involvement in obstructing the building of Pesantren Karangasem’s hospital was advertent, particularly when he and Hamid pressed Bupati Masfuk not to permit the building of the hospital. Nevertheless, Muhammadiyah in East Java refused to recognise the hospital as part of its organisation, much less help with raising the estimated R.45 billion (AUD$ 5.5 million) needed to complete it and make it fully operational (Interview with Zainal Anwar 24 November 2009).

During research, it was apparent that there was an absence of interaction between the leadership of Pesantren Karangasem and Pesantren Modern. Nevertheless, both pesantren are located a few hundred metres apart down the same lane, and so at the local level educators at both pesantren compete for santri and support from the same community. There is no evidence to suggest that this has been a source of conflict, but both pesantren derive most of their santri from the same local umat, and must also compete with each other, as well as many other private and public schools, as well as pesantren and madrasah in the area. In order to attract students, Pesantren Karangasem advertised prominently its academic accolades and performance awards (prestasi) that their faculties, teachers, and students had won; although this is a common tactic used by schools, madrasah, and pesantren throughout Java and Indonesia. In addition, regardless of their problems with Muhammadiyah, this pesantren continued to use slogans to promote their affiliation to Muhammadiyah.

Boosting student numbers increases income from fees, as well as donations from families and the government. To attract new students, Pesantren Karangasem educators erect large posters and banners in the local area prior to the new semester. Posters depict students studying diligently in class, using computers, holding up trophies won from competitions in maths, Arabic, English, public speaking, and the like. Others showed female students, wearing the headscarf (jilbab), while studying in class, looking down a microscope, or using a computer, to demonstrate their modernist approach to education and their inclusiveness towards females, while maintaining their religious obligation to cover the intimate parts of the body (aurat).

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21 For further information on Pesantren Modern see Samid (1995).
22 All their schools have Muhammadiyah recognition: MA Muhammadiyah 01, SMA Muhammadiyah 06, SMK Muhammadiyah 08, MTs Muhammadiyah 02, and SMP Muhammadiyah 14, MI Muhammadiyah 16 and 14, and STAI Muhammadiyah. Pesantren Modern does this as well, for example: MI Muhammadiyah 01 and 02, MTs Muhammadiyah 01, MA Muhammadiyah 02, and SMK Teknologi Informasi Muhammadiyah 11.
Pesantren Karangasem leaders often inferred agreement with the position described by Hefner that the modernist approach to science and technology is that they are not necessarily Western creations, but products of human reason whose use God had intended for all humanity (Hefner 2009: 21). However, facilities at Pesantren Karangasem were limited as only a few classrooms were equipped with computer and science facilities, for nearly 1,500.

**Pembaruan at Pesantren Karangasem**

Since at least the 1960s, Kyai Syamsuri has espoused critical thinking and *ijtihad* regarding the practice of Islam (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 21 July 2007). He and other Pesantren Karangasem educators preached the rejection of the blind obedience (*taqlid buta*) approach to Islam, which they attributed to NU traditionalists. They maintained that their *pembaruan* approach is predicated on a literary foundation derived from the study and exegesis (*tafsir*) of the holy texts the Qur’an and the Hadith. Pesantren Karangasem’s current headmaster, Kyai Mu’rob, and other religious teachers (*ustadz*), also taught Islamic texts that concern jurisprudence (*fiqh*), systems of jurisprudence (*usul fiqh*), Islamic theology (*tauhid*), Islamic ethics (*akhlq*), as well as syntax and morphology of Arabic script (*nahwu-shorof*). They carefully considered each text for its content regarding *pembaruan* and its strong authenticity (*sahih*).

Efforts to break the culture of blind obedience to religious leaders recognises that within the community of believers submission to *kyai* in the way of *symbolic violence* is not appropriate for modernism in terms of religious thought and behaviour, which applies equally to political behaviour. This type of thinking puts trust in followers to make their own decisions, and does not exhaust *symbolic capital* or *symbolic power* of *kyai* on unpredictable political outcomes. It also allows common people to feel more comfortable around Pesantren Karangasem educators when their political views are different. For these reasons Muhammadiyah educators try to present any religious or political opinions logically and consistent with evidence.

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23 Although the texts at Pesantren Karangasem might appear to be limited in scope, a subject like *fiqh*, or jurisprudence, covers many aspects of life, conduct, and relationships. Some of the issues that *fiqh* covers include: the ablution, cleanliness, and the basic duties of prayer, fasting, and the pilgrimage, as well as matters relating to marriage, divorce, slaves, offences, and punishments under *shari’ah* (Islamic law), peace and security, taxes, inheritance, public finance, apostasy, rebellion, partnership, trusts, trade, commercial transactions, Islamic judges and justice, the law of retaliation (Arabic: *quisas*; Latin: *lex talionis*), evidence, deposits, credit, gifts, wages, misappropriation, pre-emption, assessment of rents and dues from agricultural land, mortgage, capital crimes and compensation from such crimes and other losses, sanctuary and asylum, wills, and so on (Most of the above was sourced from Dhofier 1999: 6-7).
Kyai Mu’rob preached to his santri and orang awam in the local community about the characteristics of Islamic reformism and traditionalism. He advocated that Islamic reformism required the practice of pure Islam and the preservation of monotheism (tauhid). He criticised traditionalism as misguided, especially idolatry in worshiping and praising objects, such as rocks and statues, and in particularly burial grounds of the wali songo or deceased kyai, when instead supplication should be to Allah directly. He called for innovations (bid’ā) to be abolished, including the use of the beduk, or traditional drum, in the call to prayer, or additional qunut prayer after obligatory morning prayer, as Muslims must follow the example of the Prophet Muhammad, because he was perfect and the messenger of Allah. In this way, Muslims also need to acknowledge that humans are imperfect, including the wali songo, kyai, and ulama. Meanwhile, texts like the kitab kuning must be disregarded if their authenticity cannot be verified (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 20 June 2007).

Research at Pesantren Karangasem found analogous conclusions to that posited by Hefner in his book *Making Modern Muslims* (2009). He stated that the reformists caution their members about several practices performed by the traditionalists. These included the faithful reliance (taqlid) approach to the study of classical kitab kuning; and affiliation with an established school of Islamic jurisprudence (mazhab); the recitation of a catechism (the talqin) to the deceased immediately after burial accompanied by a ritual feast (slametan); the utterance of the expression of intent before one’s daily prayers (in the name of Allah, or bismillahirrahmanirrahim); as well as the pilgrimage (ziarah) to the graveyards of Muslim saints (Hefner 2009: 21).

Although the practices defined by Hefner above are some of the most salient, based on research, Muhammadiyah reject other practices, including one who leads a Friday prayer at a mosque holding a stick (tongkat), including Kyai Ghofur, for example. They also disapprove

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24 As Berkey (1992: 31-2) explained, to ensure authenticity of Qur’anic recitation and the transmission of knowledge, a system of issuing a licence (ijazah) was created. It quickly became a standard means by which Muslim learning was passed on, from teacher to student, and to the next generation. The *ijazah* certified that a student had studied a particular book or collection of traditions under a teacher, and either the student heard the teacher dictate the work and had transcribed his teacher’s commentary, or he had himself read his transcription to the teacher, who corrected any mistakes in the student’s copy and recitation. The *ijazah* acted as a licence for its recipient to transmit the text, and it was also a record for all those in the chain of authority (sanad, isnad) from the book, or in the case of the Hadith, to the Prophet himself and his companions. However, the *ijazah* system was abused, particularly during the Middle Ages, with fictive transmissions, inconsistencies, and gaps. Such abuses date back to the earliest Islamic periods, particularly when the transmission of the Hadith was in its initial stages.
of the use of the traditional Javanese *beduk* in the call to prayers, the addition of the *qunut* prayer after morning prayer to gain extra religious merit (*pahala*), and smashing an egg at a traditional Javanese wedding to symbolise that the groom is the master of the house and that the bride must serve him (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007).

Kyai Mu'rob posited that Muhammadiyah do not perform *tahlilan*, *slametan*, or *kenduri*, because when a person died he or she is just a human like everyone else (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). Instead, they perform a ritual for the deceased known as *tasykuran*, which is a communal gathering where quotes and an obituary from the Qur’an are recited and prays directed to Allah, while food is served to guests (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). According to Muhammadiyah, the traditionalist activities as outlined above are *bid’a*, since the Prophet did not teach them. Technically, there are many modern innovations that are not deemed *bid’a*, such as electricity and speakers in the call to prayer in place of a *kedung*, for example, but these are permissible because they have been examined through *ijtihad*; they lack cultural symbolism associated with the pre-Islamic, Hindu-Buddhist past (Interview with Afnan Anshori 19 November 2009; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). Muhammadiyah consider all innovations as ‘reprehensible innovations’ (*bid’a dholalah*), which are ‘misguided’ (*sesat*) (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). 25

The counter-argument from NU and traditionalist *kyai*, including Kyai Ghofur, as discussed in chapter five, is that there are ‘good *bid’a*’ (*bid’a hasana*), which used correctly can bring religious merit (*pahala*) and blessings (*baraka*), as well as absolve sin (*dosa*). This included allowing people to drink alcohol or gender intermingling while listening to sermons, as forcing them to stop might drive them away. In addition, the deceased continued to earn *pahala* in the afterlife for their deeds and achievements if it continued to benefit the community, for example, a road, school, or mosque. Notwithstanding, Islam divides *bid’a* into two domains. The first concerns obligatory religious practices (*ibadah mahdah*), which are derived from the Qur’an and Hadith, such as obligatory prayers (*solat*), fasting (*puasa*) giving of alms (*zakat*), and *haj* pilgrimage. Muhammadiyah believe that matters concerning *ibadah mahdah* are not for debate and deviations must not be tolerated. The second type of

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25 Hadith collections that refer to this include: Sahih Bukhari Volume 8, Book 73 (Good Manners and Form [*Al Abad*]), no. 120; Sahih Muslim Book 4 (Book of Prayers [*Kitab Al-Salat*]), no. 1885; and Sunan Abu Dawood, Book 35 (Model Behaviour of the Prophet Muhammad [*Kitab Al-Sunnah*]), no. 4590, which reads: ‘Avoid novelties, for every novelty is an innovation, and every innovation is an error.’
bid’a regards non-obligatory practices (*ghoiru mahdah*), which Muhammadiyah do permit for debate. Based on discussions with Pesantren Karangasem educators, it was apparent that *ghoiru mahdah* was a contentious issue, and that debate and *ijtihad* was limited to qualified *ulama*. Moreover, *bid’a* cannot generate *pahala* or *barakah*, and is actually a sin, and the belief that the deceased continue to earn *pahala* from their deeds is a misguided superstition (*takhayul*) (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 20 June 2007).

Central to the *pembaruan* process are the doctrinal sources of Islam. Consequently, Pesantren Karangasem educators are critical of *kitab kuning*, commonly used at NU pesantren. They are particularly cautious of books claiming to be authentic Hadith, which they condemn as fake (Indo: *palsu*, Arabic: *mawdo*). Thorough scrutiny ensured that their *santri* have a clear understanding of ‘correct Islam’ (*Islam yang benar*) and *sunnah*. Although Muhammadiyah does not subscribe to any jurisprudential school of thought (*mazhab*), they study about the four principal schools of thought. Based on interviews and observations, members at Pesantren Karangasem derive inspiration from Hanbali jurists who accept only ‘authentic’ (*sahih*) or ‘fair’ (*hasan*) Hadith, and reject those considered ‘weak’ (*dhaif*). In the eighth and ninth centuries C.E., the Hadith, the recorded and verified words of the words and actions of the Prophet Muhammad, were compiled into standardised collections, and eventually formed the second foundation on which Islam’s authoritative traditions, or *sunnah*, are based (Hefner 2009: 7). The area of scholarship concerning Islam’s legal schools (sing: *mazhab*, plural: *Madhahib*) was also composed during this period, which resulted in the commonly recognised schools, namely Shafi’i, Hanbali, Maliki, and Hanafi (Shi’ism has its own school) (Hefner 2009: 7). Kyai Mu'rob stated that Muslims must not follow any of these schools blindly, whereas NU members limited their critical thinking because they restricted themselves to following the Shafi’i school (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007).

Kyai Mu’rob urged awareness of fake Hadith, as people who produced misleading texts did so for political, economic, or social gain. He compared someone who sold Hadith texts to a merchant in a marketplace who sold eggplants (*terong*). He explained that, ‘if the trader’s sales are down, to increase business he may exaggerate the benefits of eggplant and argue that there are many important reasons why one should buy them’ (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). He estimated that there were 20,000 fake Hadith in the world, and

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26 This jurisprudential school was created by students of Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbali (d. 855) (Hallaq 1997: 32).
therefore, it was important to rely on Muhammadiyah’s central leadership and their recommendations on which Hadith and other Islamic texts to accept and reject (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 20 June 2007). Nevertheless, Kyai Mu’rob admitted it was necessary to read classical kitab kuning in order to understand and refute arguments averred by traditionalists and Sufi Muslims (Mystic Muslims). It was also a sign that his pesantren operated independently of Muhammadiyah.27

In contrast to Pesantren Sunan Drajat, which was strict in the ritualistic sense and instructed its santri to conform to certain dress codes and behaviour, including the jurisprudential practices of the Shafi’i mazhab, at Pesantren Karangasem such issues were treated quite liberally. At Pesantren Karangasem, for example, students were not required to wear an Islamic cap, either the Middle Eastern style kopiyah or Indonesian black oval-shaped peci, at mosque prayers. This was underpinned by the fact that Muhammadiyah’s position toward mazhab is not to subscribe to any. Pesantren Karangasem leaders do not want to ritualise mazhab, because this is not considered sunnah, and therefore may be interpreted differently. However, when asked which mazhab they practised, teachers and santri usually tried to avoid the question, or would reply in an ambiguous fashion by saying that they followed the mazhab of Muhammadiyah; which does not exist.

Research at Pesantren Karangasem discovered that many teachers behaved according to the mazhab of Hanafi, dictating the ablution (wudu) and what constitutes its nullification, issues regarding filth (najis), and other religious rites.28 Hanafi is the oldest of the four schools and students of Imam Abu Hanifa an-Nu’man ibn Thābit (CE 699-767/AD 89-157AH) created it. The sources from which Hanafi theology are derived, in order of importance and preference are, the Qur’an, the Hadith, consensus (ijma), and analogical reasoning (qiyyas; which is applied if direct material cannot be found in the Qur’an or Hadith). It is noteworthy that

27 The Qur’anic collection used by Kyai Mu'rob included those by Ibnu Kasir, Jalalain, Imam Syafi’i, Al-Maraghi, Al-Azhar, Al-Manar, Depag RI (Indonesian Department of Religion), and Al-Ahkam. Their Hadith collections included: Bukhari, Muslim, Nasai, Ahmad, Ibnu Majah, and Riyadhus Shalihin.
28 For example, neither the Qur’an nor Hadith clearly explain exactly how to perform the ablution; for instance, one of the eight body parts is the face, while Shafi’i wash to their ears and the top of the hair, Hanbali interpret this to include only the skin of the face (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). According to Shafi’i school, one’s ablution is nullified when physical contact is made with the opposite sex, either intentionally or unintentionally, however according to Hanafi jurisprudence non-sexual contact between those of the opposite sex is permissible (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofer 17 March 2007; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). Educators at Pesantren Karangasem often point out that NU members switch to Hanafi during the haj pilgrimage because physical contact with the opposite sex is unavoidable in the tightly packed crowds (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007).
Pesantren Karangasem educators drew upon teachings and doctrine of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d.241/855), who was anti-rationalist and dominated the discourses on legal thought for most of the third/ninth century. Although he approved of Shafi’i, he went much farther in his ‘emphasis on the centrality of scripture and on the repugnant nature of human reasoning in law’, which he would not accept unless absolutely necessary (Hallaq 1997: 32). Only a few ustadz and santri at Pesantren Karangasem admitted to following Hanafi, while others mixed different jurisprudential schools, but most renounced them all as the majority observed guidance from Muhammadiyah regarding acceptable jurisprudential and religious rites.

In regards to strict Islamic practices, Pesantren Karangasem enjoyed a relationship with Pesantren Persis in Bangil, Pasuruan district, East Java, which included an exchange of santri and teachers (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 13 November 2007). Pesantren Persis is part of the Persis (Persatuan Islam, United Islam) organisation, which staunchly opposes TBC and is literalist in its interpretation of Islam without compromise, no matter how unpleasant (Pimpinan Pusat Persatuan Islam 2012). East Java Muhammadiyah Chairman, Syafiq Mughni, studied there for four years, and stated that his former pesantren represented an acute, hardline (garis keras) form of Islam, which was counterproductive to the spread of Islam as it turned people away from deepening their knowledge of Islam. He admitted that it took him many years to realise that dakwah should not be conducted through such rigid literalist application (Interview with Syafiq Mughni 14 June 2010). Although the Persis website differentiated itself from Muhammadiyah, Pesantren Karangasem educators received ideas of Islamic purification from Pesantren Persis leaders to balance themselves against the forces of traditional Muslims (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007).

Despite the rhetoric from Pesantren Karangasem educators regarding TBC, there seemed to be some exceptions. After the Dutch killed Kyai Amin, he was buried by Kyai Syamsuri in the village of Dagan, south of Paciran in the Solokuro subdistrict, but for some reason he did not finish burying his murdered teacher, and part of the deceased’s leg was visible. Apparently, when Kyai Amin went back at night to cover the leg, he saw a bright light from the sky shining onto the grave (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009). Ustadz Mubarok maintained that this was not superstition, but rather acknowledgement from Allah that Kyai Amin had died as a martyr (syahid). Another matter concerned the Prophet Muhammad who is said to have split the moon to demonstrate to his enemies that he was a
prophet. According to Kyai Mu'rob, when the famous astronaut Neil Armstrong went to the moon, he noticed a line of broken rocks through its diameter, and when he heard that Muhammad was responsible for it, he became a Muslim (but Armstrong has always denied he is a Muslim). Kyai Mu'rob believed this was scientific fact, and not TBC. On the matter regarding supernatural beliefs, educators and santri were questioned about spirits and ghosts at graveyards, in forests, in the sea, on mountains, and other obscure places, of which most believed they existed, and in fact feared them. Although many admitted belief in spirits and ghosts constituted TBC, they could not explain why they believed in such unfounded beliefs.

**Definition of Education**

Kyai Syamsuri was a strong advocate for religious learning, and believed that education is encouraged in Islam, as stipulated in the Qur’an. Ustadz Mubarok said that his father, Kyai Syamsuri, used this to advocate that whatever the political, social, or economic situation, there must always be a group within the umat that dedicated itself to education and studying Islam. Ustadz Mubarok supported this position for the continued need for Muhammadiyah pesantren predicated on a curriculum that taught students the qualities necessary to become good Muslims who are able to reconcile both worldly (dunia) and religious affairs (batin) (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009).

After Kyai Syamsuri established his pondok, one of the principal subjects he taught was Islamic Law (Hukum Islam), which has remained one of the major subjects at Pesantren Karangasem. It provides students with a strong understanding of Islamic morality (akhlaq). Santri are taught to carry these values to wherever they are and whatever their profession. From discussions with the school’s leadership and also as stated on their website (Ponpes Karangasem 2009), a sizeable number of santri alumni have founded their own pesantren, become da’i outside of Java, participated in various social movements, while others have joined the government, and some have even joined political parties. In August 2008, during research at Pesantren Karangasem, Ustadz Mubarok sent two prominent santri to Kalimantan on a dakwah mission and to help establish Muhammadiyah. Pesantren Karangasem has

29 Qur’anic verse 24:122: ‘Nor should the Believers all go forth together: if a contingent from every expedition remained behind, they could devote themselves to studies in religion, and admonish the people when they return to them, -that thus they (may learn) to guard themselves (against evil)’.

30 The two santri were considered capable of undertaking the task because they had memorised ten sections (juz), or approximately one third, of the Qur’an.
participated in this type of *dakwah* practice for many decades, resulting in many of its *santri* rising through the ranks of local district and provincial branches of Muhammadiyah.

**Educational Curriculum**

Pesantren Karangasem’s education curriculum reflected the values of the Muhammadiyah *santri habitus* as it balanced normative, modernist and reformist Islam with ‘Western’ education. However, few from Muhammadiyah believed in the romantic idea that education can be purely religious. Therefore, none of the *pesantren* that are affiliated to Muhammadiyah are *pesantren salafiyah*, which are *pesantren* solely dedicated to religion. Like other Muhammadiyah *pesantren*, Pesantren Karangasem is a ‘modern *pesantren’*, which juxtaposes general learning with *pembaruan*. Consequently, the school has adopted an educational curriculum based on a number of different sources. These included the Department of Education, Department of Religion, Muhammadiyah, as well as from the self-discretion of the *pesantren*’s *dewan kyai* (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 10 October 2007; Interview with Mufti Labib 10 June 2008; Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008; Ponpes Karangasem 2009). Drawing upon these sources has enabled the Pesantren Karangasem leadership to create a formal curriculum in line with their own teachings and one that is also tied to the local context. All are seamlessly combined and delivered through general and *diniyah* education.

Understanding the current situation between general and *diniyah* education requires an understanding of the past. In the 1950s, the newly independent government of Indonesia embarked upon a nation-wide program of teacher training and learning. Underpinning the program was the growing minimum requirement of a grade-school degree for government and some private employment. This in turn produced a rush of enrolments at state schools causing student numbers in Muslim schools to plummet, and many small *pesantren* were forced to close (Hefner 2009: 64). The consequence was that many *pesantren* introduced general education into their school curricula. Most *pesantren* decided to build *madrasah* institutions on the *pesantren* complex grounds. This allowed the *santri* to concentrate on general subjects at the *madrasah* during the day, while they also studied Arabic and *kitab* books in the early morning, late afternoon, and evenings. In 1975, general learning was further encouraged by the ‘Three Ministers’ Joint Agreement (*Surat Keputusan Bersama Tiga Menteri*, or SKB Tiga
Menteri). The aim of this memorandum was to raise Islamic education up to the standard of state schools by compelling all Muslims to receive general education for at least six years (Hefner 2009: 65).

Since at least the 1975 SKB Tiga Menteri, the Pesantren Karangasem leadership has made efforts to ensure that its curriculum enables its students to obtain a high school certificate (surat ijazah). To qualify for this degree, participating madrasah and pesantren had to meet certain conditions. As identified by Hefner, most crucial was that they were obliged to ensure their weekly curriculum was divided into 70 per cent for general learning and 30 per cent for religious studies. In addition, to insure that the teaching of general learning was of the same quality as state schools, Muslim schools were expected to use textbooks published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, as well as the Ministry of Religion (Hefner 2009: 65).

Prior to this, many pesantren devoted 90 per cent of their activities to religious studies and only 10 per cent to general learning (Hefner 2009: 65). Although Kyai Syamsuri had aligned himself with the Muhammadiyah movement in the 1960s, before the accommodation of the SKB Tiga Menteri, learning at his pesantren was largely dedicated to pengajian studies. Pesantren Karangasem’s MTs and MA maintain the 70-30 per cent rule. Meanwhile the SMP, SMA, and SMK, dedicate as much as 90 per cent to general learning.

Ustadz Mubarok believes that since Pesantren Karangasem had accommodated government demands for more general learning, and provided education to thousands of poor, rural, and even orphaned, Indonesian children, authorities needed to provide more support. He requested several times to the Department of Education for more government assistance. Principally, he wanted the government to help pay for an increase in wages for teachers, who earn a meagre salary of between R.250,000-350,000 (AUD$31-44) per month, while faculty headmasters receive slightly more (Speech by Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 8 November 2007). Nevertheless, Pesantren Karangasem has received some outside assistance from the various levels of government.

In 2007, a building at Pesantren Karangasem was renovated at the expense of the Lamongan Government. A sign was erected explaining that the project cost R.25 million (AUD$3,125) for building three classrooms. In 2008, the Education Department in East Java operated an assistance program, called ‘School Auxiliary Teacher’ (Guru Bantu Sekolah, GBS), which
provided *pesantren* with state teachers. During an assembly in July 2008, an educational official from the East Java Provincial Government announced the details of the program, where GBS teachers would be paid by the Education Ministry. In addition to local assistance, in 2005, Australian government officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) came to Pesantren Karangasem to promote an AusAID program, which offered to provide an English teacher from Australia (Personal email contact with DFAT official 2 February 2007). The Pesantren Karangasem leaders accepted the offer under the condition that the teacher was a Muslim. However, DFAT was unable to fulfil this criterion, so the arrangement did not proceed (Personal email contact with DFAT official 2 February 2007). Some teachers admitted that they were concerned that if the teacher was a non-Muslim that he or she might be actually on a ‘Christianisation mission’ (‘*misi Kristen*’) to convert locals (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 21 July 2007; Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007).

**Muhammadiyah Influence**

Since the death of Kyai Syamsuri in 1997, Pesantren Karangasem has been administrated by a *dewan kyai*. Notwithstanding, Pesantren Karangasem educators understood the importance of the titular head position to be occupied by a single *kyai* to maintain structural order in the *pesantren* system. However, the *dewan kyai* is not solely dependent on the *pesantren*’s head *kyai*, and there are some benefits to this system. First, the school has not been bound by decisions that are single-dimension, like the majority of *pesantren*. This has allowed people to voice their opinions on everything from religious interpretation, school finances, classroom etiquette, to political matters, and just about anything.

A second benefit of the *dewan kyai* is that Pesantren Karangasem is better prepared for leadership change. In fact, a succession process from Kyai Mu’rob to Ustadz Mubarok has been slowly taking place since March 2007. *Kyai* succession problems are also mentioned by Van Bruinessen in his article on religious institutions in Banten, West Java (Van Bruinessen 1995). Further examples of *pesantren* that have suffered from the leadership dilemma are cited by Dhofier, including Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik, Pesantren Cepaka in Surabaya, Pesantren Jamsaren in Surakarta, and Pesantren Kademangan in Bangkalan, Madura (Dhofier 1999: 12). Pesantren Sunan Drajat could also experience the same predicament if Kyai Ghofur were to die without a capable and ready successor. The Pesantren Karangasem
leadership learnt from the experience when Kyai Syamsuri died, and although there were senior ustadz who could succeed him, there was no succession plan at the time.

A third benefit of the dewan kyai has been greater opportunity for other kyai and ustadz, besides Kyai Mu'rob, to lead pengajian and halaqah gatherings. It exposes santri to different teachings and interpretations, which develops their understanding of ijtihad as some teachers specialise in various topics. For instance, Kyai Mu'rob specialises in determining what constitutes bid'a, the history of Muslim wars, and he has extensive knowledge of the Hadith collections and other various kitab. Ustadz Mubarok is a specialist on Arabic language and grammar after he completed his studies at the Al-Azhar University in Cairo, and he has also memorised the Qur'an and has extensive knowledge about Islamic history. Kyai Umar Faroq performs exegeses on the Qur'an with reference to worldly, especially political, affairs. Ustadz Mufti Labib and Ustadz Abdul Qohar guide haj pilgrimages (manasik haj) for Indonesians in Saudi Arabia. This has improved their Arabic and English language, and qualifies them to conduct mock-up haj pilgrimages to educate santri on how perform their final obligation in Islam. Meanwhile, pesantren secretary Ustadz Fatahi Fatoni is an authority on the subject of Kemuhammadiyahan, or matters pertaining to Muhammadiyah.

The dewan kyai provides a pluralistic system of governance that differentiates Pesantren Karangasem from most other pesantren. Heads of school and important administrative positions are chosen through a process that begins by deciding who has the qualifications to hold such a position, followed by a plenary ballot and consensus agreement (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). In contrast, at Pesantren Sunan Drajat, Kyai Ghofur handpicks heads of school, many of whom are his relatives and close friends, and he makes all decisions solely. Although he may receive advice from his senior members, their opinions are constrained by the cultural demands of Javanese subservient erudition and deference.

**Halaqah Studies**

Students at Pesantren Karangasem also participated in group Qur’anic lessons, or halaqah. This is a form of pengajian conducted in a circle with about four to eight people per group. Halaqah lessons were usually held after maghrib evening prayer until the final isa prayer, on Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday. The Qur’an was the most common text studied,
which aimed to make santri familiar with, and even memorise important sections, of the Holy Book. *Halaqah* can be conducted in an informal matter, but at Pesantren Karangasem this is taken seriously. The whole congregation is often addressed by a senior ustadz, and later santri split up to form separate halaqah groups, which are headed by senior santri.

During *halaqah* sessions, senior ustadz remind santri of their commitment to Islam in daily activities. Santri were instructed to be disciplined, and consider all fellow Muslims as brothers, and strive to conduct all activities in cohesion to strengthen the umat. Importance was also stressed on how Muslims should behaviour towards each other, particularly the greeting of ‘assalamualaikum’ (peace be with you) and reply ‘waalaikum’salam’ (and upon you be peace), which one ustadz described as obligatory (wajib).\(^{31}\) Interestingly, on one occasion in June 2010, a senior ustadz used the *halaqah* activity to say that ‘we pray that the appeal to the Constitutional Court against Fadeli’s win in the May 2010 Pilkada would be upheld and that Fadeli would become the next bupati of Lamongan’ (Speech by Ustadz Fatahi Fatoni 16 June 2012). Sometimes at these gatherings, teachers denounced the ‘West’ and their ‘immoral’ societies, which had no right to influence Indonesia’s moral integrity. On one occasion at the Pesantren Karangasem mosque, there was denunciation of the Indonesian singer Ariel and his sex tapes that became public in June 2010 and led to his arrest, trial and imprisonment; further condemnation was directed at people who downloaded and watched the pornographic footage.

**Foreign Languages**

*Santri* at Pesantren Karangasem were encouraged to speak English and Arabic as much as possible in daily conversations to help modernise their education system. This is based on the strategy used by Pesantren Gontor in Ponorogo, East Java, which has advanced Arabic and English language programs (Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007). Karangasem students had relatively developed Arabic language skills, and all could read and write Arabic script, but their spoken Arabic and listening comprehension were less competent, while their English remained comparatively limited. Arabic is important to all Muslims because they believe that to truly understand the Qur’an, it must be read in Arabic. Further enhancing the Arabic language program were several ustadz at Pesantren Karangasem who had advanced Arabic

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\(^{31}\) Educators often cited Qur’anic verse 49:10: ‘The Believers are but a single Brotherhood: So make peace and reconciliation between your two (contending) brothers; and fear Allah, that ye may receive Mercy’. 

Chapter Eight: The Case Study of Pesantren Karangasem
skills, including Ustadz Mubarok, and his younger brother, ustadz Mufti Labib who spoke both English and Arabic competently; skills he attained during his study at Pesantren Gontor. Ustadz Labib and another teacher, Ustadz Abdul Qohar, lead Indonesian pilgrimages on haj and umroh journeys, which gave them constant exposure to Arabic language, which they passed on to their students.

**Kyai Mu'rob and Pengajian**

Normally Kyai Mu'rob performed four *pengajian* each week, with two on Friday, and one on Tuesday and Wednesday. At midday on Tuesdays, he delivered a *pengajian* for the general community, and another for older women on Wednesday nights, both concentrated on the Qur'an. After *subuh* prayer on Friday mornings, he conducted a *pengajian* at the Pesantren Karangasem mosque from 4:30 to 5am in front of both his *santri* and the public. Normally there were between 150 to 200 males in attendance, which included *santri*, teachers, and local residents. Behind a makeshift wall in the back half of the mosque were between 50 to 100 females, who included *santri*, teachers, and local villagers. His sermons were also broadcast through mosque speakers and a basic radio transmitter to the surrounding community reaching about a hundred metres.

The morning *pengajian* consisted of an exegesis of the Qur'an, but *santri* were not required to bring a copy or record Kyai Mu'rob’s commentary. However, a few of the older women chose voluntarily to bring a copy of the Qur’an and take notes. *Santri* were instructed to listen, but this was never enforced and supervision was relaxed, so many fell asleep. Typically, this *pengajian* consisted of Kyai Mu'rob reading the text in Arabic, followed by Javanese or Indonesian language translation and short commentary, which was often put into the context of current and worldly affairs; it was more often in Javanese since some of the older villagers were not fluent in Indonesian. Explanations and translations were simple, short, and quiet literal. Generally, there were little or no story-telling and other unnecessary deviations from the text.32

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32 In comparison, all *santri* must participate in *pengajian* at Pesantren Sunan Drajat by bringing a copy of the text and recording commentary. Further, Kyai Ghofur’s *pengajian* were conducted every day, except Friday, lasting an hour and a half, and often his explanations were long and sometimes complex, with many examples and stories, while his *santri* were never permitted to lie down, although some had the skill to sleep while remaining in a slouched sitting position.
A half an hour after the first *pengajian*, Kyai Mu’rob conducted a *sorogan* style *pengajian* with one or two students, but occasionally three or four attended. They were advanced *santri* who had graduated school and helped as functionaries (*pengurus*), while some aspired to become future *ustadz* or *kyai*. The purpose of this lesson was for Kyai Mu’rob to check that his senior *santri* could properly interpret, pronounce, and perform syntax and morphology (*nahwu-shorof*). Usually only between four to a dozen verses (ayat) were recited, depending on the length and complexity of the content and its subsequent explanation. Their focus was the Qur’an and the *Bulugh al-Maram* by fourteenth century Shafiite Sunnī scholarly Ibn Hajar Asqalani (AD. 1372-1449) from Cairo.33 *Bulugh al-Maram* contains a total of 1,358 Hadith, including the six authentic Hadith collections, namely Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, An Nasa’i Ahmed, and At-Trimidhi. *Bulugh al-Maram* concerns jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and religious rites (*ibadah*), such as prayer (*solat*), fasting (*puasa*), and the pilgrimage, as well as marriage and business (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 22 June 2007).34

During the *sorogan* style *pengajian*, Kyai Mu’rob would often provide a historical account of the situation and precedents set during the time of the Prophet Muhammad and relate this to the present day. For example, when the Prophet lived, wars were fought through hand-to-hand combat and Muslims would still have to perform their obligatory prayers. According to Kyai Mu’rob this was achieved by half the men praying first, then the remaining group would pray afterwards, so that there would always be one half standing guard. Even today in modern warfare, this method of half praying at a time must be observed. During the Muslim wars, when the men were away fighting, there was no call to prayers (*adzan*). This is because women are not permitted to perform the *adzan* as their voice can arouse sexual desire (*nafsu*) in men, which can lead to impure thoughts during prayer; although Kyai Mu’rob does not consider a woman’s voice to represent her *aurat*, or intimate parts of the body, he was adamant that women were forbidden to perform the *adzan*. Further, people must not resort to using instruments like the traditional *kedung* (drum), and therefore it is better that there is no *adzan* (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 22 June 2007).

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33 For further reading on Ibn Hajar Asqalani see Berkey (1992).
34 The *Bulugh Al-Maram* is one of the most authoritative sources concerning Hadith collections. This is because Asqalani has recorded the true significance of almost each Hadith. The *Bulugh Al-Maram* contains 1,358 *hadith* (plural of Hadith).
Average Day of Santri at Pesantren Karangasem

The daily routine for santri mukim at Pesantren Karangasem was strict and regimented like most pesantren in Java enforcing a distinct santri habitus. Few santri woke up before 4am to perform the non-obligatory tahajud prayer, but all were awake at 4am to perform the ablution (wudu) and morning subuh prayer. This was followed immediately by morning diniyah studies before santri showered and ate. Santri mudik (homebound santri) would join formal schooling, which commenced at 7am and finished at 1pm, but sometimes adjourned as early as 12pm, followed by midday duhur prayer. Afterwards, santri mudik returned home, while santri mukim had lunch and rested. At 2:30pm, santri were called to the mosque for mid-afternoon asar prayer, followed by an hour of diniyah studies, which was broken with a short rest, then pengajian which commenced at 4:30pm. Upon sundown at around 6pm, the pesantren mosque called locals and its santri to perform the maghrib prayer, which was followed by rest or halaqah group exegesis of the Qur’an. At 7pm, santri performed evening isa prayer, followed by dinner at 7:30pm. At 8pm, they memorised Arabic vocabulary (mufrodat) before they were permitted to sleep at around 9pm. Formal schooling operated from Saturday through to Thursday, but on some Fridays, santri mukim, functionaries (pengurus), staff, and local volunteers, participated in faithful service (kerja bakti) to carry out maintenance tasks around the pesantren complex.

Pesantren Karangasem staff and pengurus were concerned if students missed class, but were not so strict if students missed communal prayers or fell asleep during sermons. At Pesantren Sunan Pesantren, it was the opposite. At times, the atmosphere at Pesantren Karangasem appeared as though general learning was the main priority, rather than religious instruction. However, this might be because the majority of its students were santri mudik, who returned home after class, and were not compelled to follow all the strict pesantren rules. Further, their affiliation to Muhammadiyah had produced a santri habitus and pedagogy that was not ritualistic, and so santri tended to be relaxed about religious and cultural (hierarchical) behaviour. Although, there were some Javanese cultural traits, including the use of polite Javanese (kromo) and respectful terms with Kyai Mu’rob and other ustadz, they never bowed to kiss or embrace their forehead on their teachers’ hand, as NU members customarily do. In addition, terms like gus, referring to a son of a kyai, for example Gus Dur, are not part of Muhammadiyah culture and are discouraged. Furthermore, students trying to imitate their
kyai by drinking the dregs from a kyai’s leftover coffee or using the same scissors that cut a kyai’s hair is forbidden and denounced as blind obedience (taqlid buta) and ignorance (kebodohan) (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 20 June 2007; Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007).

To insure that Pesantren Karangasem students did not neglect their religious responsibilities, both santri mukim and santri mudik participated in a number of compulsory extracurricular activities. These included Qur’anic memorisation (tahfidzul Qur’an), learning Arabic language, and public speaking (muhaddloroh). They also had to learn English, and participate in scouts (pramuka), and leadership lessons. There were also several optional activities, including orthographic studies of correct Qur’anic recitation (qiro’ah), calligraphy, pencak silat (indigenous martial art; tapak suci style specific to Muhammadiyah), sepak takraw (foot volleyball), soccer, badminton, table tennis, and basketball. Santri mukim enjoyed these activities as it gave them some respite from the monotonous routine of daily life.
Illustration 7.2: Morning *Pengajian* at Pesantren Karangasem

Kyai Mu’rob (wearing the white *kopi�ah* cap at the front), at 4:30am after *subuh* prayer, recites from the Qur’an in front of santri and orang awam. In his old age, he finds it easier to sit rather than stand at the rostrum.

Often *santri* fall asleep after the morning *pengajian*, and they also fall asleep during it but somehow remain in a slouched sitting position.

*Photographs by Nathan Franklin*
Illustration 7.3: Pengajian Sorogan Style at Pesantren Karangasem

Practicing for *ijtihad* and *pembaruan*, Kyai Mu’rob listens and responds to his *santri* as they recite from the text *Bulugh al-Maram* (Attainment of the Objective According to the Evidence of the Ordinances).

One by one senior *santri* recite from *Bulugh al-Maram* in front of Kyai Mu’rob.

*Photographs by Nathan Franklin*
**Kemuhammadiyahan**

Some *ustadz* at Pesantren Karangasem teach a subject called ‘*kemuhammadiyahan*’; roughly translated as ‘matters pertaining to Muhammadiyah.’ Its content does not focus on reformism and modernism, but rather on the structural and organisational operations of Muhammadiyah to help build uniformity and solidarity, which is important in the Lamongan area since the majority of people in the district are NU Muslims. *Kemuhammadiyahan* covers aspects such as, the structure of the Muhammadiyah organisation and its hierarchy, and determining important religious dates using a scientific counting system (*hisab*), rather than relying on the moon (*rukyat*) like NU. The subject aims to promote social programs, including community awareness for disease control, education, particularly to child fishermen (*anak jermal*; lit. children of the fishing platform) who did not go to school; as well as the importance of a modern society with libraries, hospitals, schools, colleges, and universities. *Ustadz* who teach *kemuhammadiyahan* emphasise the importance of adhering to religious degrees, or *fatwa*, issued by the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership (*Pimpinan Pusat*, PP). They also stress that Muhammadiyah remains impartial to political affiliation, but encouraged their members to remain informed about politics (Interview with Ustadz Fati Fatoni 25 July 2007).

One major difference of the *kemuhammadiyahan* subject in Lamongan, compared to it in major cities, was in rural Java they preached the benefits of the *pesantren* system as a way to strengthen the Muhammadiyah community. During an interview with the Chairman of Muhammadiyah, Din Syamsuddin, he said that under his leadership his focus was to standardise the organisation, and to enhance modern schooling and the university system to produce future leaders, as well as an educated and skilled workforce. He added that the belief that a Muslim will enter heaven upon building a mosque made people overlook building educational and social faculties, noble deeds of equal value to building a mosque (Interview with Din Syamsuddin 7 July 2007). Although he acknowledged that some *pesantren* claimed affiliation to Muhammadiyah and were allowed to exist, his agenda was never to promote the *pesantren* system, despite the fact that he was once a *santri* at Pesantren Gontor in Ponorogo, East Java (Interview with Din Syamsuddin 7 July 2007). When Kyai Mu’rob was asked about Din Syamsuddin’s position on the *pesantren* system, his response was that *pesantren* shielded students from immoral influences and provided an intense and conducive Islamic teaching environment to inculcate students in *pembaruan* and *ijtihad*, as well as *kemuhammadiyahan*.  

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Furthermore, *pesantren* were an indispensable institution with a unique ability to penetrate areas dominated by traditionalists (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 30 July 2007).

**Conclusion**

After over six decades, Pesantren Karangasem has become integrated into the local milieu of Lamongan, and its leadership has profoundly strengthened Muhammadiyah in the area. They were directly responsible for converting many residents in the Paciran subdistrict to a Muhammadiyah constituency, and for the development of Muhammadiyah *pesantren*, despite the reticent attitude of Muhammadiyah’s central leadership in Jakarta towards this. Kyai Syamsuri was one of the single most important figures of Muhammadiyah in Lamongan and this was achieved through the *pesantren* system. After over decade his death, Kyai Syamsuri remains highly regarded as reflected in texts concerning the history of Muhammadiyah in East Java, which praise him as one of the most important Muhammadiyah figures in the province. Consequently, the history of the Pesantren Karangasem complex lends strong credentials to its current educators, and a legacy that will continue after Ustadz Mubarok assumes full control.

The political culture and *symbolic power* produced by the *santri habitus* of Pesantren Karangasem has spread out into the *umat* in the form of *symbolic violence* encouraging local residents to favour Muhammadiyah candidates during elections, and for political Islam to play a larger role in local and national politics. This has boosted the success of the parties founded to represent the Islamic constituency, particularly the National Mandate Party (*Partai Amanat Nasional*, PAN), which was able to increase its vote in the district at each of the three elections since *reformasi* in 1998. To assess the significance of Pesantren Karangasem and its leadership in influencing Lamongan’s political culture, the following chapter examines this *pesantren*’s political dimensions with a particular focus on political Islam and voting patterns.
Santri at Pesantren Karangasem are encouraged to modernise their understanding of Islam by individual reciting of the Qur’an every day before they begin their formal classroom studies.

A class of female santri study English. Segregation between boys and girls is imposed.

Photographs by Nathan Franklin
Chapter Nine: Pesantren Karangasem and Political Islam
Chapter Nine: Pesantren Karangasem and Political Islam

This chapter investigates Pesantren Karangasem from the perspective of political Islam. It examines the political aspirations of its leaders and members who support political candidates that originate from the Muhammadiyah constituency, often from the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN) because its founder, Amien Rais, was the Chairman of Muhammadiyah. This support has helped Muhammadiyah cadres win the three Lamongan district elections (pemilihan kepala daerah, Pilkada) since reformasi. The Pesantren Karangasem leadership also lends support to the Islamist Crescent Star Party (Partai Bulan Bintang, PBB) and some took up membership after it was created in 1998. The attraction to PBB owes its allegiance to components of the Muslim party Masyumi (Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia, Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims), which was disbanded in 1960; Pesantren Karangasem’s members helped it win in Lamongan at the 1955 general election.

Pesantren Karangasem educators are of the view that Islam should play a larger role in the nation’s politics and laws, including the introduction of shari’ah law. The 2004 and 2009 electoral success of the Justice Prosperous Party, (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS), which is an Islamic party with shari’ah-based policies, has also attracted their attention. The Pesantren Karangasem leadership concede that the principal obstacles to implementing shari’ah law are disagreements regarding its interpretation and how it would operate in Indonesia (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 18 October 2007; Interview with Mufti Labib 10 June 2008: 202; Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008; Interview with Zainal Anwar 29 June 2007). In addition, the Muslim parties promoting shari’ah law, including PBB, PKS, and the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP), remain minor parties and lack a mandate to introduce this policy because of insufficient electoral support to warrant its passage in parliament. The Pancasila parties, such as PAN, the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB), the Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat, PD), and the Party of the Functional Groups (Golongan Karya, Golkar), promote policies which encompass sufficient Islamic values to satisfy the Indonesian electorate. Although Pesantren Karangasem educators exercise symbolic power to champion political Islam, they are careful not to associate their pesantren with any political party, and they appear to understand that symbolic violence in the umat, which places kyai above common people, is not a given in politics.
Despite the fact that some scholars, such as Dhofier (1999) and Hefner (2009), suggest that the NU-Muhammadiyah dichotomy is no longer an effective approach to understanding political Islam, it remains a part of political reality, particularly at the district (kabupaten) level. In terms of political preference, educators at Pesantren Karangasem favour Muhammadiyah candidates, as opposed to NU candidates (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 18 October 2007; Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007; Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008; Interview with Zainal Anwar 24 November 2009). This was also supported by survey data indicating 60.7 per cent of parent respondents prefer Muhammadiyah candidates.1

A salient factor in Lamongan politics is the strong Islamic culture produced by the Muhammadiyah schools, madrasah, and pesantren, particularly in the district’s north. In Paciran, aside from Pesantren Karangasem, there exist Pesantren Modern, Pesantren At-Taqwa, and Pesantren Muhammadiyah Weru, and many more Muhammadiyah schools and madrasah (Badan Pusat Statisik Paciran 2006: 54). In the 1955 general election, Masyumi won convincingly in Paciran with 60 per cent of the vote. However, five years later, President Sukarno proscribed Masyumi, and Suharto’s New Order imposed further regulations on political Islam in 1973 by permitting only one Islamic party, namely PPP. Despite concerted government attempts to control political Islam, at the general elections in 1977, 1982, 1988, 1992, and 1997, PPP won in Paciran achieving, respectively, 64.8, 72.1, 51.9, 54.4, and 52 per cent of the vote; it was the only subdistrict in Lamongan to be dominated by PPP in all those elections.

Following reformasi, support for PPP in Lamongan and the Paciran subdistrict evaporated at the 1999 election. PKB and PAN attracted a large portion of the Lamongan vote, while PDIP and Golkar held sizeable support.2 In every election since 1999, PKB has been the largest party in Lamongan, and since 2004, PAN has become the second most popular party. In Paciran, PAN remains the most popular party; this was demonstrated in the national legislative elections in 1999, 2004, and 2009; in the first round of the 2004 presidential election when Rais ran for president; and at the 2005 and 2010 Pilkada. In the 2008 East Java gubernatorial election, PAN’s candidate Soekarwo was victorious in Paciran with support from PKS and

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1 See survey data results in the appendix.
2 In 2009 legislative elections the order of popularity was, PKB, PAN, PDIP, and Golkar, followed by the Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat, PD) and Ulama National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama, PKNU).
PD. However, in the second round he lost by a margin of 1.6 per cent to the NU candidate Khofifah; Soekarwo won overall in the province to become governor. In the second round of the 2004 and single round 2009 presidential elections, PAN, and the other coalition partners, namely PKB, PKS, PBB, and PPP, supported Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) which helped him to victory in Paciran, and the rest of Lamongan and the nation.

Pesantren Karangasem remains independent of political affiliation; although some of its members are politically involved, they often lack commitment and involvement appears intermittent. This scenario avoids accountability and allows them the flexibility to support a rival party or contender as they invariably support Muhammadiyah candidates. This includes the two most recent district heads (bupati), namely Masfuk (2000-2010) and the incumbent Fadeli (2010-2015); it was a position held by New Order bupati, Mohammad Faried (1989-2000), who was also sympathetic to Muhammadiyah. The Muhammadiyah community see that politicians who are sympathetic to their religious endeavours, with a similar ‘mission and vision’ (‘misi dan visi’), might be able to provide government assistance. Muhammadiyah’s political dominance has frustrated some NU Muslims, like Kyai Ghofur of Pesantren Sunan Drajat, who demand an NU figure become bupati to represent the interests of NU (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 10 November 2009).

Following the end of the Suharto regime, Indonesia’s social and political freedoms gave rise to Muslim groups that espoused radical interpretations of Islam. Locals refer to these radical groups as hardliners (garis keras), and although they represent a minority, they exist in various pockets of the Indonesian archipelago, including Lamongan. Some of their members from Lamongan have participated in terrorism to champion their radical agenda, including Ali Imron, Ali Ghufron, and Amrozi, from the regional terrorist organisation Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). These individuals experimented with explosives in the Solokuro subdistrict, in preparation for the October 2002 Bali bombing. In addition, Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, the convicted spiritual leader of JI, regularly conducts sermons in Lamongan when he is not in jail. Another group is the Islamic Defenders’ Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI) located in the northern Lamongan subdistricts of Paciran and Brondong. FPI is not a clandestine terrorist organisation that targets western interests, but they are radical and resort to vigilantism to stamp out immoral behaviour (Franklin Jan-Mar 2009; Wilson 2008: 203).
Although Pesantren Karangasem educators have conservative Islamic values, they do not promote radicalism, nor condone terrorism. However, their rational and moderate views are compromised by one of their senior leaders, Ustadz Hakam Mubarok, who is the deputy leader of FPI in Lamongan. In addition, one of the 2002 Bali bombers, Ali Imron, attended Pesantren Karangasem in the late 1980s, prior to his radicalisation. Kyai Mu'rob stated that religious studies taught at his pesantren have been distorted by some former students, including Ali Imron, whose religious views had hardened into the promotion of terrorism (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 15 June 2008). Meanwhile, Ustadz Mubarok defended his association with FPI, notwithstanding his role is devoted to theological guidance, rather than vigilantism, but admitted that physical action was necessary if warnings were ignored. Mubarok maintained that FPI prevents immoral behaviour, including gambling, prostitution, consuming alcohol, close proximity among genders (khalwat) and frivolous intermingling between males and females (ikhtilat) that can lead to adultery (zina). He affirmed that this interpretation represented a heightened understanding of piety, rather than radicalism (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008).

Although FPI and JI do not participate in mainstream politics, they attempt to influence public behaviour, as well as domestic and international politics. Both support shari'ah law, and they pressure the Indonesian Government to disassociate itself from United States, as well as disbanding controversial groups such as Ahmadiyah for its recognition of a prophet who postdates Muhammad, as well as condemning the Liberal Islamic Network (Jaringan Islam Liberal, JIL) because of its tolerance towards liberal social behaviour. To justify their existence, they denounce United States foreign policy, including America’s support of Israel and suppression of the Palestinians, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and they continually criticise the pernicious behaviour and influence of Western infidels (kafir).3

The emergence of political Islam and Islamist violence constitute a variety of responses to developments in local and national politics. On one level, the majority of the umat see that Pancasila-based parties fulfil their expectations and accommodate sufficient Islamic values. On another level, some sections of the umat demand Islam play a more prominent role in

3 This is based on my own research observations, I witnessed one of Abu Bakar Ba’asyir’s sermons in Paciran, Lamongan, on 22 October 2007 (see also Franklin Apr-Jun 2008) and I have watched two recordings of his sermons performed in Solokuro. In addition, I meet and formally interviewed members of FPI in June and July 2008 (see also Franklin Jan-Mar 2009).
society and they are disappointed that their political leaders have failed to empower Muslim society. The umat of Lamongan have a highly conservative social and religious culture, including the NU community, although the overwhelming majority of locals do not endorse, nor engage, in the agendas of these hardline groups. Although this chapter concentrates on Pesantren Karangasem, it is relevant to touch upon these hardline groups because a JI member formerly studied at Pesantren Karangasem, whilst a prominent Islamic teacher who currently teaches at the pesantren is also a senior member of FPI.

**Development of Political Islam**

In 1943, the occupying Japanese forces replaced the Islamic Council of Indonesia (*Majlis Islam A’laa Indonesia*, MIAI), which united NU and Muhammadiyah, with Masyumi (Ward 1970: 9). In 1944, Masyumi established a branch in the district of Tuban, which was also founded in lieu with God’s Forces of Tuban (*Barisan Hizbullah Tuban*) (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 231). In 1952, Masyumi established a branch in Lamongan, and the Islamic militant organisation Hizbullah was also founded there around the same time (Mughni 29 August 1995: 4). In about 1946, the Indonesian Islamic Youth Movement (*Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia*, GPII), a youth-wing of Masyumi, was set up in Blimbing village, Paciran (Mughni 29 August 1995: 5).

Pesantren Karangasem leaders, Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri (1925-1997) and Kyai Ridwan Syarqawi (1914-1991), became involved with Masyumi in different ways. In October 1954, when Hizbullah began to strengthen its presence in Lamongan, Kyai Ridwan was promoted to the position of spiritual leader (*pembina rohani*) (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 232). Around the same time, he was also installed as an advisor on Masyumi’s paramount discussion-making body, the *Majlis Syuro* (Religious Advisory Council), and he was an important campaigner for Masyumi in Lamongan during the 1955 general election (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 232). In 1949, Kyai Syamsuri became a member of GPII. In October 1950, the Provisional People’s Consultative Assembly (*Dewan Perwakilan Raykat Daerah Sementara*, DPRDS, which existed in 1950-1955), appointed him as a representative of GPII on the Local Government Council (*Dewan Pemerintah Daerah*, DPD) (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob

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4 The Masyumi branch in Tuban was founded under the leadership of three local *kyai*, namely KH. Fatchurrachman Kafrawi, KHR. Mustain, and KH. Misbach (Fatichuddin & Hamid 2005: 231).

5 An email from Syafiq Mughni, the Chairman of Muhammadiyah in East Java, on 12 October 2010, clarified that Kyai Ridwan’s position with Masyumi was on its *Majlis Syuro* (Religious Advisory Council).
In 1963, GPII was banned because of its suspected involvement in the 1957 assassination attempt on Sukarno, as well as its opposition to Manipol-Usdek, which was effectively a government control over the country’s social, economic and political life (Ward 1970: 17). Kyai Mu'rob rejected the government accusation that Kyai Syamsuri was involved in an assassination attempt, and retorted that Kyai Syamsuri had left GPII before Masyumi was dissolved (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007).

In the 1955 general election, the only district in East Java won by Masyumi was Lamongan; from the 421,611 votes cast, Masyumi received 166,951, or 39.6 per cent. Its victory reflected the putihan (devout) Islamic culture of Lamongan residents, which demonstrated an early acceptance of reformism when many other districts in East Java voted for the NU party. The other major parties that contested the election were the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI) which attained 20.6 per cent, the Nahdlatul Ulama Party, 16.6 per cent, and the Indonesian Nationalist Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia, PNI), 11.8 per cent (Mughni 29 August 1995: 4). Consequently, Masyumi was granted 14 seats of 35 available in the local People’s Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD) (Ward 1974: 167). Masyumi performed best in the subdistricts of Paciran and Brondong, achieving respectively 60 per cent and or 63.9 per cent of the vote (Lamongan DPRDS 1956: 200-1). As a result, the party decided to establish an exclusive branch in the north called the Paciran Special Branch of Masyumi (Cabang Istimewa Partai Masyumi Paciran), which also included Brondong, and was separate from the branch in Lamongan city (Mughni 29 August 1995: 4). The combined results of Masyumi and NU represented 56.2 per cent of the Lamongan district vote, which demonstrated that the umat of Lamongan preferred Islamic parties to those with a secular orientation, such as the PNI and PKI.8

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6 The DPRDS was made up of 29 members, including seven seats being awarded to Masyumi, five to GPII, while two seats were allocated to the NU party, Indonesian Islamic Workers Union (Serikat Buruh Islam Indonesia, SBII), the Indonesian Islamic Farmers Union (Serikat Tani Islam Indonesia, STII) and Indonesian Village Officials’ Association (Persatuan Pamong Desa Indonesia, PPDI). In addition, one seat was granted to each of the following: the Indonesian People’s Party (Partai Rakyat Indonesia, PRI), Indonesian Women’s Association (Perikatan Perempuan Indonesia, PPI), the Women’s Union of the Republic of Indonesia (Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia, Perwari), Muslimat, NM, and PPDFI (Mughni 29 August 1995: 3).

7 Manipol Usdek was the acronym for Manifesto Politik, Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, Sosialisme Indonesia, Demokrasi Terpimpin, Ekonomi Terpimpin, dan Kepribadian Indonesia; Political Manifesto, Constitution of 1945, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Identity.

8 In the 1955 election, at the provincial level, in East Java, in order of size the four largest parties were NU 34.1 per cent, PNI 22.8 per cent, PKI 13.3 per cent, and Masyumi 11.2 per cent (Hering and Willis 1973: 45).
Kyai Mu'rob (b. 1938), Pesantren Karangasem’s current headmaster, joined GPII in the early 1950s, which he recollected as a time of great hope for the new republic. All social, religious and political organisations, had thrown off the colonial yoke that had stifled civil society, including Islamic movements. Kyai Mu'rob described his role in GPII as a campaigner for Masyumi through organising public rallies and sermons to defeat the Nationalists and Communists. According to Kyai Mu'rob, GPII campaigned ‘to help Masyumi win as many sets as possible to fight for Muslim interests through their representatives in the national and local parliaments’ (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007). They were victorious in 1955 in Lamongan, whereas it was fourth nationally. The Pesantren Karangasem leadership worked in coordination with Masyumi for the benefit of enhancing people’s understanding of Islam and to stimulate the development of the district (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007).

When Masyumi was disbanded, educators at Pesantren Karangasem worried that the PKI were becoming too strong. However, the PKI was implicated in a coup attempt on 30 September 1965, which was promptly counteracted by General Suharto who sought to usurp power from President Sukarno. From late 1965 and throughout 1966, Suharto led anti-communist forces to eradicate putative PKI members and left-wing sympathisers, massacring at least half a million people (Cribb 2001: 233; Ricklefs 1993: 287-8). Pesantren Karangasem leaders were relieved that the country did not slip into the hands of the PKI, but they did not condone, nor participate in, the killings. Kyai Mu'rob conceded that there was a price to pay as political Islam was suppressed under Suharto’s New Order regime, but commended both Sukarno and Suharto for holding Indonesia together (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007). Kyai Mu'rob is a historian of Muslim wars, and believes that sometimes the use of the military to deal with separatist movements and sectarian violence is necessary to achieve national unity, social harmony, economic development, and modernity (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007).

The involvement of Pesantren Karangasem leaders with political Islam was heavily restricted for nearly four decades after President Sukarno introduced Guided Democracy (*Demokrasi Terpimpin*) and disbanded Masyumi. The situation was exacerbated by Suharto who manipulated and suppressed both political Islam and mainstream politics. Consequently, the Pesantren Karangasem leadership avoided antagonising the government. In October 1976,
they were reminded of the government’s authoritarianism when several of its educators were accused of being part of the Holy War Command (Komando Jihad). The Command’s alleged members were accused of opposing the government and wanting to establish an Islamic state. The allegations resulted in the imprisonment and interrogation of some members of the Muhammadiyah community and educators from Pesantren Karangasem, including Kyai Syamsuri and Ustadz Munir. As a consequence of the efforts of both President Sukarno and Suharto to subvert political Islam, Kyai Syamsuri and Kyai Ridwan concentrated their focus on their pesantren and they become more involved in the growing Muhammadiyah movement and its efforts to reform and purify Islam.

As an inadvertent result of the dissolution of Masyumi, some of its former members joined and thus strengthened Muhammadiyah, while others joined NU, which had established a political party in 1952. Muhammadiyah on the other hand refrained from political involvement and never formed a political party; which Kyai Syamsuri, Kyai Ridwan, and Kyai Mu'rob supported (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007). However, throughout much of its history, Muhammadiyah has been intensely political. The Pesantren Karangasem leadership fostered close relations with the Indonesian Islamic Proselytisation Council (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, DDII), which was comprised of senior leaders from the disbanded Masyumi (ICG 13 September 2004: 9). In 1960, President Sukarno not only disbanded Masyumi but imprisoned its leadership. In 1967, following their release, they established the DDII to preserve their network of members and leadership with a focus on propagation, and to avoid practical political activity (Bubalo & Fealy October 2005: 22). Their ultimate goal was to proselytise (dakwah) and educate the umat about shari'ah. In 1998, some former members of Masyumi were behind the establishment of PBB (Baswedan 2004: 673).

During the Suharto regime, the Pesantren Karangasem leadership did not support Golkar, but nor did they openly oppose it. This was also because of a number of their educators had to become members of the ruling party Golkar after they began teaching at state-run schools (sekolah negeri). Kyai Mu'rob himself became a member of Golkar after he took up a job in a public school in 1967, but left the party when he retired in 1991 (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 4 December 2007). Despite Kyai Mu'rob’s compulsory membership with Golkar, he continued his association with DDII and he tacitly supported PPP. He reminded people
through sermons that Islam should be given prominence in all facets of their lives, including politics. Without wishing to elaborate during interviews, Kyai Mu'rob said others from his pesantren also supported PPP, but their campaigns were always low-key (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007). In Paciran, through the symbolic power of their advice locals were persuaded to support PPP. Direct political involvement proved unnecessary as dakwah and the development of a santri habitus at Pesantren Karangasem encouraged locals to prefer Islamic candidates.

The past and present leadership of Pesantren Karangasem has never attached their pesantren to any particular political party, and Kyai Syamsuri was intent on keeping it politically neutral. In fact, the neutrality of his pesantren was even reflected in the school’s name because during his kyai-ship it was never associated directly with Muhammadiyah, despite the fact he held Muhammadiyah leadership roles from 1972-1995. Kyai Syamsuri did not wish to deter anybody, principally NU Muslims, from studying at his pesantren because of its Muhammadiyah alliance; although locals knew about this. It was only in 2001, some four years after Kyai Syamsuri’s death, that the word Muhammadiyah was added to the school’s name to become Pesantren Karangasem Muhammadiyah.

**Impact of Reformasi and Amien Rais**

Following reformasi in 1998 and the new political freedoms this brought, Pesantren Karangasem leaders flirted with the idea of enhancing the role of Islam in politics. However, Kyai Mu'rob knew that his pesantren, which he had succeeded to only the year before, should abstain from direct political involvement. He did not want people to think that Pesantren Karangasem members were all part of a particular political party or political persuasion. He feared that this might deter parents, who might favour a different party, from sending their children to study at Pesantren Karangasem (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 June 2007). Despite this rhetoric, the actions of some educators at Pesantren Karangasem blur their supposed impartial political status. The emergence of Rais as a presidential candidate certainly caused many educators there, including Kyai Mu'rob, to become excited about getting one of their own into the presidency.
Rais was born in 1944 in Surakarta, Central Java. His parents were Muhammadiyah activists in Surakarta, and his mother was also a member of Masyumi in the 1950s. He attended Indonesia’s prestigious Gajah Mada University, and later studied at the Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt. In 1974, he earned a master degree from the most famous Catholic institution in the United States, Notre Dame, and in 1984 obtained a doctorate in political science from the University of Chicago. Unlike other Islamic scholars who studied abroad, he did not return to Indonesia with temperate views and he became known as a fiery young religious professor at his former Gadjah Mada University (O'Rouke 2002: 19). He stood out for his forcefulness in promoting Islamic modernism, and ‘his occasional anti-Christian and anti-Chinese remarks stirred controversy but they also helped him win a dedicated constituency within political Islam’ (O'Rouke 2002: 19). When the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia, ICMI) was founded in 1990, Rais saw it as an opportunity to elevate his public profile. Rais acquiesced with Suharto and used ICMI to promote Islamic modernism. In 1995, he was rewarded with the country’s most powerful position in the Modernist community, as the Chairman of Muhammadiyah (O'Rouke 2002: 19).

As the Asia Monetary crises in 1997 began to cause economic turmoil across Southeast Asia, Indonesia was hit particularly hard. As far as the Indonesian public were concerned, the 32-year ruling New Order regime and President Suharto were responsible. After a sequence of historical events, in early 1998 the movement dubbed reformasi emerged as the vanguard for Indonesians demanding an end to the New Order and the resignation of Suharto. A number of reformasi figures emerged, including Sukarno’s daughter Megawati Sukarnoputri, the NU Chairman Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), and the Muhammadiyah Chairman Rais. The principal objectives of reformasi were to end the New Order regime and to remove constraints over the nation’s politics and civil society. On 21 May, reformasi succeeded, and Suharto announced his resignation and installed Vice-President B.J. Habibie as President (O'Rouke 2002: 134).

Rais received offers to join PPP and the newly created PBB, which united a host of strident Islamists (O'Rouke 2002: 177). Instead, on 23 August 1998, Rais availed himself of the opportunity to create PAN. He attempted to portray the party as an ‘inclusive’ reform party for all segments of society, Muslims and non-Muslims, pribumi (native Indonesians) and non-pribumi. PAN split into two camps. One was comprised of secular reformists who were
suspicious that the government would not allow fair elections. Rais decided to join the more powerful camp, the ‘Muhammadiyah wing’, whose members derived from the Muhammadiyah constituency. This group viewed Habibie, who oversaw the creation of ICMI, as a relatively effective patron of political Islam, and some wanted to form an alliance between PAN and Habibie’s Golkar (O’Rouke 2002: 177). Despite having been stridently opposed to Suharto’s New Order regime, conspicuously Rais became quiet and refrained from demanding Habibie’s removal in the People’s Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, MPR) session in November 1998. At the same time, Rais had attracted some enemies with his pursuit of his political ambitions. Publically, Megawati, head of PDIP, despised Rais, and in private she said she ‘hated’ him, while his arch-rival Gus Dur had been publically criticising the Muhammadiyah Chairman for years (O’Rouke 2002: 177).

Kyai Mu’rob boasted that Rais had visited Pesantren Karangasem several times. During the research phase, Rais visited in April 2007, but was not interviewed. In 1999, Pesantren Karangasem educators and the surrounding Muhammadiyah community supported Rais and his political ambitions. Three of the pesantren’s leaders, Kyai Mu’rob, Ustadz Mubarok and Ustadz Labib, believed Rais would make a suitable president, and they made this clear to the local community. During the 1999 legislative election, their support helped Rais’s PAN to become the most popular party in the Paciran and Brondong subdistricts, with 38.3 per cent and 32.6 per cent of the vote, and third largest overall for Lamongan with 12.7 per cent (Golkar Lamongan 1999).

Some people saw reformasi as an opportunity to revive Masyumi through the creation of the PBB, which was founded on 17 July 1998 by Yusril Ihza Mahendra (Tim Litbang Kompas 2004: 52-3). Mahendra was born in Belitung, South Sumatera in 1956, and he received a doctorate from the Universiti Sains (Science University) Malaysia in 1993, and became Suharto’s speechwriter in 1994-1998. PBB’s political platform (asas) is Islam, and invokes the concept of ‘commanding the right and forbidding the wrong’ (‘amar ma’ruf nahi munkar’) (Tim Litbang Kompas 2004: 59); the same concept used by FPI and Muhammadiyah, as is discussed below. PBB’s vision (visi) includes the creation of an Indonesian society characterised by Islam, and its mission (misi) is to advance the community through education, justice, democracy and to achieve a peaceful world based on the Islamic values (Tim Litbang Kompas 2004: 61).
The PBB used Masyumi’s old crescent star symbol to symbolise their party in an attempt to resurrect antiquated support from the 1950s. In Lamongan, PBB members encouraged Pesantren Karangasem educators, including Kyai Mu'rob, and his son Zainal Anwar, as well as the prominent teachers Ustadz Labib and Ustadz Mubarok, to join the party. Kyai Mu'rob, Ustadz Labib, and Ustadz Mubarok became advisors (penasehat), while Zainal took up membership. However, stories regarding the 1999 election recall an uncoordinated campaign in Lamongan, but perhaps most problematic was that the party lacked a high profile leader like PKB’s Gus Dur, PDIP’s Megawati, and PAN’s Rais (Interview with Zainal Anwar 29 June 2007). Consequently, PBB performed poorly, and it has never become popular in Lamongan, including in Paciran and Brondong where Masyumi once dominated. In 1999, it attained 5.1 per cent in Paciran, and in Brondong it was 4.2 per cent, while for the district it was worse at 1.2 per cent.

Another consequence of reformasi was that the single Islamic political party permitted under the New Order regime, namely PPP, would have to compete against other Islamic parties. In the 1999 election, support for PPP disappeared throughout the district, which reflected the manipulation of politics under the New Order regime. In the 1997 election, for the Lamongan district and Paciran subdistrict, PPP achieved 29.4 per cent and 52 per cent respectively. Just two years later, PPP mustered only 1.7 per cent of the vote in Lamongan, and in Paciran it evaporated to 1.3 per cent. Despite the low vote in 1999, it was able to obtain one seat in the DPRD (Golkar Lamongan 1999).

The free and fair legislative election of 1999 reflected a more accurate picture of Lamongan’s demography. NU’s political vehicle PKB won 42.5 per cent, gaining it 17 seats of the 40 available in the DPRD. PDIP came second with 24.4 per cent of the vote, allowing it ten seats. PAN came third with 12.1 per cent of the vote granting it five seats, while Golkar was fourth most popular on 10.8 per cent also granting it five seats (Golkar Lamongan 1999). At the national level, respectively PKB and PAN attained 12.6 per cent and 7.1 per cent of the vote, gaining them 51 seats and 35 seats in the national parliament. However, it was the secular parties that dominated the national vote, and PDIP was the most popular after achieving 34.7 per cent of the vote, followed by Golkar with 22.4 per cent (KPU 1999c).
The election result made it apparent that Rais lacked support to attain the presidency, so the Pesantren Karangasem leadership endorsed Gus Dur because they considered him more capable to govern than Megawati (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 18 October 2007). Although Megawati’s PDIP won the election, Gus Dur outmanoeuvred her by securing more parliamentarian votes to be elected president on 20 October 1999, while she became vice-president (Barton 2002: 19). At the same time, Rais was appointed as the Speaker of the MPR. Gus Dur’s coalition government quickly became unstable because of his rapid reforms, and he frustrated powerful enemies in parliament who eventually impeached him on 23 July 2001, and Megawati was installed as the president. A decade later, rumours still abound in the NU community of Lamongan that it was all a conspiracy by Rais to usurp the presidency, but to date no available evidence can confirm this claim. Nevertheless, many in the NU community blame Rais for Gus Dur’s demise (Van Bruinessen 2002).

Kyai Mu'rob recalled that prior to the 1999 general election a PAN leader from the East Java provincial chapter visited him (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 13 November 2007). Kyai Mu'rob told the PAN official that Rais had little chance of winning the election. The PAN official was shocked and asked why? Kyai Anwar based his conclusion on four reasons. First, people are suspicious of Rais’s motives since he was one of the most prominent figures during the fall of Suharto, and some people see him as just a usurper. Second, he was the most vociferous regarding Suharto’s corruption and abuse of government and state resources, and even created the slogan ‘KKN’ (korupsi, kolusi, dan nepotisme; corruption, collusion, and nepotism), which gained him powerful enemies who had survived reformasi. Third, Megawati and Gus Dur were more popular. Fourth, the major parties, including PDIP, Golkar and PKB, had their own presidential candidates, and Rais lacked the support to become president (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 18 October 2007).

In 2004, the Pesantren Karangasem’s leadership supported Rais’s second attempt for the presidency. As late as 2010, some stickers supporting his bid for the presidency were still visible around the pesantren. The 2004 presidential election was the first direct election for head of state. At the time, the Muhammadiyah Central Board (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, PPM) officially supported Rais’s bid for the presidency. The then Deputy Chairman of the PPM, Din Syamsuddin, confirmed that some high-ranking members of PAN’s Central Board tried intensively to persuade Muhammadiyah to support Rais, which he
admitted was difficult to avoid since many Muhammadiyah activists had joined PAN. Syamsuddin was quoted to have said, ‘All this is undeniable. But the support goes to Pak Amien, not the party’ (Tempo 23 February 2004: 26). During the first round of the 2004 Presidential election, Rais was the clear favourite, securing 47.5 per cent in the Paciran subdistrict. However, in the Lamongan district, Rais came third on 19.8 per cent, behind Wiranto on 34.3 per cent, and SBY on 25.7 per cent (KPUK 2004a). Support for Wiranto was largely for his running mate, Salahuddin Wahid (Gus Solah), the younger brother of Gus Dur and kyai of Pesantren Tebuireng in neighbouring Jombang. Rais did not contest the 2009 presidential election and PAN, under its new leader Sutrisno Bachir, remained within the ruling coalition, together with PKB, PPP, PKS, and PD, which supported SBY.

Party Politics

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Kyai Mu’rob and his son Zainal Anwar, as well as Ustadz Mubarok and his brother Ustadz Labib, became involved with the PBB. Anwar became a member, while the other three became advisors. These four prominent educators believed the party represented the interests of the ummat, as Masyumi did in the 1950s (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 13 November 2007; Interview with Mufti Labib 21 July 2007; Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008; Interview with Zainal Anwar 24 November 2009). In the 1999 legislative elections, PBB only achieved 5.1 per cent in Paciran and 4.2 per cent in Brondong, and overall in Lamongan it was 1.2 per cent giving it one seat in the local DPRD. Nationally PBB attained 1.9 per cent, gaining it 13 seats in the DPR (KPU 1999c). Kyai Mu’rob sensed early on that the party would never perform as well as Masyumi, and he had limited association with the party prior to the 2004 parliamentary and presidential elections.

Anwar encouraged locals to support PBB at the ballot box in Lamongan during the 2004 legislative election. Compared to 1999, PBB’s support fell, and in Paciran and Brondong it declined to 4.6 per cent and 3.2 per cent respectively, while overall in Lamongan it fell to 0.9 per cent causing it to lose its seat in the Lamongan DPRD. However, at the national level the PBB performed better, attaining 2.6 per cent of the vote, but because of seat allocation rules the party was awarded 11 seats, a reduction of two from 1999 (KPU 2004). The result was also sufficient for the party’s leader, Yusril Mahendra, to be rewarded with the position of State Secretary (Menteri Sekretaris Negara), because his party joined SBY’s ruling coalition.
However, Mahendra was removed from the cabinet in May 2007 following a ministerial reshuffle, but the PBB remained within the ruling coalition.

In the 2009 legislative election, PBB failed to achieve the national parliamentary threshold of 2.5 per cent vote; it attained 1.8 per cent, and in Lamongan it was just 0.7 per cent, while in Paciran and Brondong it declined to 1.9 per cent and 2.3 per cent (KPU 2009a). As a result, the party no longer has any representative seats in either the national or Lamongan parliaments. The persistent failure of PBB caused Anwar to abandon politics and concentrate on pesantren activities. Today, he devotes some of his time to teaching and updating the Pesantren Karangasem website.

Following the electoral failure of PBB, Ustadz Mubarok, the eldest son of the Kyai Syamsuri, became attracted to PKS. He even attached a PKS sticker above the front door of his house at the Pesantren Karangasem complex. Despite protests from his brother Ustadz Labib and Kyai Mu'rob not to display political paraphernalia at the pesantren, Mubarok refused to remove it. In an interview, Mubarok said that he was attracted to PKS because of its proclamation as an Islamic proselytization (dakwah) party and to its policies, particularly its commitment to introduce the anti-pornography bill, which was made into law in 2008. Further, he believed that PKS represented reformist and modernist Islam, and he commended the party for wanting to introduce shari'ah law while being able to increase its vote to become a significant political player (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009).

In the 1999 election, the Justice Party (Partai Keadilan, PK), now PKS, attained only 1.4 per cent of the vote nationally, but by 2004 and 2009 it was able to increase this to 7.3 and 7.9 per cent. This pattern was mirrored in the Paciran during the same elections, and it gained 0.8, 6.7, and 6.8 per cent, but overall in Lamongan it was less popular at 0.6, 2.7 and 3 per cent (Golkar Lamongan 1999; KPU 1999c, 2004, 2009a; KPUK 2004c, 2009c). Ustadz Mubarok praised the party for its clean, accountable, and anti-corrupt, image; although recently this image has been tarnished by corruption scandals and misconduct by some of its senior members. He also commended senior PKS figure and former Speaker of the MPR (2004-2009), Hidayat Nur Wahid, as a straight talker who spoke for the umat, particularly his

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9 In 2004 legislative election, PBB's support in Lamongan reached only 0.9 per cent of the vote. In 2009, its support declined to just 0.7 per cent (KPUK 2009c).
criticism of the United States and Israel (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009).

Hidayat’s name came up several times during research and interviews in Lamongan. He was known to have had a relationship with JI spiritual leader Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, and even visited Ba’asyir in jail when he was imprisoned for supporting terrorism (The Jakarta Post 18 April 2004). In January 2008, Ba’asyir was among many dignitaries, including President SBY, to pay their respects at Hidayat’s home in Central Java after his wife passed away (Jawa Pos 23 January 2008). Hidayat’s anti-US image gained him support from Pesantren Al-Islam’s headmaster Ustadz Muhammad Chozin, who is also the older brother of the Bali bombers Amrozi, Ali Ghufron, and Ali Imron. During an interview, Ustadz Chozin gave PKS the ‘thumbs up’ and said that it was a ‘true Islamic party.’ He also attended Pesantren Karangasem in the 1970s, and in 2008 was the head of the Solokuro branch of Muhammadiyah (Interview with Ustadz Muhammad Chozin 17 August 2008). Ba’asyir is also known for his friendship with both Ustadz Chozin and Hidayat. Ba’asyir has conducted several sermons in Solokuro; some known ones were in December 2006, November 2007, and in early 2008 (Interview with Ustadz Muhammad Chozin 17 August 2008). Hidayat is known for his controversial belief that the October 2005 bombing in Bali was a result of competition in the tourism sector (The Age 5 October 2005). He was not reinstated as Speaker of the MPR after the 2009 legislative election, but PKS remained one of the main coalition partners in the SBY administration (2004-2014).

On 22 October 2009, Tifatul Sembiring, the president of PKS, replaced Mohammad Nuh as Minister for Minister for Communications and Informatics (Menteri Komunikasi dan Informatika, Menkominfo). Ustadz Mubarok was delighted with the change because he supported PKS and he was confident Sembiring would provide Pesantren Karangasem with on-going assistance from his ministry, which first started in 2007 (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 20 November 2009). On 25 November 2007, Mohammad Nuh, the then Menkominfo minister visited Pesantren Karangasem to promote the Empowerment of Society.

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10 Apparently, President Yudhoyono had left Hidayat’s house only 15 minutes before Ba’asyir arrived (Jawa Pos 23 January 2008). The implications for the Indonesian President would have been controversial if Ba’asyir had arrived earlier and the two shook hands.

11 In the 2009 legislative election, for the subdistrict of Solokuro, where Pesantren Al-Islam is located, the PKS only achieved 2.1 per cent, up marginally from 1999 and 2004, when it attained 0.64 and 1 per cent.
Projects (Pos Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, Posdaya) and he provided the pesantren with ten new computers to improve its educational resources (Gemari 2008: 52-3).

**Islamic Political Aspirations**

*Reformasi* rejuvenated the political aspirations of the Muhammadiyah community in Lamongan, including at Pesantren Karangasem. These expectations are not new as the leadership at Pesantren Karangasem, and the surrounding community of Paciran and Brondong supported PPP during the New Order era. Further, Pesantren Karangasem leaders have always championed political Islam and preached the benefits of greater implementation of Islamic laws and the accommodation of Islamic values into local and national politics.

Since *reformasi*, Pesantren Karangasem focused more attention on the position of *bupati*, particularly after regional autonomy empowered it. Although the political preference of Pesantren Karangasem educators are not supposed to be transmitted into the classrooms, the inspiration for government and governance to be based on *shari’ah* and the guidance from the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, or *sunnah*, is taught to students through belief created by *symbolic power* in the *santri habitus*. *Santri* are not compelled to vote for, or become active in, political parties, but religious instructions and the *santri habitus* have shaped their worldview for Islam to play a greater role in formulating decisions and laws. This was also reflected in survey data, where 75 per cent of *santri* respondents selected Islam over the national ideology of Pancasila as the preferred *asas* for political parties, while 78.6 per cent of their parents also preferred Islam; these responses were higher than at Pesantren Sunan Drajat where 58.2 per cent of *santri* and 54.5 per cent of parents preferred Islam over Pancasila.

Leaders at Pesantren Karangasem derive political inspiration from the Qur’an and Hadith, which form the basis of their *cultural capital*, and their understanding of *shari’ah* law and Islamic practices. Kyai Mu’rob, Ustadz Mubarok Ustadz Labib, and Anwar, maintained that Indonesia must introduce *shari’ah* law, and that politics was the best way to achieve this. However, when asked about reforming the system, they gave vague details regarding the type of government, or state and economic model, but admitted they were content with Indonesia’s current system so long as the government accommodated greater Islamic expectations and deepened Islamisation. This included measures to combat crime and immoral behaviour, as
well as through institutions and policies that empowered Muslim society. From a theological perspective, introducing Islamic laws is less complicated and less prone to differing interpretations as compared to changing the state model from secular to Islamic. In Lamongan there are two religious by-laws that stimulate Islamisation, namely the anti-vice Perda 5/2007 that prohibits prostitution and the educational Perbup 5/2013 which compels all students in the district to memorise sections of the Qur’an (Pemerintah Lamongan 2007, 2013).

According to Kyai Mu'rob, shari'ah law was a deterrent because of its stern punishment for crimes such as blasphemy, theft, adultery, and murder, which applied to both Muslims and non-Muslims. Punishment would follow religiously prescribed methods, including public whippings, cutting off thieves’ hands, stoning, and the law of penal retaliation (Latin: lex talionis; Arabic: qisas). He maintained that this would act as a strong deterrent to reduce crime. In mid-2008, he cited the case regarding Very Idham Henyansyah, also known as Ryan, who murdered 11 homosexuals in Jombang, East Java (Jawa Pos 28 August 2008: 1). Kyai Mu’rob argued that if the matter was handled in the religious manner of qisas, then Ryan’s punishment warranted the death penalty. He emphasised that the shari'ah law concept of qisas would be a deterrent for violent behaviour in the community if people were punished equivalent to their crime. Furthermore, shari’ah law would significantly reduce immoral behaviour and rampant corruption that plagued Indonesia (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 July 2008).

Kyai Mu'rob explained that only matters specifically relating to Islamic conventions would apply to Muslims, such as the prohibition against consuming alcohol and pork, opposite gender interaction or ‘close proximity’ (khalwat), religious rites, such as the five daily prayers, fasting, giving of alms, taxation, etc. Non-Muslims would be allowed to consume alcohol, eat pork, build places of worship, and conduct their religious practices without hindrance. He argued that Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and other religious groups, were safe in majority Muslim countries because non-Muslims were recognised and protected as ‘people of the book’ (kafir zimmi). Only when other religious groups attack Islam and the umat could non-Muslims be considered ‘enemies of Islam’ (kafir harbi) and warrant retaliation (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 30 November 2007).

12 Sometimes referred to as ‘an eye for an eye’ or ‘limb for a limb.’
In mid-2008, a debate arose concerning the method of execution for the 2002 Bali bombers. Media and newspapers, including the *Jawa Pos*, which is the most widely read daily in Lamongan, featured articles on Amrozi, Ali Ghufron, and Imam Samudra, demanding that their execution be carried out by beheading (*pancung*). According to Kyai Mu'rob, *pancung* is not a prescribed method of execution and was not something taught by the Prophet Muhammad, but was introduced into the Middle East many centuries later. In any case, as he emphasised, the perpetrators of the Bali attack were charged and convicted in an Indonesian court under state laws, as opposed to a *shari'ah* court with a religious counsel. Therefore, their punishment was consistent with the jurisdiction of the court ruling, and the trio were executed by firing squad on 9 November 2008. Kyai Mu'rob added, if the Bali bombers wanted to be punished in accordance with *shari'ah* law, ‘then they should be killed as they killed, by blowing them up with a bomb’ (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 July 2008).

The Bali bombing on 12 October 2002 has some relevance to Pesantren Karangasem. One member of the JI regional terrorist organisation, Ali Imron, attended this *pesantren* in 1987-1989. Ali Imron’s older brother, Ustadz Chozi'n, who was never known to be a member of JI, also studied there in the late 1970s. Pak Hamdan taught Ali Imron, and described him a cheerful student. The Indonesian judiciary granted Ali Imron leniency after he expressed regret for his role in the Bali bombing and sentenced him to 20 years imprisonment. Pak Hamdan visited Ali Imron several times in jail and said that his former student had renounced terrorism and cooperated with authorities in divulging information about JI (Interview with Pak Hamdan 30 July 2007). Ustadz Chozi'n was never implicated in any terrorist activities, and he remains a prominent local Islamic figure as headmaster of Pesantren Al-Islam and the subdistrict leader of Muhammadiyah in Solokuro, and even went on the *haj* pilgrimage in December 2007. Kyai Mu'rob described Ustadz Chozi'n as a devout reformist Muslim and valued member of Muhammadiyah. Kyai Mu'rob denounced terrorism and perpetrators of the Bali bombings, and asserted that Ali Imron had been manipulated into radicalism after he left their *pesantren* (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 July 2008).

Although JI promote a violent interpretation of ‘religious struggle’ (*jihad*) to achieve an Islamic state, there exist Muhammadiyah members who also desire an Islamic state, but differ to JI because they want to achieve it through peaceful means (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 20 June 2007). Kyai Mu’rob stated that within Muhammadiyah there are two groups,
one is concerned with the ‘contents’ (isi), and the second, the ‘name’ (nama) of the state model. The first group champion Islam as the national religion together with the introduction of shari’ah law, but maintain adherence to the Pancasila state model. The second group prefer a complete state transformation to a Caliphate with a religious figure as titular head of state. This follows the precedent after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, when Abu Bakr became Caliph (leader) whose task it was to ensure that the umat lived and functioned according the teachings of Muhammad. Kyai Mu’rob admitted that one of the successes of Christianity is that it has a head world leader, the Pope, and that Muhammad had a similar position in the Islamic world, which continued under Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, and finally Ali, but due to unrest in the Muslim world, the system of the Caliph successors failed. Kyai Mu’rob doubted that Indonesia would ever become a Caliphate because of differences over religious interpretation and the ingrained nature of the Pancasila state ideology, as well as the continued dominance of the Pancasila parties (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 20 June 2007).

Kyai Mu’rob stated that all Muslims must accept shari’ah law, but its success relied on a top-down approach where the government formally implemented it, rather than a bottom-up approach through education and dakwah. This is because a state-sponsored effort through its institutions provided it with legitimacy and legal enforcement, such as in Aceh (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 20 June 2007). However, he acknowledged major obstacles, including a lack of consensus regarding its definition and how it would operate. In addition, the major parties do not support shari’ah law, and even the Islamic parties are divided over interpretations (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 20 June 2007). Most recently in 2002, a bill to introduce shari’ah law was presented to the MPR, and only received support from PBB and PPP, but PKS abstained, while PAN, PKB, PDIP, and Golkar rejected it (Baswedan 2004: 689). Although numerous surveys have found relatively high levels of support for shari’ah, this has not translated into electoral success for the Muslim parties.13 Notwithstanding the political situation, Kyai Mu’rob and his fellow educators are content to continue their dakwah process and cultivate an umat more conscious of its religious responsibilities and the need to

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13 The Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat, PPIM) found in 2002 that 67 per cent agreed that Islamic government is the best for the country and 70.8 per cent agreed that all Muslims should abide by shari’ah law (PPIM survey as reported in Liddle 2003: 9). However, agreement on how shari’ah would be applied was considerably lower with vast majority disagreeing with polygamy, cutting off a thief’s hand, stoning adulteress, and so on. Further evidence of this trend regarding ‘Public Attitude toward the Application of Islamic Shari’ah’ (Sikap Publik terhadap Penerapan Syariat Islam) can be seen in the report by the Indonesia Survey Institute (Lembaga Survei Indonesia, LSI), available at http://www.lsi.or.id/riset/81/sikap-publik-terhadap-penerapan-syariat-islam.
abide by *shari’ah* law (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 18 October 2007). He conceded that the creation of a Caliphate was not necessary, and that it was better to avoid the issue, rather than be bogged down in disagreements (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 June 2007).

**Survey Data from Pesantren Karangasem**

Feedback in survey data from 56 parents, with at least one child studying at Pesantren Karangasem, provided insights into their backgrounds as well as their perceptions regarding Kyai Mu'rob’s political manoeuvring and influence. Around 30 per cent had attended school at a *pesantren* at both middle and senior high school with 25 per cent finishing middle school, 39.3 per cent senior high school, and 14.3 per cent tertiary level studies. Monthly income was modest with the majority, 58.9 per cent, earning less than half a million rupiah (AUD$62.5), and 21.4 per cent between a half to one million rupiah. Slightly less than 40 per cent were employed as entrepreneurs, 16.1 per cent as housewives, 14.3 per cent as farmers, and 10.7 per cent as teachers and fishermen. Almost 60.7 per cent preferred political candidates from Muhammadiyah, but 35.7 per cent viewed candidates equally from NU and Muhammadiyah. More than three-quarters preferred Islam as the *asas* for political parties, compared to 12.5 per cent who favoured the Pancasila ideology.

Exactly three-quarters of respondents had listened to a sermon by Kyai Mu’rob, and 37.5 per cent on a weekly basis, 8.9 per cent once a month, 7.1 per cent once every few months, 12.5 per cent once a year, but only 3.6 per cent on a daily basis. Slightly over 60 per cent most often heard his sermon at the mosque, 5.4 per cent on the radio, and for 3.6 per cent when Kyai Mu'rob visits their village. The overwhelming majority, 87.5 per cent, stated that Kyai Mu'rob had never advised them on whom to vote for during an election, but 12.5 per cent said that he had. Exactly half believed that Kyai Mu'rob can or may be able to influence people’s vote, 5.4 per cent thought he could sometimes, and 14.3 per cent said he could not. Further, 53.6 per cent, admitted they did not know how influential he was, 12.5 per cent believed him to be strongly influential and 7.1 per cent mildly influential, but 23.2 per cent believed he was not influential at all.\(^\text{14}\)

\(^{14}\) Participants also provided their views on *kyai* in politics, which is available in the appendix.
Survey questions concerning specific elections showed a preference for Muhammadiyah candidates. Precisely 42.9 per cent voted for the Masfuk-Tsalits duo at the 2005 Lamongan Pilkada. Only 5.4 per cent said that Kyai Mu’rob had influenced this decision but over a third, 37.5 per cent, thought Kyai Mu’rob had, or maybe had, played an important role in the success of Masfuk-Tsalits, while 17.9 per cent thought he played no role in their victory. At the 2003 election for the East Java governor, 7.1 per cent voted for the Imam Utomo (governor in 1998-2008), but 78.6 per cent did not answer the question possibly because the election was indirect with the provincial DPRD electing the governor, and for those that did vote 1.8 per cent said Kyai Mu'rob had influenced this decision. In reference to 2004 national legislative election, exactly half the respondents voted for PAN, but only 7.1 per cent said that Kyai Mu'rob influenced this decision. In the 2004 presidential election, 41.1 per cent voted for Rais and 14.3 per cent for SBY, and only 5.4 per cent said that Kyai Mu'rob had influenced their vote. In all these elections mentioned above more than 80 per cent of respondents indicated that Kyai Mu’rob had not influenced their votes.

During the first round of elections for governor in July 2008, nearly 30 per cent believed Kyai Mu'rob favoured Soekarwo-Yusuf. Precisely 7.1 per cent indicated they would consider Kyai Mu'rob’s advice during the forthcoming 2009 national legislative election, and 28.6 per cent indicated maybe they would. When asked if they would consider his advice at the 2009 presidential election, 16.1 per cent said they would and 28.6 per cent said maybe. Nevertheless, during elections most respondents indicated that they had not been influenced by Kyai Mu'rob, and at specific elections only single digit percentages had been influenced. Compared to Kyai Ghofur, people less frequently heard Kyai Mu'rob sermons and therefore his political preferences were not widely known. Despite fewer people being influenced by Kyai Mu'rob, over a quarter, 28.6 per cent, believed it was ‘necessary’ for kyai to be involved in politics, and exactly a quarter believed it was ‘up to each kyai’. While most agreed with kyai involvement in politics, only 14.3 per cent disagreed.

Fifty-six santri at Pesantren Karangasem also participated in the survey. Just over a quarter lived at the pondok, and nine out of ten identified with Muhammadiyah. Most, 51.8 per cent, choose to study there because they wanted to study religion and 23.2 per cent for the quality of education. Nine out of ten contemplated studying at university, and a third hoped to study at

\[ ^{15} \text{Written commentary explaining views of respondents can be read in the appendix.} \]
an Islamic state university and a quarter wanted to go to a state university. Religion, education, and medicine were the most preferred subjects at 23.2 per cent, 19.6 per cent, and 16.1 per cent, respectively. Preferred future occupations included 17.9 per cent for religious teacher, 12.5 per cent for public school teacher, and 16.1 per cent for doctor.

Survey questions considered the fact that santri were too young to have ever voted, although three-quarters preferred political parties with an Islamic platform, and 16.1 per cent the Pancasila. When asked if Kyai Mu'rob influenced their family’s vote, 42.9 per cent collectively indicated yes, maybe, or sometimes. A large portion, 43.6 per cent, believed that Kyai Mu'rob’s influence over their family’s vote was very big, while 27.3 per cent said it was ordinary, 23.6 per cent did not know, and 5.5 per cent said no influence at all. However, 10.7 per cent of the santri believed Kyai Mu'rob influenced the vote of people in the community, and a further 41.1 per cent maybe, 5.4 per cent sometimes, and 33.9 did not know, and according to 19.6 per cent, he was strongly influential. This leads one to think that Kyai Mu'rob has not fully utilised his potential to influence votes, perhaps because he does not want to abuse his position and respects individual choice. When asked if it was necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics, 26.8 per cent said necessary, 30.4 per cent up to each kyai, 23.6 per cent did not know, while 12.5 per cent disagreed with their involvement.

In comparison to Pesantren Sunan Drajat, the most striking feature was that more santri families at Pesantren Karangasem had higher religious educational inclinations than NU. More than half the santri at Pesantren Karangasem said the main reason they studied there was because of religion and a third planned to study at an Islamic state university with most, 23.2 per cent, intending to study religion. In reference to the parents of santri, their voting patterns mirrored that at Pesantren Sunan Drajat in favour of those who represented the Muhammadiyah constituency. During elections, Kyai Mu'rob had significantly less influence over voters than Kyai Ghofur. Although many respondents believed Kyai Mu'rob’s potential influence over the umat to be higher than Kyai Ghofur’s, since Kyai Mu'rob less frequently exerted his symbolic capital to influence the umat, his public image during elections is covert.

16 Exactly 98.2 per cent were aged 18 years old or younger in 2008, the year the survey was conducted; the legal voting age in Indonesia is 17 years old, but those married before 17 can acquire an identity card (Kartu Tanda Penduduk, KTP), which permits them to vote earlier.
Political Compromise

Pesantren Karangasem educators desire a political system that incorporates Islamic laws, but they have had to settle for PAN with moderate and secular policies similar to the larger Pancasila-based political parties, while maintaining an accommodating position toward political Islam. In order to boost its profile, PAN has shared good relations with President SBY’s Democratic Party, while PAN’s high profile member, Hatta Rajasa, Coordinating Minister for the Economy, is seen frequently with the President. The Muhammadiyah community of Lamongan, including Pesantren Karangasem, understand that political reform, like pembaruan, required years, and even decades, to achieve. Kyai Mu'rob compared it to when Lamongan residents performed traditional rituals, including the tutup layang (furling the sails) ritual to honour the water spirit Kyai Anjir through offerings and the sedekah bumi (thanksgiving ritual), a ceremonial festival after a harvest; as discussed in chapter four. Through education, dakwah, pengajian activities, and the pesantren system, Muhammadiyah purged these rituals from society. Kyai Mu'rob denied he compelled people to support PAN, or any other political party, but he intended to continue to educate people about the benefits of Islamic-inclusive politics (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 18 November 2009).

Kyai Mu'rob insisted that his involvement in politics was prudent when it impacted on religious issues, including laws, community programs and services, religious decrees (fatwa), blasphemy, and deviant (sesat) sects like Ahmadiyah and Al-Qiyadah Islamiyah. He also declared it is necessary to promote the election of political candidates who were good for, first, ‘religion’ (agama), and second, ‘the country’ (negara) (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 June 2007). Such political interests were particularly evident during the 2010 Pilkada in Lamongan because of the localised nature of the campaign. Kyai Mu'rob and other senior ustaz applied symbolic power through sermons and word of mouth to promote their aspirations. Based on observations at sermons, commentary was careful to avoid controversy by denouncing anyone, and instead focused on the positive bona fides of preferred candidates. In June 2010, following a court challenge to recount votes, a senior educator at Pesantren Karangasem mosque decreed ‘we hope and pray Fadeli wins’.

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17 President Yudhoyono’s son, Edhie Baskoro, and Rajasa’s daughter, Siti Ruby Aliya, were married in November 2011 (The Jakarta Globe 24 November 2011).
18 Kyai Mu'rob saw himself as a servant to the people, he may be disrupted anytime for a meeting with anyone who wished to see him, and that it was his duty to inform the community of matters that affect religion, especially during elections.

Chapter Nine: Pesantren Karangasem and Political Islam
Provincial and National Elections

The 2008 East Java gubernatorial election and 2009 legislative and presidential elections provided limited evidence of political involvement of the leadership of Pesantren Karangasem. This was because of the nature of the elections, where PAN’s coalition partners were more dominant, there were no distinct Muhammadiyah members running, and the elections did not affect local issues, although both elections provided more evidence regarding the political preference of Pesantren Karangasem leaders. The Lamongan Pilkada held in May 2010 was the best example of collusion between the Pesantren Karangasem leadership and politics, but it is worth reviewing the provincial and national elections.

In 2008, Pesantren Karangasem educators supported Soekarwo, the former Secretary of East Java, as governor of East Java because he was endorsed by PAN and PKS, and was viewed as sympathetic to Muhammadiyah. Survey data conducted for this thesis indicated that 28.6 per cent of respondents believed that Kyai Mu'rob supported Soekarwo as governor, and 30.4 per cent were considering Kyai Mu'rob’s preference at the 2008 gubernatorial election (pemilihan gubernur, Pilgub). However, decentralisation has diminished the importance of the provincial government in regional development, which is now performed by district governments. This partly explained Pesantren Karangasem’s lack of involvement and effort in the Pilgub. Soekarwo’s campaign was strengthened by his running-mate, Saifullah Yusuf, who had a high profile as he was also the head of NU’s Youth Movement, Gerakan Pemuda (GP) Ansor, who was also the Minister for the Acceleration of Regional Development for Deficient Areas in 2004-7. Their pairing attracted voters from both the Muhammadiyah and NU constituencies.

Five pairs contested the July 2008 Pilgub, namely Khofifah-Mudjiono, Achmady-Suhartono, Soenarjo-Moesa, Soekarwo-Yusuf, and Sucipto-Ridwan. NU followers were divided over competing NU representatives who were found in four of the five pairs, including Khofifah, Achmady, Moesa and Yusuf; while Ridwan was the only pure Muhammadiyah candidate, whereas Soekarwo was seen as sympathetic towards Muhammadiyah. In the first round of the Pilgub, no candidate attained more than the required 30 per cent to win the governorship, so a second round was held in November between the frontrunners Soekarwo-Yusuf and Khofifah-Mudjiono. Soekarwo-Yusuf won, but allegations of electoral misconduct compelled the
Indonesian Constitutional Court to order a re-vote in several districts in Madura, but this did not alter the result, and they were inaugurated as governor and deputy governor in early 2009.

In the April 2009 national legislative election, educators at Pesantren Karangasem supported PAN. The party was able to improve its vote in Lamongan to 17.8 per cent, up slightly from 17.4 per cent in 2004; although it had already jumped from 12.1 per cent in 1999. In the presidential election of September 2009, Pesantren Karangasem leaders favoured SBY because his coalition included PAN, in addition to all the major Islamic parties, namely PKS, PKB, and PPP. The result was that SBY won 54.7 per cent of the vote in Paciran, and 56.7 per cent in Lamongan (KPUK 2009a). Overall throughout the country, he achieved 60.8 per cent of the vote, enabling him to win the presidency in a single round (KPUK 2009a).

Lamongan Pilkada

In Lamongan, Pilkada have provided a magnified view of the NU-Muhammadiyah dichotomy in terms of political culture and political preference. In 2000, the transition to regional autonomy had just begun and the position of bupati was still elected by the DPRD, but it became directly elected after new laws took effect in September 2004 (Vel 2005: 83). Despite PKB occupying 17 of the 40 seats, Masfuk secured the backing of 28 DPRD members to elect him as bupati (Personal communication with KPUK Lamongan official Pak Mustaqim 9 November 2010). Five years later, Masfuk was directly elected after attaining 52.9 per cent of the Lamongan vote, and in Paciran it was slightly higher at 54 per cent. In the 2000 and 2005 Pilkada, Masfuk attracted bi-partisan support from NU and Muhammadiyah. On both occasions, Pesantren Karangasem’s leadership supported Masfuk. Kyai Ghofur of Pesantren Sunan Drajat also endorsed Masfuk, because in 2000, he was backed by PKB, and in 2005 he believed that Masfuk’s alliance with new running-mate, Tsalits, represented the interests of NU. Apparently, Kyai Ghofur and the leader of MUI in Lamongan, Kyai Aziz, as well as other NU figures, made a deal with Muhammadiyah powerbrokers that after Masfuk had completed his two-term limit, they would support Tsalits to become bupati at the 2010 Pilkada. However, the Muhammadiyah camp reneged, and instead they supported Fadeli.

In the 2010 Pilkada, the leadership at Pesantren Karangasem supported Fadeli in his bid for bupati, which was in line with the general, although unofficial, consensus among the
Muhammadiyah constituency in the district. Kyai Mu'rob, Ustadz Mubarak, and Ustadz Labib, all stated that this was because Fadeli represented the interests of Muhammadiyah (Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu'rob 16 June 2010; Interview with Mufti Labib 15 June 2010; Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarak 16 June 2010). To further strengthen Fadeli’s position within the Muhammadiyah community he was paired with running-mate, Amar Saifudin, the leader of PAN in Lamongan. The outgoing Bupati Masfuk, as well as PAN and a number of other parties endorsed Fadeli.19

Five major political parties, namely PAN, PKB, PPP, PD, and Golkar, supported the Fadeli-Saifudin duo. Collectively these five political parties attained 57.4 per cent in Lamongan at the April 2009 legislative election, giving them control over 35 seats in Lamongan’s DPRD, which had been expanded from a total of 45 to 50 seats (KPUK 2009c). In addition, Fadeli’s image was enhanced when he was endorsed by 99 national, provincial and district figures; four of whom were ministers and ten members of the national parliament. This included PKB leader and Minister of Manpower and Transmigration, Muhaimin Iskandar, fellow PKB member and Minister for Development of Disadvantaged Areas, Helmy Faisal, PAN’s Minister of Forestry, Zulkifi Hasan, and PD’s Minister of Sports and Youth, Andi Mallarangeng, as well as GP Ansor leader and East Java Deputy Governor, Saifullah Yusuf (Jawa Pos 5 May 2010).

Fadeli utilised the internet in his campaign through a website and an open Facebook account.20 Through Facebook his supporter posted positive and complimentary opinions about him. His website provided facts about his life, his ‘mission and vision’ (‘misi dan visi’), a photo gallery, news articles, stories, and other information, although there was no specific reference to Muhammadiyah. Its homepage featured a photographic slide-show, and one showed Fadeli with Kyai Mu'rob at the Pesantren Karangasem mosque, and another with Kyai Dawam Sholeh from Pesantren Al-Ishlah in Paciran.21 Fadeli’s website displayed several photos of him embracing religious figures from Lamongan with captions reading: ‘brotherly Muslim

19 Fadeli and Saifudin’s catch-cry slogan became ‘Faham’, meaning ‘understanding’. The other candidates were Tsalits Fahami and Subagio Rahmat (Sahabat; meaning friend), Ongki Wijaya Ismail Putra and Basir Sutikno (Obama; playing on the name of American President Barack Obama), and Suhandooyo and Kartika Hidayati (Sehati; meaning harmony).

20 Fadeli’s Facebook account was http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=194192085997, and Fadeli’s website was http://hajifadeli.com/.

21 In an interview with Kyai Dawam, he stated that his pesantren is not aligned to NU or Muhammadiyah, but described his pesantren as ‘modern’ (Interview with Kyai Dawan Sholeh 3 October 2007).
visit with Islamic scholars’ (‘silaturrahim dengan ulama’) and ‘close with Islamic scholars’ (‘akrab dengan ulama’). Fadeli was promoted by educators at Pesantren Karangasem, Pesantren Modern, and other Muhammadiyah pesantren and institutions in the district (Interview with Afran Anshori 20 November 2009; Interview with Kyai Ahmad Munir 27 November 2009; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 18 November 2009).

During a research trip to Lamongan in November 2009, six months before the Pilkada, the candidates had already unofficially begun their campaign. Contenders were already going out into the community, giving speeches, producing posters, attaching stickers to cars and bemo vans, and producing slogans, songs, and T-shirts. They also held private meetings with local political, religious, and business figures. Local Muhammadiyah figures, including members at Pesantren Karangasem, Pesantren Modern, as well as Bupati Masfuk’s campaign team, including Afran Ashori, who was Chairman of Muhammadiyah in Lamongan during 2000-2005, supported Fadeli as their candidate to represent the Muhammadiyah constituency (Interview with Afran Anshori 19 November 2009; Interview with Kyai Ahmad Munir 27 November 2009; Interview with Kyai Anwar Mu’rob 18 November 2009).

Rumours circulated that Fadeli provided monetary inducements to Muhammadiyah branches throughout Lamongan via a third party to attract support for his election as bupati. Investigations were unable to verify this, but confidential sources confirmed that a substantial sum was given to the Pesantren Karangasem leadership to complete renovations on their mosque and build classrooms at the complex’s eastern side in exchange for their support of Fadeli. Such behaviour casts doubt about whether support from Pesantren Karangasem leaders was genuine, and instead motivated by financial incentives, undermining their moral rectitude that Fadeli was good for religion. Some people in the Lamongan, including Pilkada contenders Tsalits and his running-mate Subagio, believed Fadeli bought the election; Tsalits and Subagio were frustrated that the Muhammadiyah community had not supported them as promised in 2005 (Interview with Tsalist Fahami and Subagio Rahmat 15 June 2010). If such allegations were true then Islamic politics in Lamongan is complicated by money politics, and could degrade electoral mandates and legitimacy. Unresolved electoral disputes have been known to cause violence in some districts (ICG 8 December 2010). Although Lamongan shows no signs of such violence, unchecked money politics in future elections would undermine electoral legitimacy and erode public confidence in their local government.
potentially fostering the emergence of patron-client systems, nepotism, and corruption within government institutions.

Prior to the 2005 Pilkada, Kyai Ghofur, and Kyai Aziz, the head of the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI) in Lamongan, and other NU kyai, reached a deal with PAN and Muhammadiyah figures that the NU community would support Masfuk’s election to a second term. In exchange, Masfuk was paired with Tsalits to represent NU and at the 2010 Pilkada, after Masfuk finished his two-term limit, Muhammadiyah community leaders would support Tsalits as bupati. The Muhammadiyah powerbrokers, including Masfuk and Afnan Ashori, divided the NU community by convincing Makin Abbas, who was both the head of NU-political vehicle PKB and District Secretary (Sekretaris Daerah) of the Lamongan DPRD, to support Fadeli, which contravened their previous agreement. On 23 May 2010, Fadeli won the Pilkada by attaining 41 per cent of the vote (KPUK 2010). Second was Suhandoyo, supported by PDIP, who attained 38.4 per cent of the vote, followed by Tsalits on 14.5 per cent and Ongki Wijaya on 6.2 per cent (KPUK 2010).
Illustration 8.1: Campaigning for the Muhammadiyah Bupati Candidate

Political paraphernalia promoting Fadeli and Amar Saifudin, and their abbreviated title Faham (Understanding). Slogan at the top reads: Continue the Development of Lamongan.

Image by Fadeli’s campaign team and posted on his website (http://hajifadeli.com/)

The Lamongan Government, under former and current bupati from Muhammadiyah, has introduced religious policies, specifically in social programs and education, as well as for anti-vice. The regional regulation Perda 5/2007 concerned the prohibition of prostitution in the district, which replaced the one first implemented in 1968 (Pemerintah Lamongan 2007). Another by-law, bupati regulation (peraturan bupati, Perbup) 4/2009, required students who were Muslim to pass a Qur’anic recitation test before attending middle school, which applied to 60,000 primary school students (Merdeka.com 21 March 2009; Pemerintah Lamongan 2009; The Jakarta Globe 22 March 2009). In January 2013, Bupati Fadeli, replaced it with Perbup 5/2013, which expanded the Qur’anic recitation program to include all primary, middle school, and high school students (Kementerian Agama RI 31 January 2013; Pemerintah Lamongan 2013; Surya Online 30 January 2013). Other pro-Islamic measures have included government assistance programs for Islamic schools and pesantren. However, just as in
national politics, the vast majority of local government policies have focused on social and economic development, rather than Islamic policies.

Some hardline Muslim groups throughout Indonesia, including Lamongan, have taken matters into their own hands to enforce an ummat conscious of its obligations according to shari‘ah law. These include the vigilante FPI, as well as the clandestine and militant jihadi JI. FPI has a strong presence in north Lamongan, and in April 2010 a JI operative, named Eko Prasetyo, was caught at the Mbabat mosque in Lamongan; just three months after a JI training camp was discovered in Aceh (The Jakarta Globe 30 April 2010). As recently as July 2013, one suspected terrorist originally from Lamongan was killed by police in Jakarta, and in August 2013, a suspected terrorist in Lamongan was caught at the Pesantren Al-Islam run by Amrozi’s brother, Muhammad Chozin (The Jakarta Globe 25 August 2013; TRIBUNNEWS.COM 29 July 2013).

**FPI and Links to JI**

In Lamongan, FPI enjoy a high degree of popularity among the Muslims with conservative attitudes towards Islam, from both NU and Muhammadiyah. In fact, Kyai Ghofur from Pesantren Sunan Drajat expressed admiration at FPI’s success in reducing the prevalence of alcohol consumption and gambling along the north coast of Lamongan, although he believed that they were too aggressive at times, and instead he preferred a peaceful dakwah process. He added, of the three principal methods to perform dakwah, it is best achieved through the mouth (bilisan) and heart (kolpun), i.e. sermons and prayer, rather than physical action or by the hand (bi al-hal) (Interview with Kyai Abdul Ghofur 25 June 2008). Although some people disagreed with FPI’s violent tactics to reform people’s immoral behaviour, like gambling, consuming alcohol, and prostitution, for example, there was considerable public support of FPI’s demands to proscribe the Ahmadiyah sect.

FPI held pengajian studies on Tuesday and Friday nights at a prayer house in Brondong, conducted by the group’s leaders, including Pesantren Karangasem senior educator Ustadz Hakam Mubarok, who was also the deputy leader of FPI in Lamongan. These pengajian consist of Qur’anic recitation, followed by translation and explanation, often with fiery rhetoric denouncing the West, infidels, and apostates, as well as celebrities, and even locals.
who indulged in immoral behaviour (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008; Interview with Zainal Anshori and Umar Al-Farouq 8 July 2008). Reports in the media, as well as anecdotes of immoral behaviour occurring in their area, provided a large portion of the content of their sermons. These lessons provided religious guidance to FPI members to justify their vigilante actions, and encouraged younger members to become a part of Allah’s army (jundullah). Some FPI members also attended pengajian held at the Pesantren Karangasem orphanage on Wednesday nights.

FPI members were concentrated in Paciran and Brondong, which has a dense population of around 170,000 people and high youth unemployment (Badan Pusat Statistik Lamongan 2009: 76). They also recruited Muslims from Muhammadiyah. FPI tapped into a common Islamic principle used by numerous Islamic groups, including Muhammadiyah and the Muslim party PBB, which also follow the amar ma’ruf nahi munkar concept. Muhammadiyah’s statute (Anggaran Dasar, AD) of chapter two, section four, states that ‘Muhammadiyah is an Islamic movement, propagator of amar ma’ruf nahi munkar and reformism, based on the Al-Qur’an and As-Sunnah’ (Muhammadiyah 2010). PBB describe their nature as ‘independent and active in implementing amar ma’ruf nahi munkar’ (Tim Litbang Kompas 2004: 59). In interviews with the then Lamongan district Muhammadiyah Chairman, Abdul Fatah, and the former Chairman, Afnan Ashori, both stated that no rule existed to prohibit Muhammadiyah members joining FPI (Interview with Abdul Fatah 9 July 2008; Interview with Afnan Anshori 19 November 2009).

The significance of Muhammadiyah members joining FPI manifested itself on 1 June 2008. At a ceremony to commemorate the 63rd anniversary of Pancasila ideology, the Alliance for the Freedom of Faith and Religion (Aliansi Kebangsaan untuk Kebebasan Berkeyakinan dan Beragama, AKKBB) demonstrated at the National Monument (Monumen Nasional, Monas) in Jakarta to support rights of Ahmadiyah members. It was sabotaged when FPI launched an attack on the peaceful AKKBB protestors. FPI leader, Habib Rizieq, and former Indonesian President, Gus Dur, became involved in a heated public row over the existence of Ahmadiyah. Gus Dur defended Ahmadiyah and argued that its members had the same rights and freedoms as other Indonesian citizens. Several days after the 1 June incident, Rizieq called Gus Dur

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Chapter Nine: Pesantren Karangasem and Political Islam
blind, both of the eyes and mind, on Indonesia’s Channel One television program to refute the former president’s accusation that he and FPI were behind the attack at Monas. His comments enraged the NU community, particularly its youth wing, GP Ansor.

The Monas incident, which culminated in public outrage against both FPI and Ahmadiyah, exacerbated by disagreements between Gus Dur and Rizieq, reverberated throughout Indonesia, including Lamongan where the GP Ansor and FPI were drawn into a potentially hostile situation. Across Indonesia, and in particular East Java, NU affiliated groups called for the disbanning of FPI because of its aggressive interpretation of Islam. These groups included, the Indonesian Islamic Students’ Movement (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia, PMII) of East Java, GP Ansor Surabaya, and Pagar Nusa martial arts group of East Java, Association of NU Students (Ikatan Pelajar NU) of East Java, who were supported by prominent NU figures (Kompas 3 June 2008). In East Java, the Jember chapter of FPI disbanded itself; the Probolinggo Chapter was heavily pressured to disband when 40 members of PKB’s Youth Leaders’ Branch (Pimpinan Anak Cabang, PAC) went looking for FPI leader in the district; while other FPI chapters in other districts in Java, including Lamongan, experienced similar demands to disband (Kompas 4 June 2008).

In Lamongan, police intervened to prevent violence between NU’s GP Ansor and FPI. The police chief in Paciran, Sunaryo, worried that it had the potential to cause a conflict between NU and Muhammadiyah, because some FPI members also held membership with Muhammadiyah (Interview with Sunaryo 13 June 2008). He added that some members of the North Coast Islamic Youth Association (Persatuan Pemuda Islam Pantura, PPIP) in Paciran had joined FPI, which could draw another Islamic organisation into the conflict. The PPIP preach a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam and for the implementation of shari’ah law, and they even invited firebrand Muslim Cleric, Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, to deliver a sermon in Paciran in October 2007 (Franklin Apr-Jun 2008, Jan-Mar 2009). Lamongan police approached local leaders to help prevent violence. From NU, Kyai Ghofur, Kyai Aziz, and others, cautioned the GP Ansor against confronting FPI. Meanwhile, police interviewed and monitored FPI members and leaders, such as Zainal Anshori, Ustadz Mubarok, and Umar Al-Faroq, and anyone else suspected as sympathetic to FPI, including several teachers from Pesantren Karangasem. Police reported that there were between 75 to 100 FPI members in

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23 A clip of Rizieq’s interview is available on YouTube, entitled Anjing Bajingan menghina Kyai NU.
Paciran and Brondong (Franklin Jan-Mar 2009; Interview with Sunaryo 13 June 2008; Jawa Pos 12 June 2008). Fortunately, the conflict was avoided, but FPI refused to disband, and the incident galvanised FPI as their local leader, Anshori, declared that they were prepared to ‘fight to the death’ (Interview with Zainal Anshori and Umar Al-Farouq 8 July 2008).

Following the Monas incident, the media, politicians, and ordinary citizens, debated the existence of Ahmadiyah and FPI. In response, several parliamentarians passed a Three Joint Ministers’ Agreement (SKB Tiga Menteri) to curtail Ahmadiyah from spreading. However, it did not proscribe the group as demanded by some sections of the Muslim community, and Ahmadiyah members continued to practise their faith. The Indonesian authorities arrested Rizieq and FPI field commander, Munarman, and both were imprisoned for 18 months for inciting public violence. Ustadz Mubarok stated that Muslims must defend their religion, and be prepared even to go to jail, like Rizieq (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008). In late June 2008, Rizieq was scheduled to visit Pesantren Karangasem, but it was cancelled because of his arrest. He first conducted a sermon at Pesantren Karangasem in 2005 when FPI was formally established in the district (Interview with Ustadz Hakam Mubarok 6 June 2008).

During research in 2007 and 2008, FPI raided locations suspected of prostitution, gambling, and alcohol. They also advised locals against holding music festivals where young pretty girls sang on stage in tight skimpy clothing. The incident at Monas, which received extensive media attention, seemed to embolden FPI. In June 2008, FPI, under its local leader Zainal Anshori, and Field Commander Umar Al-Farouq, attacked a man who sold tuak; a liquid made from sugar palm juice, or legen, which becomes alcoholic after fermentation. To humiliate the tuak seller, they ordered him to sit while they poured tuak over him. They destroyed his bottles and jerry cans, and demanded he find a different job.24 FPI also raided a house in Blimbing village, Paciran, where locals consumed alcohol. Again, the offenders were ordered to sit as FPI members poured the alcohol over them with threats of further punishment if they continued to violate Islamic law.25

24 Video footage available at www.youtube.com, entitled FPI Lamongan Siram Pemilik Miras Dengan Air Tuak.
25 Video footage available at okezone.com, entitled Perangi Maksiat, FPI Lamongan Gelar Razia.
Other FPI vigilante activities, called *sweeping* or *razia*, have taken place on suspected brothels and gambling dens in Lamongan. FPI received little or no opposition from Muslim leaders in the area, likely because speaking out against them may be twisted to argue that those opposing FPI’s actions support the existence of immoral behaviour. However, authorities normally respond to local grievances, and in August 2008 it was reported that two FPI field commanders in Lamongan, namely Al-Farouq and Yoyon, were arrested by police because of their attack on the *tuak* seller in June (The Wahid Institute August 2008: 10-11). FPI’s Central Leader, Habib Rizieq, commented that alcohol raids in Lamongan were good, but pouring *tuak* over an old man was overreacting (The Wahid Institute August 2008: 10-1).

During an interview in July 2008, the Muhammadiyah Chairman of Lamongan, Abdul Fatah, was asked about his opinion regarding FPI. Instead of denouncing FPI, he defended their concept of *bi al-hal* (physical action), because it could be used to clean out rubbish from the drains and waterways (Interview with Abdul Fatah 9 July 2008). However, he could not provide an example of when FPI had ever cleaned out the drainpipes in Lamongan, or when they had done anything constructive to help the community besides vigilantism.

Fatah’s sympathy towards FPI may have been because he shared its aspiration for an *umat* governed by *shari’ah* law, as well as the disbanding of Ahmadiyah. Fatah’s beliefs were likely influenced during his education at the ultra-conservative and fundamentalist Pesantren Persis in Bangil, Pasuruan district, East Java. He was a student there in 1968-1971 (Interview with Abdul Fatah 9 July 2008). In addition, he was the headmaster of Pesantren Al-Mizan Muhammadiyah, which received visits from convicted JI leader Abu Bakar Ba’asyir. During one visit in June 2008, Ba’asyir made public comments defending FPI for its action at Monas (Jawa Pos 29 June 2008: 29 & 39). Seemingly, Fatah did not believe his approval of FPI and friendship with Ba’asyir would harm the reputation of Muhammadiyah.

In June 2008, Ba’asyir’s visited numerous Muhammadiyah institutions in Lamongan. During this time, he accused the United States of being behind the actions of the AKKBB at Monas. He said this was proven when apparently someone from the American Embassy in Jakarta visited some of the AKKBB members in hospital after the Monas attack (Jawa Pos 29 June 2008: 29 & 39). He criticised the arrest of Habib Rizieq, as well as the weakness of President

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26 In late 2008, Abdul Fatah died.
SBY and Vice President Yusuf Kalla in their decision not to disband Ahmadiyah. During Ba’asyir’s visit to the musholla (prayer house) of the Muhammadiyah sub-branch at Temenggungan village, Lamongan, he said that the Monas incident was a conspiracy and Ahmadiyah was the bait for FPI. He also delivered a sermon at the Muhammadiyah mosque of Al-Azhar at Temenggungan village. Finally, he visited Fatah’s Pesantren Al-Mizan Muhammadiyah, where Ba’asyir said to the media that he opposed the execution of Amrozi, Ali Ghufron and Imam Samudra, because in his opinion, ‘the Islamic umat see them as defenders of the faith (mujahidin) and heroes of Islam fighting against paganism in Indonesia’ (Jawa Pos 29 June 2008: 29 & 39).

Although FPI and JI have no formal alliance, there has been some kinship between them. Two FPI members were jailed for involvement with JI, including Fathurrahman and Imam Buchori, both were both sentenced to three and a half years jail for assisting JI bombing mastermind Noordin Top (ICG 19 November 2007). Top was eventually killed by Indonesia’s anti-terrorist squad, Densus 88, in September 2009 (The Jakarta Globe 18 September 2009). In November 2008, prior to the execution of the Bali bombers, FPI members descended upon the village of Tenggulun, outside Pesantren Al-Islam to demonstrate against the execution of these martyrs, as they saw them, and to protest against the government, which they believed had been influenced by the West. This proved that FPI, at least in Lamongan, have sympathy for JI’s struggle for Muslim society, despite its more extreme tactics. FPI remain active in Lamongan, particularly in the north, as was demonstrated in August 2013 when nine of its members from Paciran were arrested for their involvement in a bloody assault on fellow villagers, which escalated into reprisals (DetikNews 12 August 2013; Tempo.co 13 August 2013). The task for institutions like Pesantren Karangasem is to ensure that its members do not resort to violence or support organisations like FPI and JI, and that they remain committed to pembaruan and ijtihad through peaceful dakwah.

**Conclusion**

Pesantren Karangasem leaders since the 1950s have supported political Islam. They helped Masyumi win in Lamongan at the 1955 general election; supported PPP during the New Order regime; and endorsed Muhammadiyah candidates to dominate the position of bupati in the

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27 He also visited the village of Kalimalang, Glagah subdistrict, and visited the girls only Pesantren Al-Ikhlas in Sedayulawas, Brondong, which is close with Pesantren Al-Islam, headed by Ustadz Chozin.
post-Suharto era. This underpinned their desire for shari’ah-based laws and for an umat more conscious of its Islamic obligations. Investigations established that the pedagogy of Pesantren Karangasem has greatly affected the political culture of its santri and that of the surrounding community. Pesantren Karangasem’s religious presupposition represents its symbolic capital and that of their educators who consciously or unconsciously reinforce symbolic violence for their followers to prefer Muhammadiyah candidates. Pesantren Karangasem’s symbolic power is misrecognised, that is not overtly recognised as political, and this seemingly invisible symbolic power is particularly evident at the district level. Consequently, Muhammadiyah have been able to dominate local politics in Lamongan, and in particular the position of bupati, in the three elections since reformasi, but not without political rivalry with NU.

The American anthropologist, Robert Hefner, who also cited Dhofier (1999: xxx), wrote about the modernist-traditionalist approach to assessing Islam and concluded that:

‘…Muslim Indonesia has witnessed a fractious pluralisation of schools, movements and authority. The old division between Islamic modernists and traditionalists has not entirely disappeared, but it has been twisted and bent to such as degree that, as Zamakhshyari Dhofier noted in the 1980s, “the traditionalist-modernist dichotomy has ceased to be fruitful” in political and cultural analyses.’ (Hefner 2009: 97)

In terms of the nation-wide political culture, this assessment by Hefner and Dhofier is accurate where NU-Muhammadiyah considerations are diluted by other factors, but in terms of the regional political culture in specific districts like Lamongan, it will probably never disappear completely. At the local level where there is a strong community of devout NU and Muhammadiyah followers, reinforced by reproduction in santri habitus, these Islamic identities continue to be a salient factor in people’s political preference, and the idea of getting ‘one of our own’ to win remains prevalent. Furthermore, since the Muhammadiyah community is the smaller of the two major Islamic organisations, they had to be more cohesive and solid in their political manoeuvring than NU. This also plays into symbolic violence, where orang awam (common people) conform to the political wishes of their kyai out of either conformity to their kyai or to the larger Muhammadiyah movement. However, the objective to implement religious laws and for greater accommodation of Islamic values held by some
prominent members of the Muhammadiyah community in Lamongan, including Pesantren Karangasem, is not solid and cohesive, or even defined. The belief that shari’ah law will rid Indonesia of corruption, crime, and social immorality, nevertheless continues to live on and resonate in the minds of many Muhammadiyah followers.

It is important to keep the idea of accommodation of Islamic values and implementation of shari’ah law in perspective. As described by Hefner (2009: 98), ‘the commitment to Islamic law, of course, has to be balanced against the fact that in the voting booth, most Muslims – and most Muslim educators – continue to lend their support to political parties supportive of multireligious ideas of Indonesian nationalism.’ This includes educators at Pesantren Karangasem, who supported not only the Islamist parties, like PKS, PPP, and PBB, but also PAN, which is committed to the Pancasila. Although Pesantren Karangasem, and indeed the majority of pesantren communities throughout Lamongan, greater East Java, and the entire country, is not ‘liberal’ in the modern Western understanding of the term, they are committed to modernity, social justice and equality, and the development of democracy in Indonesia.

The inability of the Islamic parties to receive an outright mandate to introduce shari’ah law provides radical and militant jihadi groups, like FPI and JI, with the argument that they need to exist. FPI have infiltrated Muhammadiyah in Lamongan and have received support from prominent Muhammadiyah figures in the district, including the now deceased Lamongan Muhammadiyah Chairman, Abdul Fatah, and Ustadz Mubarok as both FPI’s Deputy Leader in Lamongan and soon-to-be kyai of Pesantren Karangasem. This has provided FPI with a high degree of legitimacy. In addition, as long as FPI enjoy support for ensuring the observance of Islamic obligations and defending the umat, some in Indonesia will view this group as necessary for the enforcement of social morality. FPI’s constant and vociferous demands for the Indonesian government to disband Ahmadiyah have reached fever pitch proportions with increased attacks over the past few years. In February 2011, bigoted local villagers killed three Ahmadiyah members in a village in West Java, while the Indonesian police witnessed the murders, but failed to intervene (The Jakarta Globe 23 August 2011). The perpetrators of these attacks were sentenced to between three to six months for their crimes. This has made Indonesia’s justice system and political authorities appear incompetent at best and sympathetic to these hardliners at worst. Unfortunately, these acts are now so common that such unchecked behaviour has tarnished Indonesia’s reputation as a tolerant, pluralistic country.
The acquiescence of prominent religious leaders within Muhammadiyah, that vindicate FPI’s behaviour, has only exacerbated the situation.

The fact that one of the Bali Bombers attended Pesantren Karangasem is the most extreme exemplification of any of its former students trying to achieve the imagined and contested idea of a Caliphate. Although it is unfair to blame educators at Pesantren Karangasem for the actions of Ali Imron, his attendance at their pesantren is nevertheless an inconvenient truth. A decade after the first Bali bombing, JI’s ability to regenerate is still evident, particularly after the discovery of the Aceh training militant camp in early 2010, as well as on-going shootouts, and arrests and trials of terrorist members caught in Indonesia and abroad. However, religious communities and figures, like those at Pesantren Karangasem, can help the country debate the role of political Islam by encouraging goals to be achieved through the democratic process, rather than violent acts in the name of religion. Individuals with radical views of Islam within Muhammadiyah at least interact with people who have moderate and temperate religious views; which perhaps is a more effective way to deal with radicals rather than isolating them and allowing them to mingle only with Muslims who hold intolerant views.

Pesantren Karangasem has an important role in educating its santri and the local umat on religious issues. Its educators continue to pledge their support to the Pancasila, democracy, and political pluralism, while promoting a civilised and advanced society. Santri and the local community are encouraged to reconcile their beliefs and worldly matters, and so modernity, social equality, justice, prosperity, and peace are central to this understanding. During research, many Pesantren Karangasem educators apologised to me for any offensive or radical views of their pesantren colleagues and re-affirmed to me that none of their pesantren members were terrorists or were involved in terrorism. They opened their doors widely to demonstrate this. Pesantren Karangasem has existed for over six decades and they understand that educating the umat and changing community perceptions requires many years, and even decades. Consequently, the achievement of political Islamic aspirations remains on-going, but Pesantren Karangasem educators do not see themselves as politically motivated, but rather motivated by a desire to strengthen Islam through education and inculcating religious values and enhancing piety within the umat.
Illustration 8.2: Pesantren Karangasem and Political Figures

Fadeli (left) on the campaign trail visits Kyai Mu'rob at the Pesantren Karangasem Mosque.

Photograph posted on Fadeli’s website (http://hajifadeli.com/)

From left: Minister for Communications and Informatics, Mohammad Nuh, Chairman of the Self-Prosperity Fund Foundation (Yayasan Dana Sejahtera Mandiri, Damandiri), Haryono Suyono, and Ustadz Mubarok. Standing behind them, Kyai Mu'rob greets guests. Nuh visited Pesantren Karangasem to promote the Empowerment of Society Project (Pos Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, Posdaya).

Photograph available on the Gemari website (http://gemari.or.id/file/edisi84/gemari8450.pdf)
Chapter Ten: Conclusion
Chapter Ten: Conclusion

This study was set out to explore the social function of pesantren (Islamic boarding school) and pesantren headmasters (kyai) and their role in the East Java community of Lamongan, a largely uninvestigated district. Available literature on political Islam in Indonesia offers limited information regarding pesantren and kyai political activity in rural Java, and few sources provide any insight at all into Muhammadiyah pesantren. This study sought to correct this deficiency, and specifically to determine how influential Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah pesantren are on people’s attitudes and behaviour, and the consequences of that behaviour for the students of pesantren, the political culture of the district, and local electoral politics both before and after democratisation in 1998.

Research and analysis regarding the case study NU and Muhammadiyah pesantren and their political dimensions were examined in chapter six to nine. After synthesising the empirical findings it is apparent that pesantren and kyai play a vital role in the religious consciousness of the district. Kyai Abdul Ghofur from Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Kyai Anwar Mu'rob from Pesantren Karangasem have indirect influence by symbolising traditionalist NU and reformist Muhammadiyah Islamic culture, which is a salient influence on people’s social behaviour, including a political preference to elect parties and candidates that represent these constituencies. More directly however, both kyai remind locals of their religious duty to support the empowerment of Muslim society at the ballot box. This has contributed to Lamongan’s political culture, which has made it possible for the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) and the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN) to dominate local politics.

To help explain Lamongan’s political culture, Bourdieu’s theory that religion is ideology underpinned this study’s findings of how the pesantren system serves as a mechanism for social reproduction inculcating Islamic traditions and values. Pesantren inculcate historical and cultural practices, as well as rules and ideology, critical for the process of reproduction, empowering kyai with cultural (religious) capital. The pedagogy of the santri habitus (student habitus) of both pesantren involved in this study has helped define the religious culture of the area. This also includes the political culture, and a significant portion of residents vote according to their religious values and expectations.
Perhaps the most instructive finding using Bourdieu’s concept of *symbolic power* is that while *kyai* possess it, and *umat* (Islamic community) recognise it, voters differentiate it in terms of religious authority and political authority. Messages from *kyai* conveyed to the community do not affect political outcomes to the extent one might expect, and *symbolic violence* within the *umat* does not necessarily apply in politics. Ordinary NU members and Muhammadiyah members have shown that they will defy their *kyai*’s political choice by voting independently.

The consequence of this break in *symbolic violence* was exemplified when Kyai Ghofur’s efforts to support Tsalits in the 2010 Lamongan Pilkada; Megawati-Prabowo in the 2009 presidential election; and Khofifah in the 2008 gubernatorial election were unsuccessful. Kyai Mu'rob’s efforts to increase the popularity of PBB in Lamongan met the same fate. The community supported the moderate Muslim-based and pluralist PKB and PAN, while the pro-nationalist parties, namely Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*, PDIP), Golkar, and the Democrat Party (*Partai Demokrat*, PD) showed themselves to be successful at winning votes, and so should not be overlooked in measuring political popularity in Lamongan. Both *kyai* misjudged the political climate of the day and supported losing candidates in elections. Kyai Ghofur’s political manoeuvring was reminiscent of political strategies of the Suharto era (1966-1998), when an intricate patron-client system rewarded loyalty to the regime. On the other hand, Kyai Mu'rob’s political preference favoured Muslim parties promoting major social changes and for deeper Islamisation through the introduction of Islamic-based policies. Some of the aspirations of the two *kyai* have been realised, namely the successful choices of Kyai Ghofur in the 2005 Pilkada, and Kyai Mu'rob in the 2005 and 2010 Pilkada, as well as the 2008 Gubernatorial elections; however, even these wins reflected relatively pluralist, modern, but Muslim-inclusive aspirations encompassed by Pancasila ideology, and not Islamist doctrine.

To help us understand the religious authority of *kyai* it can be divided into a narrow and broad definition. In the broad sense, it includes advice on fluid issues, such as political morality and reform, including policies to promote general Islamic education, discouraging support for militant Jihadists, and aspects where politics is supposed to reflect common shared community values. In the narrow sense, religious authority includes the distribution of resources, party politics, and the acquisition and exercise of political power based on an ideological core. If *kyai* instruct people to vote for parties that do not fulfil the criteria of community expectations,
voters have shown they will not follow such advice. There is no automatic correlation for locals to vote for PKB and PAN, or any other party just because a kyai insists. Kyai influence on political thinking is fundamentally limited to the broader definition of political authority regarding general religious issues.

The on-going debate about the role of NU and Muhammadiyah in Indonesian religious and political life remains alive and well, despite prominent scholars, such as Dhofier (1999) and Hefner (2009), arguing that assessing political Islam from the traditionalist-modernist perspective is no longer valid since the gap has been overcome as these two Islamic groups have become ideologically similar. Any assumption that Indonesia’s two largest organisations are no longer as dominant in people’s lives as they once were needs to be considered carefully because this study has shown that in Lamongan distinct NU and Muhammadiyah cultures remain integral to daily life and social identity, which can affect political outcomes for parties representing these constituencies. The findings of this study can be used by other scholars for comparative purposes to determine the degree to which such findings for Lamongan apply generally across Java, and the whole country.

The qualitative research findings of this study also show that contemporary religious behaviour is linked to how people in Lamongan believe that their Islamisation flows from the Sultanates of Giri at Gresik and from the example of the nine Muslim saints (wali songo), who according to folklore were responsible for Islamising Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Both NU and Muhammadiyah accept this history, but apply different methods of religious instruction and proselytisation (dakwah). Consequently, Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu'rob engage in a contest of ideas regarding cultural and religious capital and the practice of Islam. Based on NU culture, Kyai Ghofur seeks to continue traditionalist Islam as derived from the legacy of the wali songo by embracing an ‘artistic-cultural’ (seni-budaya) approach to Islam and encouraging ‘faithful reliance’ (taqlid) to Muslim educators. In contrast, Kyai Mu'rob, in-line with Muhammadiyah doctrine, aims to ‘reform’ (pembaruan) Islam through applying scholarly ‘interpretation’ (ijtihad) and modernism, to address the ‘blind obedience’ (taqlid buta) of the local community in their attitude toward Muslim leaders. The struggle between traditionalists and reformists gives Islam symbolic significance, essential in the field of political Islam. Allied to the NU and Muhammadiyah dichotomy are the respective political representatives whom kyai hope to lobby for access to the resources of government;
Kyai Ghofur wants politicians to continue to support conservative Muslim traditions, whereas Kyai Mu'rob desires more emphasis on modernisation, with a commitment to Islamic reform.

Notwithstanding the differences between Muhammadiyah and NU, both organisations are similar in their social and pedagogical function to educate and proselytise their style of Islam. Kyai Ghofur demands absolute obedience from his santri and expects local orang awam to behave in a similar manner, which is culturally accepted within the NU community. This is partly because the santri habitus of Pesantren Sunan Drajat is designed to produce citizens who are devout Muslims with an allegiance to Kyai Ghofur. The function of his position as kyai provides a source of authority for his actions in the best interests of the umat, predicated upon traditionalist belief in the will of Allah, the Qur’an and Hadith (verified prophetic stories of Muhammad), wali songo heritage, and traditional Javanese texts (kitab kuning).

Kyai Mu'rob rejects this traditionalist approach to Islam, believing religious guidance must be verified according to only the Qur’an and Hadith. Pembaruan and ijthād refute superstition (takhayul), innovations (bid’a) and myth (churofat), or TBC, and deny blind obedience (taqlid buta) to Muslim leaders. Pesantren Karangasem employs all the usual characteristics of pesantren, even employing the Javanese title ‘kyai’ in reference to its headmaster. However, its santri may question and be critical of Muslim educators. In addition, Pesantren Karangasem management is influenced by Muhammadiyah culture, employing a pluralistic administrative structure in decision-making, the use of funds, and direction of their pesantren. Notwithstanding, there is an expectation that Muhammadiyah members act, and vote, according to their conscience to support their community. Despite Muhammadiyah’s ideological and organisational emphasis on ijthād and individual autonomy, the behaviour of santri at this Muhammadiyah santri habitus is almost as deferential as santri at NU pesantren. Participant observation revealed that this was due to the prevailing Javanese cultural behaviour to show deference and obedience to elders and important community figures, especially kyai, ulama (Islamic scholar), and ustaz (religious teachers).

The political dimensions of NU and Muhammadiyah are not new and successive Indonesian governments have been conscious of the Muslim vote. As discussed in chapter five, Golkar’s efforts to capture the Muslim vote were boosted after NU’s khittah doctrine in late 1984. It allowed the government freedom to cajole kyai in the district to support the ruling party as NU
religious figures were no longer expected to support PPP. Although PPP support dropped significantly in Lamongan and across the country, in Paciran, where both Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem are located, PPP was able to maintain its dominance in the subdistrict despite it losing over 20 per cent of its vote, falling from 72.1 per cent in 1982 to 51.9 per cent in 1987. The fact that the party was able to maintain its majority reflected the devout Islamic nature of residents and their desire for Islamic representation in politics. Even Kyai Ghofur’s political urgings failed to win over the subdistrict. Golkar had to contend with the Muhammadiyah constituency, including Kyai Abdurrahman Syamsuri, Kyai Mu'rob, and others at Pesantren Karangasem, who continued to support PPP.

Any investigation into political Islam in Indonesian has to consider Pancasila, which requires a commitment to religion in state affairs. The significance of Pancasila is that it guarantees that the nation’s dominant faith, Islam, receives special consideration in laws and policies. All the major political parties adhere to Pancasila as their ideological party platform (asas). Following reformasi, several minor parties have held Islam as their ideological basis. In this way, it is not merely the Islamic parties that promote Islamic empowerment, but also those that adhere to Pancasila. PKB and PAN are Pancasila parties, but were founded as political vehicles for NU and Muhammadiyah, and they promote Islam for much of their identity. This is evidenced through party founders and membership, slogans, as well as campaigning style and rhetoric, including party symbols; PKB logos imitate NU’s green colour, the globe of planet earth, and nine stars, while PAN has copied Muhammadiyah’s symbol of the sun and its emanating rays of light. Therefore, classifying PKB and PAN as simply Pancasila parties requires qualification as this study provided.

Analysis of Lamongan’s political history reveals that democratisation in 1998 allowed elections to reflect the demography of Lamongan as it did in 1955 when the Muslim parties won; Masyumi and the NU party achieved 39.6 per cent and 16 per cent of the district vote, or 55.6 per cent combined. Nearly half a century later, in 1999, PKB and PAN won 42.5 per cent and 12.1 per cent, or 54.6 per cent combined. PKB won in Lamongan and its national founder, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), assumed the presidency of Indonesia. The following year, PAN candidate and Muhammadiyah constituent, Masfuk, was elected district head (bupati) of Lamongan. Even though PKB remains the most popular party in Lamongan,
support for it has decreased to 37.3 and 19.8 per cent in 2004 and 2009. At the same time, PAN has increased its vote from 12.1 per cent in 1999 to 17.4 and 17.8 per cent in 2004 and 2009; and in 2005 its candidate, Masfuk, was re-elected as bupati with a new deputy, Tsalits. Tsalits, the former head of NU, boosted NU’s prospects within local politics, but further ascension to take the district’s top position was not realised. In 2010, the Muhammadiyah candidate, Fadeli, was elected bupati with 41 per cent of the vote, following the expiration of Masfuk’s two-term limitation (ten years). Despite support from Kyai Ghofur, Tsalits’ bid ran a distant third with 14.5 per cent of the vote.

Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu’rob claim that a win for ‘their man’ strengthens the confidence of the local community in the Islamic organisation of the candidate. Although this view ignores other factors, both NU and Muhammadiyah take pride in proclaiming that they are associated with successful political figures. Kyai Mu’rob is more pragmatic about this type of politics, and makes efforts to avoid grievances with political opponents, in the event he backs a losing candidate. It is erroneous to believe that NU or Muhammadiyah credentials are the sole factor in attracting votes, and relying on religious values is an approach that is too narrow to appeal to the entire electorate. A significant component of Tsalits’ campaign was directed to the NU constituency, but the strategy only achieved one in seven votes. Meanwhile, Fadeli’s campaign captured large cross-sections of the electorate, particularly after he secured the backing of both PKB and PAN, as most of his campaign did not hinge on either having Muhammadiyah or NU credentials. This preference for candidates with a broader point of view was borne out by the good fortune of Suhandoyo, the candidate for PDIP. Suhandoyo refrained from favouring either NU or Muhammadiyah, and he achieved 38.4 per cent of the vote, only 2.6 per cent behind Fadeli.

The debate about political Islam and political culture is extensive and multifaceted even at the local level in Lamongan. At the deeper cultural, and even political, level the prominence of NU and Muhammadiyah in Lamongan have not prevented the existence of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and the Islamic Defenders’ Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI). Further investigations into these radical groups are required, and although JI has been largely dismantled, conditions and multiple contingent circumstances in Lamongan have allowed radicals to exist. Based on this

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1 If we combine the PKNU’s 7.2 per cent of the vote with PKB’s 19.8 per cent achieved in 2009, the vote for the NU political vehicles remains relatively high at 27 per cent.
study’s observations, factors such as high religiosity, local charismatic leadership, international issues, limited education, lack of employment opportunities, perhaps even time abroad, and a belief that violence is permissible in the name of religion, appear to be some of the ingredients necessary for some locals to violently pursue the radical Islamist agenda of establishing an umat governed by shari’ah law. NU and Muhammadiyah leaders, including both kyai from Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem, typically help the Indonesian authorities to de-radicalise affected locals, although this remains an on-going, slow and tedious process, given that the first JI Bali Bombing was in October 2002 and FPI’s vigilantism first began in Jakarta in 1998. Radicalism and militant Islam have existed in Indonesia prior to independence, most notably Darul Islam, and although JI and FPI are relatively recent creations, they are part of the broader narrative of the radical Islamism. Further research into the relationship between NU, Muhammadiyah, FPI and JI in Lamongan is warranted, especially since Muhammadiyah members have had connections to FPI. Findings may help us understand local causes of radicalism and provide possible solutions.

In Lamongan, the role of kyai in the NU and Muhammadiyah communities share similarities in terms of their characteristic, habitual, and symbolic capital traits. Kyai also conduct sermons providing religious and moral guidance for the umat on both temporal and spiritual matters. As was evident in the two case studies, it was found that santri, orang awam (common people), and politicians, including businessmen, and other kyai, acknowledged the positions of Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu'rob because of their reputation. People in lower positions of situational and cultural power, particularly orang awam and santri, revere kyai and treat them with utmost respect. As identified already, translating this into political influence is difficult; it can be fraught with confusion as views differ amongst kyai. In addition, kyai can change allegiances between elections. A typical example was Kyai Ghofur who endorsed Golkar, PKB, PAN, and Greater Indonesia Movement Party (Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Gerindra), at different elections.

Another reason that kyai influence on voting is limited is that despite the omnipresence of NU and Muhammadiyah in the social life of Lamongan, their structures are loose, limiting the political success of the two Islamic groups. Turmudi pointed out that the pesantren system and tarekat (Islamic brotherhood, Sufi order) in Jombang are not structurally established within NU and Muhammadiyah, but they form a sub-culture that feeds into the two umbrella
Muslim organisations (Turmudi 1996: 201). Pesantren Sunan Drajat and Pesantren Karangasem are prominent in the lives of many residents in Lamongan, but drawing support for a specific cause is ineffective when kyai are independent from one another, holding different opinions on political outcomes. This was crystallised during the 2010 election for district head (pemilihan kepala daerah, Pilkada), where Kyai Ghofur and Kyai Mu'rob supported rival candidates. However, the key test was whether either could mobilise the NU or Muhammadiyah constituencies; a difficult task for these non-political organisations.

This study’s analytical comparison of Islamic politics during the authoritarian New Order confirms and extends the analysis of other scholars concerning the ways in which Suharto was able to dominate elections from 1971-1997. This Lamongan micro-study showed that kyai were enticed, not just coerced, into support for the New Order. Kyai Ghofur maintained that Golkar represented the interests of NU, and moderate Islamic values, but it also provided him patronage from a powerful government to become wealthy and develop his pesantren. His joining of Golkar was not unprecedented. Preceding the 1977 general election, a famous kyai in Lamongan’s neighbouring Jombang district named Kyai Musta’in, who was the head of both Pesantren Darul Ulum and the Sufi Muslim brotherhood Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah, defected from PPP to Golkar (Turmudi 1996: 90 & 202). Kyai Musta’in’s defection undermined his legitimacy as a kyai and tarekat leader. This caused internal conflict among the local NU elite, with the result that his followers deserted him (Turmudi 1996: 89-102). In the case of Kyai Ghofur, his followers did not abandon him when they held opposing views, unlike the followers of Kyai Musta’in. Instead, they ignored the political choice of Kyai Ghofur, and in so doing demonstrated that the ability of a prominent kyai to influence the electorate is limited. Locals were familiar with Kyai Ghofur’s political inclinations, especially when he became a sitting member of Golkar in the Lamongan People’s Legislative Assembly (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, DPRD) in 1997-1999. Kyai Ghofur threw his local followers into confusion through his erratic allegiances in different elections, since this reflected an unclear definition of political Islam. He attempted to invoke the traditionalist notion of the faithful reliance to Muslim leaders, and if his preferred candidate was successful, he expected some kind of personal reward to flow from it.

During the New Order regime, Kyai Mu'rob would not be coerced by the Suharto regime despite an obligation to support the ruling party when he was a public school teacher, which
required his membership in Golkar. Instead he supported PPP and helped it maintain dominance in the Paciran subdistrict as he believed the party represented the Islamic values of the umat more than Golkar and the Indonesian Democratic Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia, PDI; now PDIP). After reformasi, he supported the PBB and PAN as he began to promote parties sympathetic to the empowerment of modernist and reformist Islam. Unlike Kyai Ghofur, he had not been active in politics prior to this, other than offering moral support; he had seen fit to concentrate on his pesantren duties.

Differences in opinion among kyai in Lamongan lend further weight to Turmudi’s argument that NU does not hold a monopoly of power (Turmudi 1996: 202). This is underpinned by the absence of formal mechanisms for the disciplining of kyai who may venture too far into the political arena. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah is more cohesive and its followers are conscious not to tarnish the image of the organisation. In addition, Muhammadiyah has mechanisms to promote conformity, such as the issuing of affiliation rights, revoking educational accreditation, and blocking access to funding and other resources from the organisation. These mechanisms are not used to enforce political rigidity, but are designed to prevent the exploitation of the organisation.

In Turmudi’s assessment of kyai and their role in the community in the district of Jombang, he stated:

> The kyai through their pesantren had an important role in inculcating Islamic values and norms into the lives of Muslims in Jombang. This was so, not only because the kyai were informal charismatic leaders in Indonesian society, but also because they were committed to the formation of a society characterised by Islam. In other words, the institutionalisation of Islamic values was made possible by the contribution of the kyai. Through their informal leadership role, the kyai made society more religious, as conceptualised by Islam, in all aspects of life.
> (Turmudi 1996: 202)

Similar to Jombang, kyai have increased religious consciousness in Lamongan. However, unique to Lamongan is Muhammadiyah’s strong presence and inclusion of the pesantren system in its efforts to disseminate their particular approach to Islam, which has enriched the
political culture of the district to accommodate modernist Islam. Turmudi also concluded that in Jombang: ‘following the *kiai*’s political example is not an absolute obligation for Muslims. Not only is there no longer a convergence between Muslim politics and that of the *kiai*, there is also no longer a moral obligation in regard to politics’ (Turmudi 1996: 205). The results of recent elections in Lamongan support this conclusion. Voters in Lamongan independent of *kyai*, prefer Pancasila Muslim-based political parties, including PKB and PAN, rather than Islamist parties. Proof of Lamongan’s Islamic-inclusiveness can be seen through the issuing of religious regional regulations (*peraturan daerah*, Perda) and *bupati* regulations (*peraturan bupati*, Perbup); including anti-vice legislation aimed at eliminating prostitution, and another to promote Islamic education (Pemerintah Lamongan 2007, 2009, 2013).

Attempts by Kyai Mu’rob, and other educators at Pesantren Karangasem, to promote PBB as the current embodiment of Masyumi failed to resonate with voters. In the legislative elections of 1999 and 2004, PBB received 1.2 and 0.9 per cent of the Lamongan vote. In 2009, its support declined to 0.7 per cent, as Pesantren Karangasem educators were hesitant to support it because of its previous failures. In Paciran, in the same elections, it was marginally higher at 5.1, 4.6, and 1.9 per cent. This validates the claim that *kyai* from Muhammadiyah also have limited influence within the *umat*. Furthermore, it reflects the reality that their preference for pure Islamic parties was too extreme and anachronistic for the electorate. The effect of these political setbacks was that the political preference of Kyai Mu'rob and his staff shifted toward the political centre, to the more moderate and pluralist approach to political Islam, settling with PAN. The elections of *bupati* in Lamongan proved to the Pesantren Karangasem leadership that endorsing candidates supporting moderate Islamic aspirations fits best with the current political orientation of local residents and their religious expectations.

Kyai Ghofur delivered the most prominent public commentary regarding politics in Lamongan. He gave direct instructions to his followers concerning his preferred candidates; however, the Lamongan community were uncooperative when his preference failed to inspire the *umat*. This was evident in the 2010 Pilkada when Tsalits was defeated, and in April 2009, Prabowo’s Gerinda attained only 5 per cent of the vote in Lamongan, while the subsequent Megawati-Prabowo presidential bid achieved 28.6 per cent of the district vote compared to Yudhoyono-Boediono’s 56.7 per cent. Kyai Ghofur’s views were contradictory because Gerinda’s political style reminded many voters of the approach of the former New Order.
regime and relied on national idealism, and the high profile of its leader, Prabowo; it also lacked supporting political infrastructure at the regional level. It was apparent to locals that Kyai Ghofer’s interests stood to benefit following a victory of Tsalits and Prabowo. Therefore, their defeat was a blow for Kyai Ghofer, and favouritism was unlikely to flow from rival candidates; following reformasi the existence of a patron-client relationship could not provide the level of nepotism Golkar achieved during the New Order regime. Kyai Ghofer believed that his failures were due to the opposition’s resorting to vote-buying and electoral fraud. He maintained that Indonesia needed to mature for another 50 years in order to cope properly with democracy; which seemed like a tacit cry for a return to the New Order era, and a convenient argument for political failure.

Although the coercive forces of the New Order no longer exist, any future research into kyai political activity should not overlook pressure from political parties. In Lamongan, partisan NU and Muhammadiyah political parties have actively pursued kyai support, including as party members. This study sits in contrast to Dhofier who maintains that, ‘those that approach the subject from the traditionalist-modernist approach assert that sooner or later change will finally put to sleep the forces that formerly found expression in the pesantren tradition, and that traditional Islam in Java will, in the end, disappear and be replaced by Islamic modernism. Like most dichotomous approaches, this proposition may have heuristic value; however, it is plainly false’ (Dhofier 1999: 181). In fact, the NU-Muhammadiyah dichotomy has encumbered the development of political Islam; even debates concerning what constitutes political Islam are avoided likely for fear of causing divisions within the umat; no one wants to anger an organisation like NU or Muhammadiyah, both claiming tens of millions of followers.

As Ricklefs’ (2006: 4) wrote, identity is ‘the perception of membership within distinguishing boundaries that a group regards as defining itself, as expressing significant shared characteristics. All of us have multiple identities at any moment, but in some circumstances one or another of these memberships is the most salient’. To test this theory among NU and Muhammadiyah community in Lamongan a survey was designed. Survey participants overwhelmingly preferred members of their own religious organisation to represent them politically. Precisely 80 per cent of parent respondents from Pesantren Sunan Drajet preferred NU, and those from Pesantren Karangasem indicated 85 per cent support for representatives of Muhammadiyah. This fact, and perhaps because party loyalty is still in its infancy, at the local
district level some politicians and Islamic figures cannot resist politicising NU and Muhammadiyah, but the majority of voters ignore rhetoric directed towards their voting on simply NU-Muhammadiyah credentials. This reflects the long-standing prejudices held against the opposing side, and the perception that one Islamic group will marginalise the other. However, there is no reason why a person with a Muhammadiyah background cannot represent rural Lamongan residents who claim affiliation to NU, or vice-versa, exemplified already by district heads in Lamongan. Using Liddle’s (1970: 14) point, it is not who, or what, the individual legislator or party leader is, but rather what constituency he represents, and the nature of his relationship with that constituency.

Political parties that promote an Islamist agenda have failed to present themselves as a viable choice to voters and this is reflected in their election results. Consequently, they have backed off, downplayed, or avoided issues relating to their Muslim agenda, perhaps best exemplified by the Justice Prosperous Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS). Problems associated with Islamism have to a certain extent included the NU-Muhammadiyah identities, where parties have realised that promoting such credentials limits their appeal. However, political actions are not pro-active; rather they are defensive, because there is a silent consensus that limits public debates concerning NU and Muhammadiyah orthodoxy. The same seems apparent in regards to other Islamic matters, like the definition of bid’a (reprehensible innovation) or haram (forbidden), or even the system to determine holy dates. This religious incoherence is an encumbrance on the advancement of political Islam.

This study concludes that any decrease in kyai political influence does not equate to a loss of kyai influence in society. Governments will continue to seek the kyai’s legitimation for the acceptance of policies on religious and social matters, at least in the broad sense of their religious authority. Pesantren educators encourage local governments to develop the community and play a vital role in the social thinking of the umat. Therefore, rhetoric regarding matters like blasphemy, deviant groups, immoral behaviour, shari’ah law, the creation of an Islamic state, and even terrorism, are subjects where kyai can influence public discourses. Organisations such as FPI that engage in vigilantism, and JI which promotes militant jihadism, ignore the development of political Islam on matters such as poverty, social inequality, community welfare, public and social services, infrastructure, and so on. Nor are they advancing the development of Indonesia’s political institutions and discourses that
empower Muslim society, other than simply engaging in populist rhetoric. Therefore, NU and Muhammadiyah, and their kyai, which try to address these deficiencies, will remain prominent in the lives of ordinary Indonesians.

The pesantren system’s integral nature within the umat will ensure that it remains an important institution in Javanese social, religious, and political life. Pesantren institutions in Lamongan, and other parts of Java, are not merely educational, but rather have a role as santri habitus in the inculcation and socialisation of Islam, crucial in maintaining NU and Muhammadiyah culture and identity. However, kyai have difficulty translating this into direct political power, and without further politicising NU and Muhammadiyah, it is unlikely that this will change. Notwithstanding the political strength of kyai, politicians and political parties will consider the religious expectations of NU and Muhammadiyah members, and the umat more broadly, for the foreseeable future in Lamongan, and across the country, as Islamisation continues to deepen through the framework of Pancasila.
### Table 11.1: First Round of the Presidential Election Results 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates for President and Vice-President</th>
<th>Results from Lamongan</th>
<th>Results from Paciran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of votes</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiranto - Salahuddin Wahid</td>
<td>250,475</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megawati Soekarnoputri - Hasyim Muzadi</td>
<td>137,343</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amien Rais - Siswono Yudo Husodo</td>
<td>144,612</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono - Jusuf Kallah</td>
<td>187,666</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamzah Haz - Agum Gumelar</td>
<td>9,531</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Votes</strong></td>
<td><strong>729,627</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 11.2: Second Round of the Presidential Election Results 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates for President and Vice-President</th>
<th>Results from Lamongan</th>
<th>Results from Paciran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of votes</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megawati Soekarnoputri - Hasyim Muzadi</td>
<td>240,867</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono - Jusuf Kallah</td>
<td>428,246</td>
<td>64.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Votes</strong></td>
<td><strong>669,113</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 11.3: Presidential Election Results 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates for President and Vice-President</th>
<th>Results from Lamongan</th>
<th>Results from Paciran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of votes</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megawati Soekarnoputri - Prabowo Subianto</td>
<td>180,769</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono - Boediono</td>
<td>358,219</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jusuf Kalla - Wiranto</td>
<td>93,310</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Votes</strong></td>
<td><strong>632,298</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11.4: First Round of East Java Gubernatorial Election Results 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor</th>
<th>Results from Lamongan</th>
<th>Results from Paciran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of votes</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khofifah Indar Parawansa and Mudjiono</td>
<td>334,269</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soekarwo and Saifullah Yusuf</td>
<td>263,005</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Votes</strong></td>
<td><strong>597,274</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.5: Second Round of East Java Gubernatorial Election Results 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor</th>
<th>Results from Lamongan</th>
<th>Results from Paciran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of votes</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khofifah Indar Parawansa and Mudjiono</td>
<td>171,979</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutjipto and Ridwan Hisjam</td>
<td>139,928</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soenarjo and Ali Maschan Moesa</td>
<td>90,868</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achmady and Subartono</td>
<td>46,933</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soekarwo and Saifullah Yusuf</td>
<td>172,892</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Votes</strong></td>
<td><strong>622,600</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11.6: National Election Results in Lamongan 1955-2009

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PNI/PDIP</td>
<td>49,572</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>7,836</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>8,810</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>18,314</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>29,938</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masyumi (1971 Parmusi)</td>
<td>166,951</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>32,573</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai NU</td>
<td>69,891</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>124,336</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKI</td>
<td>86,925</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>209,912</td>
<td>63.3%</td>
<td>334,073</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>347,534</td>
<td>59.7%</td>
<td>509,228</td>
<td>79.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>203,598</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>215,859</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>103,477</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKB</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>PAN</td>
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<tr>
<td>PKS</td>
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<td>Hanura</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gerindra</td>
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<td>PMB</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Votes</td>
<td>421,611</td>
<td>88.6%</td>
<td>459,936</td>
<td>99.1%</td>
<td>546,481</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>581,707</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>642,643</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.7: National Election Results in Paciran 1955-2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PNI/PDIP</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>3,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masyumi (1971 Parmusi)</td>
<td>22,731</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai NU</td>
<td>7,141</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>PKI</td>
<td>3,288</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17,066</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td>8,940</td>
<td>16.71</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>13,372</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31,810</td>
<td>64.8%</td>
<td>24,425</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
<td>18,316</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
<td>20,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKB</td>
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<td>PAN</td>
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<td>Hanura</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gerindra</td>
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<td>PKNU</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Votes</td>
<td>37,858</td>
<td>90.2%</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>49,126</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>33,863</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>35,297</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 1.1: Survey Responses from Santri at Pesantren Sunan Drajat

Reponses from 55 santri participants:

1) Gender?
   - 43.6% Male
   - 52.7% Female
   - 3.6% NA

2) Date of birth?
   - 1.8% 1986
   - 18.2% 1990
   - 10.9% 1993
   - 1.8% 1996
   - 3.6% 1997
   - 7.3% 1998
   - 21.8% 1991
   - 7.3% 1994
   - 1.8% 1998
   - 7.3% 1995
   - 16.4% 1992
   - 7.3% 1999
   - 7.3% 2000
   - 1.8% 2001
   - 7.3% 2002
   - 1.8% 2003
   - 14.5% 2005
   - 9.1% 2006
   - 16.4% 2007
   - 10.9% 2008
   - 2.7% NA

3) Birthplace?
   - 80% Lamongan
   - 3.6% Tuban
   - 3.6% NA
   - 7.3% Bojonegoro
   - 5.5% Gresik

4) Where family lives now?
   - 96.4% Lamongan
   - 1.8% Bojonegoro
   - 1.8% East Kalimantan

5) What year did you begin studying at Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
   - 3.6% 1999
   - 9.1% 2002
   - 3.6% 2005
   - 14.5% 2008
   - 1.8% 2000
   - 9.1% 2003
   - 20% 2006
   - 9.1% NA
   - 7.3% 2001
   - 7.3% 2004
   - 16.4% 2007

6) Where do you live now?
   - 65.5% With family
   - 34.5% At the pondok

7) What institution are you currently attending at Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
   - 21.8% SMP
   - 3.6% MTs
   - 9.1% Tertiary level
   - 3.6% SMA
   - 23.6% MA
   - 20% MMA/MMT
   - 10.9% SMK

8) What is the main reason you chose to study at Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
   - 7.3% Charisma of Headmaster
   - 3.6% Close to home
   - 34.5% To study religion
   - 43.6% Quality of education
   - 1.8% Strict discipline
   - 5.5% Parents made you
   - 1.8% Other
   - 1.8% NA

9) Do you plan to study at tertiary level?
   - 60% Yes
   - 32.7% Maybe
   - 7.3% Do not know

10) What type of tertiary institution would you like to study at?
    - 27.3% State University
    - 45.5% Islamic State University
    - 9.1% Medical academy
    - 3.6% Military/police academy
    - 3.6% Private University
    - 3.6% Do not Know
    - 1.8% Other
11) If you study at tertiary level, what area of study would you like to focus on?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Study</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic education</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign language</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police/military</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12) What occupation would you like to do in the future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyai</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious teacher</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public servant</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public teacher</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious teacher</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNI/Police</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13) Which Islamic organisation do you follow?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>85.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14) Which Islamic organisation does the majority of your family follow?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>78.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roughly 50 per cent NU and 50 per cent Muhammadiyah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15) What political party platform do you prefer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Platform</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pancasila</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16) Do you think your family is influenced by KH. Abdul Ghofur during elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17) To what extent is KH. Abdul Ghofur able to influence your parents’ vote during elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extent</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very big</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary</td>
<td>44.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No influence</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18) In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Necessity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Necessary</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to each Kyai</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19) Do you believe that KH. Abdul Ghofur can influence people in the local community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not Know</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20) How influential is KH. Abdul Ghofur in persuading the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?

- 52.7% Strongly influential
- 9.1% Mildly influential
- 5.5% Not influential at all
- 32.7% Do not know

21) Please rank in order which level of government where KH. Abdul Ghofur’s influence is strongest in terms of directing the local community to vote for candidates? Please write 1, 2, 3 and 4. Number 1 means strongest, 2 strong, 3 ordinary, 4 weakest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Strongest</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Weakest</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>14 (25.5%)</td>
<td>4 (7.3%)</td>
<td>7 (12.7%)</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>27 (49.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>14 (25.5%)</td>
<td>10 (18.2%)</td>
<td>1 (1.8%)</td>
<td>27 (49.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative (DPR/MPR)</td>
<td>5 (9.1%)</td>
<td>7 (12.7%)</td>
<td>7 (12.7%)</td>
<td>8 (14.5%)</td>
<td>27 (49.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential</td>
<td>10 (18.2%)</td>
<td>4 (7.3%)</td>
<td>8 (14.5%)</td>
<td>5 (9.1%)</td>
<td>27 (49.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 27 (49.1%) mixed answers from 55 participants:

The other 28 (50.9%) respondents answered:
- 12.7% No influence at any level
- 21.8% Do not know
- 16.4% NA

22) In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?

- 72.7% Commented
- 3.6% Do not know
- 23.6% NA
Appendix 1.2: Survey Responses from Parents of Santri at Pesantren Sunan Drajat

Responses from 55 parent participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Gender?</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) What is your occupation?</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public servant</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) What is your average monthly salary in Rupiah?</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0–499,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000,000–1,499,000</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000,000 and above</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Which Islamic organisation do you follow?</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) What is the main reason you decided to send your child to Pesantren Sunan Drajat?</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charisma of headmaster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close to home</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To study religion</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) What is your highest level of education?</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior high school</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Which type of middle school did you attend?</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not to this level</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Which type of senior high school did you attend?</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not to this level</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Have you ever listened to a sermon by KH. Abdul Ghofur?</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) How often do you listen to sermons of KH. Abdul Ghofur?</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11) Where do you most often hear a sermon of KH. Abdul Ghofur?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89.1% On the radio</td>
<td>3.6% When Kyai Ghofur visits village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12) Has KH. Abdul Ghofur ever advised you to vote for a particular political candidate during an election?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40% Yes</td>
<td>58.2% No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13) Do you believe that KH. Abdul Ghofur can influence people in the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36.4% Yes</td>
<td>10.9% No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14) Do you prefer political candidates from an NU or Muhammadiyah background?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65.5% NU</td>
<td>29.1% Both equally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15) Who did you vote for in the District Election of 2005?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58.2% Masfuk</td>
<td>3.6% Taufikurrahman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6% Forgot</td>
<td>32.7% NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16) Did KH. Abdul Ghofur influence this decision?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36.4% Yes</td>
<td>54.5% No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17) Who did you vote for in the Provincial Election of 2003?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.5% Imam Utomo</td>
<td>10.9% Golput</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18) Did KH. Abdul Ghofur influence this decision?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.3% Yes</td>
<td>63.6% No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19) Which party did you vote for in the Legislative Election of 2004?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52.7% PKB</td>
<td>7.3% PAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8% PDIP</td>
<td>1.8% Forgot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20) Did KH. Abdul Ghofur influence this decision?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29.1% Yes</td>
<td>49.1% No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21) Who did you vote for in the Presidential Election of 2004?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Megawati</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yudhoyono</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiranto</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amien Rais</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gus Dur</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golput</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Gus Dur did not contest the 2004 Presidential Election

22) Did KH. Abdul Ghofur influence this decision?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23) How influential is KH. Abdul Ghofur in persuading the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Involvement</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mildly</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24) Please rank in order which level of government where the influence of KH. Abdul Ghofur is strongest in terms of directing the local community to vote for particular political candidates? Please write 1, 2, 3 and 4. Number 1 means strongest, 2 strong, 3 ordinary, 4 weakest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Strongest</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Weakest</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 (27.3%)</td>
<td>4 (7.3%)</td>
<td>3 (5.5%)</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>24 (43.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>3 (5.5%)</td>
<td>13 (23.6%)</td>
<td>6 (10.1%)</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>24 (43.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative (DPR/MPR)</td>
<td>3 (5.5%)</td>
<td>5 (9.1%)</td>
<td>11 (20%)</td>
<td>5 (9.1%)</td>
<td>24 (43.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential</td>
<td>5 (9.1%)</td>
<td>8 (14.5%)</td>
<td>8 (14.5%)</td>
<td>3 (5.5%)</td>
<td>24 (43.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 24 (43.6%) mixed answers from 55 participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Strongest</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Weakest</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other 31 (56.4%) respondents answered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Strongest</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Weakest</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25) In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics?

| Necessary | 14.5% |
| Do not know | 12.7% |
| Up to each Kyai | 47.3% |
| Not at all | 23.6% |
| NA | 1.8% |

26) Do you agree that the influence of kyai on the island of Java in general is declining because of their practical involvement in politics?

| Agree | 21.8% |
| Do not agree | 21.8% |
| Do not quite agree | 36.4% |
| Do not know | 16.4% |
| NA | 3.6% |

27) What political party platform do you prefer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pancasila</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28) Lamongan District Head Pak Masfuk is from which Islamic organisation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>70.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29) Lamongan Deputy District Head Pak Tsalits is from which Islamic organisation?

63.6% NU 5.5% Muhammadiyah
20% Do not know 10.9% NA

30) Do you believe that KH. Abdul Ghofur played an important role in the victory of Masfuk and Tsalits during the Lamongan district election of 2005?

40% Yes 27.3% Maybe 5.5% No
14.5% Do not know 12.7% NA

31) Are you considering KH. Abdul Ghofur’s advice regarding the East Java Gubernatorial Election held this July?

47.3% Yes 40% No 12.7% NA

32) Which candidate for governor and deputy governor is supported or is considered the best by KH. Abdul Ghofur during this year’s Gubernatorial Election?

52.7% Khofifah-Mudjiono 1.8% Soenarjo-Ali Maschan Moesa 5.5% Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf
29.1% Do not know 9.1% NA

33) Are you considering KH. Abdul Ghofur’s advice regarding the Legislative (MPR/DPR) Election for next year?

32.7% Yes 29.1% Maybe 16.4% No
12.7% Do not know 9.1% NA

34) Are you considering KH. Abdul Ghofur’s advice regarding the Presidential Election for next year?

43.6% Yes 23.6% Maybe
12.7% No 10.9% Do not know
9.1% NA

35) In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?

67.3% Commented 32.7% NA
## Appendix 2.1: Survey Responses from Santri at Pesantren Karangasem

Responses from 56 santri participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Gender?</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>66.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Date of birth?</td>
<td>1.8% 1989</td>
<td>3.6% 1990</td>
<td>1.8% 1992</td>
<td>3.6% 1993</td>
<td>1.8% 1995</td>
<td>3.6% NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Birthplace?</td>
<td>83.9% Lamongan</td>
<td>5.4% Bojonegoro</td>
<td>5.4% Bengkulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Where family lives now?</td>
<td>83.9% Lamongan</td>
<td>5.4% Bengkulu</td>
<td>1.8% Surabaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) What year did you begin studying at Pesantren Karangasem?</td>
<td>1.8% 1993</td>
<td>19.6% 1994</td>
<td>3.6% 1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Where do you live now?</td>
<td>71.4% With family</td>
<td>26.8% At the pondok</td>
<td>1.8% NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) What institution are you currently attending at Pesantren Karangasem?</td>
<td>14.3% SMP</td>
<td>12.5% MTs</td>
<td>26.8% SMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) What is the main reason you chose to study at Pesantren Karangasem?</td>
<td>10.7% Close to home</td>
<td>1.8% Your friends go there</td>
<td>23.2% Quality of education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Do you plan to study at tertiary level?</td>
<td>58.9% Yes</td>
<td>30.4% Maybe</td>
<td>10.7% Do not know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) What type of tertiary institution would you like to study at?</td>
<td>25% State University</td>
<td>33% Islamic State University</td>
<td>12.5% Medical academy</td>
<td>12.5% Private University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.9% Do not Know</td>
<td>7.1% Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11) If you study at tertiary level, what area of study would you like to focus on?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Study</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic education</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign language</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-politics</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign language</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic education</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-politics</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12) What occupation would you like to do in the future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyai</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public teacher</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious teacher</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public servant</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13) Which Islamic organisation does the majority of your family follow?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14) Is your family majority NU or Muhammadiyah?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NU</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roughly 50 per cent NU and 50 per cent Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15) What political party platform do you prefer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Platform</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pancasila</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16) Do you think your family is influenced by KH. Anwar Mu’rob during elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence by KH. Anwar Mu’rob</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17) To what extent is KH. Anwar Mu’rob able to influence your parents’ vote during elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence by KH. Anwar Mu’rob</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very big</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No influence</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18) In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Necessary for kyai in Java</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Necessary</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to each Kyai</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19) Do you believe that KH. Anwar Mu’rob can influence people in the local community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence by KH. Anwar Mu’rob</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20) How influential is KH. Anwar Mu’rob in persuading the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?

- 19.6% Strongly influential
- 5.4% Mildly influential
- 7.1% Not influential at all
- 67.9% Do not know

21) Please rank in order which level of government where KH. Anwar Mu’rob’s influence is strongest in terms of directing the local community to vote for candidates? Please write 1, 2, 3 and 4. Number 1 means strongest, 2 strong, 3 ordinary, 4 weakest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Strongest</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Weakest</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>4 (7.1%)</td>
<td>3 (5.4%)</td>
<td>7 (12.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>10 (17.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative (DPR/MPR)</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>1 (1.8%)</td>
<td>11 (19.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential</td>
<td>5 (8.9%)</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>4 (7.1%)</td>
<td>3 (5.4%)</td>
<td>14 (25%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 14 (25%) mixed answers from 56 participants:

The other 42 (75%) respondents answered:

- 5.4% No influence at any level
- 58.9% Do not know
- 10.7% NA

22) In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?

- 55.4% Commented
- 5.4% Do not know
- 39.3% NA
### Appendix 2.2: Survey Responses from Parents of Santri at Pesantren Karangasem

*Reponses from 56 parent participants:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>NA (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Gender?</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) What is your occupation?</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) What is your average monthly salary in Rupiah?</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Which Islamic organisation do you follow?</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) What is the main reason you decided to send your child to Pesantren Karangasem?</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) What is your highest level of education?</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Which type of middle school did you attend?</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Which type of senior high school did you attend?</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Have you ever listened to a sermon by KH. Anwar Mu’rob?</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) How often do you listen to sermons of KH. Anwar Mu’rob?</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11) Where do you most often hear a sermon of KH. Anwar Mu’rob?
- 5.4% On the radio
- 60.7% At the mosque
- 3.6% When Kyai Mu’rob visits village
- 25% Never heard his sermon
- 5.4% Other: At the Auditorium

12) Has KH. Anwar Mu’rob ever advised you to vote for a particular political candidate during an election?
- 12.5% Yes
- 87.5% No

13) Do you believe that KH. Anwar Mu’rob can influence people in the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
- 10.7% Yes
- 39.3% Maybe
- 5.4% Sometimes
- 14.3% No
- 30.4% Do not know

14) Do you prefer political candidates from an NU or Muhammadiyah background?
- 60.7% Muhammadiyah
- 35.7% Both equally
- 1.8% Do not know
- 1.8% NA

15) Who did you vote for in the District Election of 2005?
- 42.9% Masfuk
- 1.8% Golput
- 48.2% NA
- 7.1% Forgot

16) Did KH. Anwar Mu’rob influence this decision?
- 5.4% Yes
- 85.7% No
- 8.9% NA

17) Who did you vote for in the Provincial Election of 2003?
- 7.1% Imam Utomo
- 10.7% Forgot
- 3.6% Golput
- 78.6% NA

18) Did KH. Anwar Mu’rob influence this decision?
- 1.8% Yes
- 85.7% No
- 12.5% NA

19) Which party did you vote for in the Legislative Election of 2004?
- 50% PAN
- 3.6% PKS
- 1.8% Golput
- 39.3% NA
- 5.4% Democrat

20) Did KH. Anwar Mu’rob influence this decision?
- 7.1% Yes
- 83.9% No
- 8.9% NA
21) Who did you vote for in the Presidential Election of 2004?
41.1% Amien Rais \hspace{5mm} 14.3% Yudhoyono \hspace{5mm} 1.8% Golput
1.8% Forgot \hspace{5mm} 41.1% NA

22) Did KH. Anwar Mu’rob influence this decision?
5.4% Yes \hspace{5mm} 87.5% No \hspace{5mm} 7.1% NA

23) How influential is KH. Anwar Mu’rob in persuading the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
12.5% Strongly influential \hspace{5mm} 7.1% Mildly influential
23.2% Not influential at all \hspace{5mm} 53.6% Do not know
5.4% NA

24) Please rank in order which level of government where the influence of KH. Anwar Mu’rob is strongest in terms of directing the local community to vote for particular political candidates? Please write 1, 2, 3 and 4. Number 1 means strongest, 2 strong, 3 ordinary, 4 weakest.

There were 11 (19.6%) mixed answers from 56 participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Strongest</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Weakest</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>3 (5.4%)</td>
<td>4 (7.1%)</td>
<td>4 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11 (19.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>1 (1.8%)</td>
<td>8 (14.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11 (19.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative (DPR/MPR)</td>
<td>1 (1.8%)</td>
<td>1 (1.8%)</td>
<td>8 (14.3%)</td>
<td>1 (1.8%)</td>
<td>11 (19.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential</td>
<td>1 (1.8%)</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>5 (8.9%)</td>
<td>3 (5.4%)</td>
<td>11 (19.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other 45 (80.4%) respondents answered:
8.9% No influence at all at any level
51.8% Do not know
19.6% NA

25) In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics?
28.6% Necessary \hspace{5mm} 25% Up to each Kyai \hspace{5mm} 14.3% Not at all
26.8% Do not know \hspace{5mm} 5.4% NA

Why?

26) Do you agree that the influence of kyai on the island of Java in general is declining because of their practical involvement in politics?
17.9% Highly agree \hspace{5mm} 26.8% Do not quite agree \hspace{5mm} 8.9% Do not agree
42.9% Do not know \hspace{5mm} 3.6% NA

27) What political party platform do you prefer?
12.5% Pancasila \hspace{5mm} 78.6% Islam \hspace{5mm} 8.9% Do not know

28) Lamongan district head Pak Masfuk is from which Islamic organisation?
83.9% Muhammadiyah \hspace{5mm} 10.7% Do not know \hspace{5mm} 5.4% NA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Maybe</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Do not know</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29) Lamongan Deputy district head Pak Tsalits is from which Islamic organisation?</td>
<td>42.9% NU</td>
<td>28.6% Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>23.2% Do not know</td>
<td>5.4% NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30) Do you believe that KH. Anwar Mu’rob played an important role in the victory of Masfuk and Tsalits during the Lamongan District Election of 2005?</td>
<td>8.9% Yes</td>
<td>28.6% Maybe</td>
<td>42.9% Do not know</td>
<td>17.9% No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31) Are you considering KH. Anwar Mu’rob’s advice regarding the East Java Gubernatorial Election held this July?</td>
<td>30.4% Yes</td>
<td>64.3% No</td>
<td>5.4% NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32) Which candidate for governor and deputy governor is supported or is considered the best by KH. Anwar Mu’rob during this year’s Gubernatorial Election?</td>
<td>28.6% Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf</td>
<td>69.6% Do not know</td>
<td>1.8% NA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33) Are you considering KH. Anwar Mu’rob’s advice regarding the Legislative (MPR/DPR) Election for next year?</td>
<td>7.1% Yes</td>
<td>28.6% Maybe</td>
<td>39.3% Do not know</td>
<td>25% No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34) Are you considering KH. Anwar Mu’rob’s advice regarding the Presidential Election for next year?</td>
<td>16.1% Yes</td>
<td>28.6% Maybe</td>
<td>37.5% Do not know</td>
<td>17.9% No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35) In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?</td>
<td>43.6% Commented</td>
<td>7.1% Wrote Do not know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3.2: Survey Comments from Parents of Santri at Pesantren Sunan Drajat

From Question 25: In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics? Why?

14.5% Necessary 47.3% Up to each Kyai 23.6% Not at all
12.7% Do not know 1.8% NA

(Written responses were in Indonesian, English translation by Nathan Franklin)

Those that answered ‘Necessary’ commented:

Respondent no.3: Karena kyai mempunyai pandangan yang luas tentang agama, jadi paling tidak, kalau menyelesaikan masalah akan merujuk kepada Al-Qur’an dan Al-Hadis/Because kyai have vast knowledge about religion, then at the very least when solving a problem they will refer to the Qur’an and Hadith.

Respondent no.7: Kyai pasti bisa mempengaruhi kita bahwa calon mana yang terbaik untuk kita/Kyai can certainly influence us as to which candidate is best for us.

Respondent no.26: Karena kyai diibarakatkan patokan/tiang apabila struktur politik tidak ada topang maka akan roboh/Because kyai provide a prop or pillar, but when the political structure does not have this support it will collapse.

Respondent no.27: Karena beliau (para kyai-kyai) sangat berpengaruh dalam kehidupan masyarakat, sehingga masyarakat bisa mempercayakan segala sesuatu karena di anggota/parti politik itu terdapat seorang figur yang sangat dihormati dan bisa menjamin aman masyarakat/Because they (kyai) are very influential on the lives of people, and the people believe in everything they do and say, because if kyai become members of political parties, such highly respected figures can guarantee the safety of society.

Respondent no.37: Karena seorang kyai pakar agama Islam, sedangkan agama adalah fondasi kehidupan seseorang/Kyai are scholars of Islam, while religion is the foundation of life.

Respondent no.39: Karena kyai sebagai panutan masyarakat/Because kyai are role models of society.

Respondent no.50: Karena ada kyai yang tidak suka politik/Because there are kyai who do not like politics.

Respondent no.51: Kyai lebih berpengaruh/Kyai are more influential.

Respondent no.54: Para kyai adalah panutan para umat karena lebih mengerti yang lebih baik/All kyai are leaders of the umat because they understand what is best.
Those that answered ‘Up to each Kyai’ commented:

Respondent no.1: Karena para kyai ada yang tidak memperlakukan urusan polik maka dari itu terserah para kyai mau dilibatkan urusan politik atau tidak/Because not all kyai care about politics, so it is up to each kyai if they wish to be involved in politics or not.

Respondent no.6: Karena figur kyai adalah pembimbing umat, pengayom masyarakat dan diharapkan jadi wasit yang adil untuk kerukunan antar umat beragama sebagai salah satu aset bangsa Indonesia/Because kyai are leaders of the umat, and protectors of society, and they are expected to provide fair judgment for the harmony of the devout umat as an asset of the Indonesian nation.

Respondent no.10: Karena mempunyai hak masing-masing/Because they each have their own right.

Respondent no.14: Karena itu adalah hak azazi setiap warga Indonesia/Because it the right of all Indonesian citizens.

Respondent no.17: Karena kyai harus bersifat netral sebagai wasit agar politik berjalan pada koridor-koridor agama/Because kyai should be neutral intermediaries to ensure that politics operates on the religious path.

Respondent no.29: Karena tidak semua kyai mau terlibat dalam urusan politik yang khawatir akan mengganggu konsentrasinya dalam bidangnya/Because not all kyai want to be involved in politics, and those who worry about it may disrupt their concentration on religion.

Respondent no.32: Kalau kyai itu menginginkan masuk dan percaya akan dirinya bisa memperbaiki politik mengapa tidak. Sedangkan kalau kyai itu tidak menginginkan masuk ya terserah dia. Mengapa karena semua orang kan punya hak/If a kyai wishes to join and believes in himself that he can improve politics, why not. At the same time, if a kyai does not wish to join politics, then it is up to him. Why, because all people have that right.

Respondent no.35: Kalau Kyai Abdul Ghofur terlibat itu lebih baik. Kalau kyai lain, saya gak jamin!/If Kyai Abdul Ghofur is involved in politics it would be better. If it is another kyai, I would not guarantee it!

Respondent no.36: Karena hak para kyai/Because it is the right of every kyai.

Respondent no.41: Karena urusan orang itu sendiri-sendiri/Because people’s affairs are different.

Respondent no.42: Cara berfikir para ulama berbeda-beda/The way of thinking of every ulama is different.

Respondent no.45: Untuk mengarahkan menjadi yang lebih baik/To give guidance to become better.

Respondent no.48: Karena para kyai lebih mengerti keadaannya/Because kyai better understand the situation.

Respondent no.53: Hak pribadi/Personal right.
Those that answered ‘Not at all’ commented:

Respondent no.8: Karena beliau seorang kyai bergabung terlibat dalam politik maka kharisma beliau sedikit memudar/Because if a kyai is involved with politics his charismatic authority will decline.

Respondent no.12: Karena itu sudah hak para kyai/Because it is the right of all kyai.

Respondent no.15: Karena kyai hanya mengarahkan orang untuk bisa berpolitik tapi tidak terlibat dalam politik/Because kyai only direct people in politics, but kyai are not involved in politics.

Respondent no.18: Karena akan mengalami dampak negatif pada pesantren/Because pesantren will experience negative consequences.

Respondent no.19: Karena para kyai itu harus mementingkan pondok/Because all kyai must prioritise their pondok.

Respondent no.20: Karena para kyai tidak perlu dalam urusan politik/Because kyai do not need to be involved in political affairs.

Respondent no.21: Karena ketika kyai sudah terlibat dengan urusan politik maka akan terjadi persilisihan-persilisihan antara kyai satu dengan yang lain dan akhirnya masyarakat tidak lagi percaya, sebagaimana yang terjadi di Indonesia/Because when kyai are involved in political affairs there can be differences between one kyai and another, and in the end people no longer believe them, which is what has happened in Indonesia.

Respondent no.25: Karena tugas kyai adalah mengurus umat jika para kyai masuk dalam urusan politik maka para kyai hanya akan mementingkan kepentingan pribadinya dan akan meninggalkan umat/Because the duty of kyai is to look after the umat, if all kyai get involved in political affairs, kyai will only look after their own interests and will neglect the umat.

Respondent no.30: Karena menurut saya Pak Kyai tidak mau mencampuri dalam urusan politik/Because in my opinion, Pak Kyai does not want be involved in political affairs.

Respondent no.31: Tugas Pak Kyai adalah menyadarkan umat dari perbuatan dosa dan menjadikan manusia berakhlak mulia/The duty of Pak Kyai is to make the umat aware of sinful actions and make humans exercise noble character.

Respondent no.33: Karena para kyai harus mengurus pondok pesantren dan masalah agama bukan masalah politik/Because every kyai must oversee their pondok pesantren and religious problems, not political problems.

Respondent no.34: Karena menurut saya kyai itu mengurus masyarakat dan pesantren dalam beragama yang benar dan baik, kalau politik itu sebuah urusan yang diurus oleh pakar politik/Because in my opinion, kyai oversee society and pesantren in accordance of appropriate and correct religious matters, and politics is the business of the political experts.

Respondent no.46: Karena saya belum mencari sumbernya/Because I have not yet located the source.
From Question 35: In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?:

67.3% Commented 32.7% NA

Respondent no.1: Biasanya para kyai tidak memperdulikan soal politik tapi kalau ada pemilihan seperti pemilihan gubernur baru dia bilang mana yang harus dipilih/Usually kyai do not care about politics, but if there is an election, like the gubernatorial election, then he will indicate who should be elected.

Respondent no.3: Biasa saja/Average.

Respondent no.6: Diharapkan mampu dan bisa menjembatani kepentingan masyarakat dan pemerintah agar kedua nya bisa berjalan seimbang antara program pemerintah dan kebutuhan hidup rakyat sehingga terjadi kehidupan yang adil berkemakmuran dan makmur dalam berkeadilan karena sesungguhnya ulama/kyai dan umarok harus bersatu untuk memperjuangkan kepentingan rakyat/Kyai must and can reconcile the interests of society and the government so that both can operate together, providing a balance between government programs and the needs of the people, so life can become fairer, prosperous and just, because actually the ulama and kyai and the government should be united in struggling for the interests of society.

Respondent no.7: Kira-kira setuju karena rakyat butuh kyai untuk kegiatan politik/Mostly I agree, because society need kyai for political activities.

Respondent no.10: Sebagai pacuan masyarakat/As contestants of society.

Respondent no.11: Baik/Good.

Respondent no.12: Menurut saya kurang penting/In my opinion it is not really that important.

Respondent no.13: Sangat membingungkan sekali/Very confusing.

Respondent no.14: Menurut saya pendidikan politik di masyarakat awam sangat penting karena bisa menambah pengetahuan/In my opinion political education of the common people is very important because it can increase knowledge.

Respondent no.15: Ya, menurut saya memang peranan para kyai di pulau Jawa sesungguh mengesankan karena para kyai bisa mendidik masyarakat awam di dalam tata kepolitikan ataupun kesosialan beragama/Yes, in my opinion indeed the role of all kyai in Java is very impressive because all kyai can educate the common people in political affairs or even social affairs of religion.

Respondent no.16: Memberikan petunjuk/To give guidance.

Respondent no.17: Kyai harus memberikan pendidikan bahwa politik adalah suatu cara mencapai tujuan yang berdasarkan dasar agama sehingga tidak tersesat politik yang menjerumuskan pada kehancuran dan kemungkaran/Kyai should provide education that politics is the way to achieve goals founded on religion, so that politics does not deviate and become depraved and immoral.
Respondent no.19: Sebagai penengah/As intermediaries.

Respondent no.20: Kyai tidak punya peran dalam politik/Kyai do not have any role in politics.

Respondent no.21: Sebagai pengasehat, pembimbing dan penengah/As advisors, mentors, and intermediaries.

Respondent no.25: Para kyai itu ikut serta dalam pemilu maksudnya sebagian besar masyarakat Jawa pada pemilu mengikuti pilihan para kyai/When kyai participate in elections a large portion of Javanese society in the election will follow a kyai’s preference.

Respondent no.26: Dapat dikatakan penting/Could be said as important.

Respondent no.27: Sangat diperlukan karena dalam setiap partai politik harus diperlukan seseorang yang lebih pintar, pengalamannya luas dan mempunya tatapem yang baik/sopan santun dan itu semua ada dalam para kyai-kyai jadi peranan para kyai sangat dibutuhkan/Very necessary because in every political party should be people who are more intelligent, more experienced and who have habits and manners that are good, and polite, and that all exists in kyai, so the role of kyai is very much required.

Respondent no.28: Tidak penting karena kyai seharusnya hanya memusatkan kepada pengajran agama Islam dan dakwah saja/Not important because kyai should only focus on teaching and proselytising Islam.

Respondent no.29: Peranan kyai dalam pendidikan politik tidaklah sangat penting/The role of kyai in political education is not very important.

Respondent no.30: Karena para pak kyai dalam politik tidak mau dalam urusan politik/Because kyai do not want to be involved in political affairs.

Respondent no.31: Pada umumnya masih banyak para kyai yang terjun langsung dalam politik praktis yang terkadang menyebabkan perpecahan dalam organisasi partainya misalnya adanya PKB tanding antara kubu Alwi Shihab dengan kubu Mathori ini menandakan adanya perpecahan dari partai PKB. Para kyai harus menjadi penenggah apabila ada perpecahan seperti ini, bukannya malah terjun dalam dunia politik/In general there are still many kyai who are directly involved in practical politics, which sometimes causes division in political parties, for example PKB conflict between the Alwi Shihab faction and the Mathori faction. This manifested that there was a split in PKB. Kyai should become intermediaries when there are divisions like this, instead of becoming involved in the political world.

Respondent no.32: Sangat membantu dari segi apa orang-orang awam yang tak tahu di dalam suatu organisasi politik menjadi tahu dan lain-lain/Very helpful from the point of view of common people that do not know about political organisations, then they know and learn other things.

Respondent no.33: Sangat penting karena kebanyakan masyarakat awam khususnya di pulau Jawa tidak mengerti tentang politik/Very important because most common people, especially in Java, do not understand politics.

Respondent no.37: Para kyai di pulau Jawa bersikap mengayomi masyarakat awam/Kyai in Java are guardians of the common people.
Respondent no.39: Peranan para kyai dalam pendidikan politik berpengaruh/The role of kyai in political education is influential.

Respondent no.42: Sangat penting/Very import.

Respondent no.46: Harus membimbing masyarakatnya/Must guide society.

Respondent no.47: Peranannya sangat besar, karena masyarakat awan membutuhkan bimbingan/Their role is very big, because the common people need guidance.

Respondent no.48: Peranan para kyai sangat penting dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam/The role of kyai is very important in the political education of the common people.

Respondent no.50: Membantu untuk mengetahui calon yang paling tepat/They help to know which candidate is the most suitable.

Respondent no.51: Peranannya sangat besar/Their role is very big.

Respondent no.52: Peranan sangat besar/Their role is very big.

Respondent no.53: Kyai berpengaruh, karena lebih mengerti/Kyai are influential, because they have a better understanding.

Respondent no.54: Sangat besar peranannya/Their role is very big.
Appendix 4.1: Survey Comments from Santri at Pesantren Karangasem

From Question 18: In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics? Why?

26.8% Necessary  30.4% Up to each Kyai  12.5% Not at all
26.8% Do not know  3.6% NA

(Written responses were in Indonesian, English translation by Nathan Franklin)

Those that answered ‘Necessary’ commented:

Respondent no.3: Karena politik itu juga penting bagi kemajuan bangsa/Because politics is also important for the advancement of the nation.

Respondent no.10: Sebab, tanpa kyai-kyai negara akan rusak/The reason, without kyai the country would be ruined.

Respondent no.11: Karena kyai-kyai terlibat dalam urusan agama, para kyai-kyai juga perlu terlibat dalam urusan-urusan politik/Because kyai are involved in religious affairs, kyai also need to be involve in political affairs.

Respondent no.18: Agar memberikan/mensosialisasikan suatu politik yang benar dan baik/So as to provide and promote honest and good politics.

Respondent no.30: Supaya panggung politik tidak hanya diisi orang-orang yang kurang tahu tentang agama, karena agama dan politik harus sejalan/So that the political stage is not just filled by people that do not really know about religion, because religion and politics must operate in unison.

Respondent no.36: Karena menurut saya tidak akan sempurna suatu partai politik apabila tak dibarengi dan didasari dengan ajaran Islam/Because in my opinion a political party would not be perfect if it were not combined and based on Islamic teachings.

Respondent no.40: Karena kyai-kyai banyak yang terlibat dalam bidang politik supaya masyarakat bisa berakhlaqul karimah, dan kyai bisa menjalankan amanah dengan baik/Because many kyai are involved in politics ensuring that people are noble and have good behaviour, and kyai can fulfil their mandate properly.

Respondent no.41: Karena urusan politik itu harus diimbangi dengan ilmu agama (kyai)/Because political affairs must be balanced with religious knowledge (of kyai).

Respondent no.43: Karena kyai tidak hanya harus berkecimpung di urusan agama saja tetapi juga harus terlibat dalam urusan politik, supaya apabila ada masalah dalam politik dapat diselesaikan dengan cara keagamaan/Because kyai should not only be involved in religious affairs but they should also be involved in political affairs, so if there is a problem in politics it can be solved in an religious manner.
Respondent no.47: Agar dapat menyebarkan dan berdakwah lewat urusan politik/So that kyai can spread religion and propagate Islam through politics.

Those that answered ‘Up to each Kyai’ commented:

Respondent no.20: Karena tidak ada suatu pendapat yang keluar dengan terpaksa/Because there are no opinions that are expressed by force.

Respondent no.22: Menurut saya kyai tidak harus ikut terjun dalam dunia politik. Namun jika ada kyai yang ikut dalam dunia politik sah-sah saja dan jika ada kyai yang ikut maka beliau bisa menegakkan agama Islam/In my opinion kyai must not become involved in politics. Nevertheless, if a kyai was to become involved in politics it would be valid, and if a kyai was involved then he must uphold Islam.

Respondent no.35: Terserah para kyai karena mereka mau terjun ke dunia politik atau tidak itu terserah mereka, karena dunia politik adalah dunia dusta/dosa/It is up to each kyai because if they want to become involved in politics or not, it is up to them, because politics is a world of lies and sin.

Respondent no.37: Karena kyai juga memiliki hak asasi mereka termasuk juga dengan hak terlibat dalam urusan politik/Because kyai also have a human right to join and also the right to be involved in political affairs.

Respondent no.42: Tidak ada sangkut pautnya, tergantung/There is no relation, depends.

Respondent no.46: Karena masalah itu adalah hak individu/Because the matter is an individual right.

Respondent no.51: Karena apabila ada para kyai tersebut mempunyai kemampuan untuk hal politik maka tidak apa-apa bila para kyai tersebut dalam urusan politik. Mungkin dengan adanya kyai tersebut dapat menyebabkan kemajuan karena adanya keseimbangan antara agama dan politik/Because if kyai have the ability for politics then there is no problem for kyai to be involved in political affairs. Perhaps with these kyai are involved there could be improvements because there would be a balance between religion and politics.

Respondent no.53: Karena itu urusan pribadi mereka/Because it is their own business.

Respondent no.54: Karena pemilihan umum itu adalah hak asasi menurut hati nurani masing-masing/Because in general elections there is a right of everyone according to their conscience.

Respondent no.56: Bila memang diperlukan, dan tidak melenceng dari ajaran Islam/If they were indeed necessary, then they should not digress from Islamic teachings.

Those that answered ‘Not at all’ commented:

Respondent no.7: Karena jika para kyai terlibat dalam urusan politik maka akan mempengaruhi atau akan terpengaruh terhadap suatu pandangan masyarakat terhadap kyai
Because if kyai are involved in political affairs, then the people will be directly or indirectly influenced in the way they view those kyai.

Respondent no.26: Karena biasanya kalau sudah masuk dunia politik pasti sudah lupa daratan dan biasanya lebih cenderung suka membohongi rakyat/Because usually if kyai join politics their heads are in the clouds and usually they will be more inclined to lie to the people.

Respondent no.44: Karena lebih baik, para kyai-kyai tersebut mengurus para santrinya dan berdakwah daripada mengurus urusan politik/Because it is better for kyai to take care of their santri and proselytise religion, as opposed to taking care of political affairs.

Those that answered ‘Do not know’ commented:

Respondent no.1: Karena saya tidak tahu sebesar apa pengaruh kyai terhadap urusan politik/Because I do not know how big the influence of kyai is on political affairs.

Respondent no.15: Karena belum tentu keterlibatan politik itu bisa membuat kyai menjadi lebih luas pengetahuannya/Because it is not certain that being involved in politics can make kyai attain more knowledge.

Respondent no.23: Karena kyai itu cuma mengurusi soal agama saja, tetapi bisa juga kyai ikut terlibat dengan urusan partai politik/Because kyai only take care of religious issues, but they can also be involved in party politics.

Respondent no.31: Soalnya saya juga belum faham tentang politik/The problem is I do not yet understand politics.

Respondent no.48: Mereka semua tidak berpolitik mereka lebih pantas mengamalkan agama Islam/All kyai should not be involved in politics, they are more suitable upholding Islam with devotion.

Respondent no.49: Para kyai juga mempunyai hak untuk terlibat dengan urusan politik/Kyai also have the right to be involved with political affairs.

Respondent no.50: Karena kyai bertugas untuk mengajar ilmu agama, bukan ikut serta dalam perpolitikan/Because kyai are entrusted with teaching religious knowledge, not participating in politics.

Respondent no.51: Karena apabila ada para kyai tersebut mempunyai kemampuan untuk hal politik maka tidak apa-apa bila para kyai tersebut dalam urusan politik. Mungkin dengan adanya kyai tersebut dapat menyebabkan kemajuan karena kesimbangan antara agama dan politik/Because if kyai have the ability for politics, then it is not a problem that kyai are involved in political affairs. Perhaps with these kyai involved, they could bring about improvements because of the balance between religion and politics.

Respondent no.52: Seharusnya kyai-kyai itu memikirkan agama/Actually kyai should think about religion.
From Question 22: In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community:

37.5% Commented 5.4% Do not know 39.3% NA

Respondent no.1: Mungkin para kyai dapat memberikan sedikit/sebagian pendidikan politik bagi masyarakat awam di pulau Jawa karena para kyai akan memberikan yang terbaik dan menginginkan masyarakat awam di pulau Jawa tahu yang sebenar-benarnya/Perhaps kyai can give a bit or some political education to the common people in Java, because kyai give what is best and want the common people of Java to know the truth.

Respondent no.7: Menurut saya peranan para kyai dalam pendidikan politik yaitu para kyai berusaha untuk melakukan suatu agar para masyarakat dapat berpolitik dengan benar dan tak terlepas dari ajaran agama/In my opinion the role of kyai in political education is for kyai to come up with a strategy so that the people can participate in politics in a way that in right and without neglecting religious teachings.

Respondent no.10: Sangat berperan, sebab dapat mengajarkan agama/Kyai have a big role, because they can teach religion.

Respondent no.15: Para kyai tidak berpengaruh terhadap masyarakat pulau Jawa, karena jika seandainya ada pemilu masyarakat akan memilih dengan hati nurani mereka/Kyai are not influential on the people of Java, because if there were an election the people will vote according to their conscience.

Respondent no.18: Berperan sebagai wadah untuk menyalurkan aspirasi dan sosialisasi, tentang sebuah kopolitik suatu negara/Kyai act as coordinating agents to channel aspirations and social expectations, in regards to the politics of the country.

Respondent no.19: Selama ini tidak terlalu mencolok dalam suatu keputusan untuk memilih satu kandiat/So far they have not stood out too much in any decision in choosing a candidate.

Respondent no.20: Sangat berpengaruh karena banyak dari penduduk Jawa yang mengikuti para ulama/Kyai are very influential because many of the people of Java follow ulama.

Respondent no.21: Peranannya mungkin sangat berpengaruh tetapi saya tidak begitu mengetahuinya jadi saya tak begitu dapat memandang jelas peranan para kyai/Their role might be very influential, but I do not really know, so I cannot really judge clearly the role of kyai.

Respondent no.22: Para kyai selalu memberitahukan pendapatnya tentang calon pemimpin, dan para kyai berperan aktif dalam pendidikan politik pada masyarakat awam/Kyai always express their opinions regarding candidates, and kyai do have an active role in the political education of the common people.

Respondent no.23: Peranan kyai pada masyarakat di pulau Jawa tidak begitu berpengaruh karena kyai di pulau Jawa tidak mau turun tangan, cuma mau menyuruh berpidato/memberi ceramah saja/The role of kyai in Javanese society is not that influential because kyai in Java do not want to command, rather only to instruct through speeches and provide religious sermons.

Respondent no.24: Para kyai berperan aktif dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat sekitar karena dapat memberitahukan mana calon pemimpin yang sesuai dengan kriteria seorang
pemimpin dalam Islam/Kyai have an active role in the political education of the common people in their local area because kyai can inform people which candidate is suitable according Islamic criteria.

Respondent no.25: Sangat berpengaruh, karena sebagai wadah untuk menyalurkan aspirasi tentang sebuah kepolitikan suatu negara/Kyai are very influential as coordinating agents for the channelling of aspirations about political affairs of the country.

Respondent no.26: Sebenarnya pengaruhnya besar, jika kyai-kyai tersebut benar-benar memberikan contoh berpolitik yang baik pada masyarakat/Actually kyai are a big influence, when they provide a good political example to society.

Respondent no.30: Sangat berpengaruh/Very influential.

Respondent no.31: Ya setuju, tetapi jangan terlalu cenderung ke dunia politik, soalnya kalau cenderung ke dunia politik, gimana dengan ajaran Islamnya yang murni tersebut/ Yes I agree, but so long as they are not too fond of the world of politics, because what will happen to pure Islamic teachings?

Respondent no.35: Peranan kyai dalam pendidikan politik tidak begitu penting tapi dalam pendidikan agama mereka sangat berpengaruh/The role of the kyai in political education is not that important, but in religious education they are very influential.

Respondent no.36: Para kyai berusaha memberi pengarahan kepada masyarakat untuk memilih dan membentuk suatu pendidikan politik yang berpegang teguh pada agama Islam dan yang dapat menuntun/mengantarkan ke jalan yang lebih baik daripada hari kemarin/Kyai aim to provide guidance to the people to choose based on political education which firmly adheres to Islam, guiding and steering towards a better way than in the past.

Respondent no.37: Besar karena masyarakat awam bantu memilih tokoh politik dipilih oleh orang yang mereka hormati termasuk juga para kyai/Big because the common people help to elect political figures that are endorsed by people they respect, including kyai.

Respondent no.38: Terkadang langsung mengajak serta memberi ciri-ciri pemimpin yang baik seperti yang dicalonkan/Sometimes kyai instruct people directly as well as provide information about a suitable candidate.

Respondent no.40: Sebagai tutur kata yang baik/Kyai are good orators.

Respondent no.42: Harus hati-hati dan selalu waspada tentang masyarakat yang dihadapi sebab masyarakat awam di sini sedikit salah sudah tidak akan diterima lagi/One must be careful and always cautious towards the common people because if one makes a little mistake, then he will no longer be tolerated.

Respondent no.43: Sangat mendukung masyarakat dalam pendidikan agama/Kyai very much support the people in religious education.

Respondent no.44: Para kyai selalu ingin masyarakat atau rakyatnya menjadi makmur. Tapi para kyai tersebut, sulit untuk melakukan hal itu/Kyai always want society and the people to become prosperous. But, kyai have difficulty doing this.
Respondent no.46: Mengadakan suatu perkumpulan di beberapa tempat untuk menyelesaikan suatu masalah sehingga mendapatkan sesuatu yang perlu/Arrange a gathering in various places to solve a problem in order to achieve a desired outcome.

Respondent no.47: Peranan kyai sangat dibutuhkan bagi masyarakat awam karena pendidikan politik di Indonesia kurang memegang prinsip Islam. Jadi bila para kyai ikut berperan, dapat mendongkrak agama Islam dalam politik/The role of kyai is very necessary for the common people because political education in Indonesia does not really uphold the principles of Islam. So if kyai did have a role, they can elevate Islam in politics.

Respondent no.48: Peranan para kyai sangat dibutuhkan karena sekaligus untuk berdakwah menegakkan agama Islam/The political role of kyai is very necessary because it should be done together with propagating Islam.

Respondent no.49: Menurut saya, para kyai dapat membantu masyarakat awam untuk mengenal lebih jauh tentang Islam dengan cara berpolitik dan berdakwah sehingga masyarakat menjadi lebih mengenal agama/In my opinion, kyai can help the common people to better understand Islam through politics and spreading Islam so society can become more familiar with religion.

Respondent no.50: Kyai memberikan saran pemimpin yang bagaimana yang harus dipilih oleh masyarakat, seperti memilih pemimpin yang jujur and amanah. Jadi, kyai tak terjun secara langsung dalam pendidikan politik/Kyai suggest which leader should be supported by the people, like electing a leader that is honest and mandated. But, kyai do not become directly involved in political education.

Respondent no.51: Saya belum mengetahui sebesar besar peranan para kyai dalam bidang politik di pulau Jawa karena saya baru beberapa bulan tinggal di pulau Jawa, jadi saya belum tahu apa-apa tentang politik di pulau Jawa/I do not yet know how big the role of kyai is in politics in Java because I have only been living in Java for several months, so I do not know anything about politics in Java.

Respondent no.53: Ya biasa-biasa saja/Yes, average.

Respondent no.56: Selama ini saya belum tahu/Till now I do not yet know.
Appendix 4.2: Survey Comments from Parents of Santri at Pesantren Karangasem

From Question 25: In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics? Why?

28.6% Necessary  
25% Up to each Kyai  
14.3% Not at all  
26.8% Do not know  
5.4% NA

(Written responses were in Indonesian, English translation by Nathan Franklin)

Those that answered ‘Necessary’ commented:

Respondent no.1: Untuk mempengaruhi para santri-santarinya supaya dapat memilih calon yang baik, yang dianggap pantas dan layak menjabat/To influence all santri in order to elect a candidate who is good, considered appropriate and suitable to serve.

Respondent no.10: Untuk melurus agar sesuai dengan Al-Qu’ran dan Al-Hadist/To proceed in accordance to the Qur’an and Hadith.

Respondent no.18: Agar kyai-kyai bisa berpartisipasi dalam sebuah politik/So that kyai can participate in politics.

Respondent no.22: Para kyai akan membuat politik di Indonesia sesuai dengan Islam/Kyai will ensure politics in Indonesia is in accordance with Islam.

Respondent no.26: Untuk mengubah tayangan politik supaya lebih Islami dan bersih/To change the perception of politics to become more Islamic and clean.

Respondent no.30: Agama dan politik harus sejalan dalam mencapai kesejateran/Religion and politics must operate in unison to achieve prosperity.

Respondent no.40: Karena kyai harus ikut urusan politik, karena politik itu harus berakhlaqul karimah supaya bisa melakukan amanah yang jujur dan adil/Because kyai must follow political affairs, because politics must uphold noble and good character in order to fulfil an honest and just mandate.

Respondent no.47: Agar dapat mengajarkan, berdakwah dan menyebarkan agama Islam dengan cara lewat politik/In order to teach, propagate, and spread Islam through politics.

Those that answered ‘Up to each Kyai’ commented:

Respondent no.5: Ya, gitu deh/Yes, it is like that.

Respondent no.20: Karena semua itu tergantung pada apa yang akan dipilih masyarakatnya/Because it all depends on what the people choose.

Respondent no.23: Karena para kyai punya hak asasi sendiri/Because kyai have an individual right.

Respondent no.34: Karena masing-masing kyai pasti memiliki pendapat yang berbeda-beda tentang berpolitik, ada yang setuju dan terjun ke dunia politik, ada juga yang tidak setuju karena politik dianggap masalah yang rumit dan tidak ada habisnya/Because kyai have differing opinions regarding politics, some agree and get involved in politics, while there are
also some who disagree because politics is considered a complex problem and without solution.

Respondent no. 36: Ada yang perlu dan ada yang tidak, karena para kyai mempunyai pendidikan dan pendapat yang berbeda-beda /For some it is necessary and others not, because kyai have teachings and opinions that differ.

Respondent no. 37: Karena kyai memiliki hak untuk terlibat dengan urusan politik /Because kyai have the right to become involved in political affairs.

Respondent no. 49: Karena jika para kyai terlibat dalam urusan politik juga tidak akan menjadi masalah. Justru dengan adanya hal tersebut mungkin pemertintah akan terhindar dari hal-hal yang mengundang dosa sehingga mungkin tidak ada korupsi lagi yang membuat negara sangat terugikan /Because if kyai are involved in political affairs there is no problem. Actually with them involved perhaps the government will avoid things that encourage sin, so maybe there would be no more corruption, which has greatly deprived this country.

Respondent no. 53: Itu urusan mereka /That is their business.

Respondent no. 54: Karena pemilihan umum itu memilih wakil rakyat yang baik, adil dan bijaksana dan siapapun yang akan saya pilih nanti rahasia, pokoknya orang yang pridikat dalam agama Islam /Because in general elections we elect representatives who are good, just, and wise, and whoever I choose soon is a secret, but the main thing is that the person has a background in Islam.

**Those that answered ‘Not at all’ commented:**

Respondent no. 31: Karena sifat-sifat kyai itu tidak sama, jadi pendapat ya berbeda-beda /Because the attitudes of kyai are different, so the opinions are, yes, different.

Respondent no. 42: Karena kyai tidak sebenarnya tugaskya kampanye tugaskya, hanyalah menyampaikan dakwah Islam /Because kyai are not actually entrusted with the duty of campaigning, only delivering Islamis sermons.

Respondent no. 48: Karena mereka semua tidak dapat berpolitik, mereka hanya bisa menyarankan kepada masyarakat agar memilih calon yang jujur dan bertanggung jawab /Because they are not all involved in politics, they can only suggest to the people that they choose a candidate who is honest and responsible.

Respondent no. 50: Karena kyai di pulau Jawa terlibat dengan urusan politik maka kegiatan belajar mengajar santri akan terganggu/tak efektif /Because if kyai in Java are involved in political affairs the activity of teaching santri will be disrupted and will not be effective.

**Those that answered ‘Do not know’ commented:**

Respondent no. 44: Karena saya memang tidak tahu. Setiap hari saya hanya sibuk kerja, ngurus anak-anak, karena kehidupan saya pas-pasan dan masih sering kekurangan jadi saya nggak sempat mikir yang lain /Because I really do not know. Everyday I am busy working, looking after the children, because my income is barely enough, and often not enough, so I do not have time to think of anything else.

Respondent no. 52: Karena saya tidak tinggal di rumah maka saya tidak tahu apa-apa /Because I do not live at home, so I do not know anything.
From Question 35: In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?:

43.6% Commented  7.1% Wrote  Do not know  50% NA

Respondent no.1: Biasa-biasa saja/Average.

Respondent no.7: Menurut pandangan saya, peranan para kyai dalam pendidikan politik yaitu para kyai memberikan suatu tuntunan agar para politisi dapat berpolitik dengan baik/In my opinion, the role of kyai in political education is principally for kyai to provide guidance so that politicians can conduct politics properly.

Respondent no.10: Sangat berperan, asalkan tidak korupsi/Kyai have a big role, as long as they are not corrupt.

Respondent no.18: Para kyai berperan sebagai wahana untuk memberikan pengertian tentang sebuah politik yang benar dan bijaksana/Kyai are the mechanism to provide understanding about politics that is honest and wise.

Respondent no.20: Karena banyak dari penduduk Jawa yang mengikuti jejak para alim ulama/Because many of the people in Java follow the example of the devout ulama.

Respondent no.21: Saya tidak mengetahuiinya/I do not know about it.

Respondent no.22: Kyai bisa memberitahukan calon pemimpin juga mempengaruhi masyarakat/Kyai can provide information about a candidate and also can influence people.

Respondent no.23: Sangat berpengaruh karena di partai politik gajinya lumaya sedikit banyak dan para kyai banyak yang berlomba-lomba dalam mempengaruhi masyarakat awam di pulau Jawa/Very influential because in political parties the salary is quite a bit and many kyai compete to influence the common people of Java.

Respondent no.24: Para kyai bisa mempengaruhi masyarakat sekitar/Kyai can influence the people in their local area.

Respondent no.25: Para kyai sangat berperan karena kyai figur panutan umat/Kyai have a large role because kyai are leaders of the umat.

Respondent no.26: Peranannya sangat kuat karena masyarakat mayoritas di pulau Jawa beragama Islam maka secara otomatis para masyarakat akan mengikuti petuah dari kyai mereka/Their role is very strong because the majority of people in Java are Muslim so automatically the people will follow the religious advice of their kyai.

Respondent no.30: Peranan para kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam sangat penting and besar sekali. Sebab masyarakat awam biasanya lebih condong ke arah pilihan para kyainya/The role of kyai in the political education of the common people is very important and very big. Because the common people are inclined to follow the preference of their kyai.

Respondent no.31: Biasa saja, karena saya belum seberapa banyak tahu tentang kyai-kyai di pulau Jawa/Average, because I do not yet know that much about kyai in Java.
Respondent no.35: Peranan kyai dalam pendidikan tidak begitu penting tapi dalam pendidikan agama sangat berpengaruh/The role of kyai in [political] education is not that important but in religious education they are influential.

Respondent no.38: Sebagian ada yang memberi wawasan secara luas tentang cara berpolitik menurut ajaran agama Islam. Sebagian lagi langsung mengajak masyarakat awam untuk memilih calon atau partai tertentu/Some give broad insight about politics in accordance with Islamic teachings. Some others also urge directly the common people to elected a particular candidate or party.

Respondent no.40: Memberi ceramah pada masyarakat mengajak berbuat baik taat kepada Allah dan Rasulullah dan taat kepada para pemimpin yang baik, dan mengajak semua masyarakat tenteram damai sesama manusia satu dengan yang lain supaya menjadi bangsa dan negara sejahtera, adil dan makmur/To deliver sermons to the people, inviting them to be good and obedient to Allah and the Prophet Muhammad, and obedient to the good leaders, and urge all people to be harmonious and peaceful with fellow humans to become a nation and country that is prosperous, just, and rich.

Respondent no.42: Peran kyai menyampaikan ajaran agama Islam berdasarkan Al-Qur’an dan Hadist yang sudah ditentukan/The role of kyai is to provide Islamic teachings based on the Qur’an and verified Hadith.

Respondent no.43: Peranan para kyai bagi masyarakat awam sangat baik, karena dapat meningkatan pendidikan dalam bidang agama/The role of kyai for the common people is very good, because it can enhance their education of religion.

Respondent no.45: Belum begitu memasyarakat/Not yet made public.

Respondent no.46: Mengadakan suatu perkumpulan di beberapa tempat untuk mendapat suatu masalah sehingga mendapatkan sesuatu yang perlu/Arrange a gathering in various places to solve a problem in order to achieve a desired outcome.

Respondent no.47: Penting untuk memperbaiki pendidikan politik di negeri ini/It is important to improve the political education of this country.

Respondent no.48: Dibutuhkan oleh masyarakat karena para kyai juga berdakwah (sangat perlu)/Necessary for the people because kyai also propagate Islam (very necessary).

Respondent no.49: Perlu karena politik di Indonesia membutuhkan tuntunan agama Islam melalui para kyai/Necessary because politics in Indonesia needs Islamic guidance through kyai.

Respondent no.50: Peranan para kyai sangat dibutuhkan oleh masyarakat dalam memilih calon pemimpin yang jujur amanah/The role of kyai is very much necessary for the people in electing a leader candidate who is honest and mandated.

Respondent no.53: Ya saya kira biasa-biasa saja/ Yes, I think it is average.
Appendix 3.1: Survey Comments from Santri at Pesantren Sunan Drajat

From Question 18: In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics? Why?

23.6% Necessary 38.2% Up to each Kyai
14.5% Not at all 23.6% Do not know

(Written responses were in Indonesian, English translation by Nathan Franklin)

Those that answered ‘Necessary’ commented:

Respondent no.17: Sebagai Penasehat/As advisors.

Respondent no.20: Apabila para kyai tidak terlibat sama sekali maka urusan politik negara bisa mudah berpengaruh dengan bangsa lain/If no kyai are involved then the political affairs of the country would be easily influenced by another nation.

Respondent no.22: Supaya untuk lebih memberi pengaruh kepada masyarakat/To be more influential on society.

Respondent no.26: Karena politik disertai kyai maka di dalam politik terdapat syariat Islam, agar tidak terjadi kesalahan/Because kyai can bring Islamic shari'ah to politics, so that mistakes do not occur.

Respondent no.27: Karena adanya beliau dalam politik setiap urusan/persoalan akan cepat terselesaikan apalagi beliau/para kyai-kyai lebih cukup untuk mengetahui berbagai macam organisasi politik dan lebih pengalaman jadi adanya beliau dalam setiap politik kita tidak akan salah dalam mengambil keputusan/Because with kyai involvement in politics, all matters and problems will be resolved quickly, what is more kyai are knowledgeable about all sorts of various political organisations, and are more experienced, so if they are involved in our political affairs there would be no wrong decisions.

Respondent no.28: Karena kita hidup di Indonesia perlu sekali dengan politik apalagi kyai/Because our life in Indonesia needs politics as well as kyai.

Respondent no.35: Karena dalam memperjuangkan agama tanpa politik susah untuk memajukan iman dan taqwa seseorang terhadap Allah dan tidak perlu ikut campur urusan partai politik/Because in the struggle of religion without politics it would be difficult to enhance people's belief and piety towards Allah, but it is not necessary for kyai to be directly involved in the affairs of political parties.

Respondent no.40: Karena bisa membedakan yang baik dan buruk, salah dan benar/Because they can differentiate between what is good and bad, wrong and right.

Respondent no.49: Karena dengan adanya andil kyai dalam pemilu bisa menjadikan kharisma kyai lebih besar atau untuk memajukan perjuangan Islam melalui pondok pesantren/Because
with the contribution of kyai in general elections it can increase the charisma of kyai as well as enhance the struggle of Islam through pondok pesantren.

Respondent no.50: Karena pulau Jawa penduduknya mayoritas Islam/Because in Java the majority of the population are Muslim.

Respondent no.51: Karena kyai dapat mengarahkan masyarakat pada kebaikan/Because kyai can guide society to a better way.

Respondent no.54: Hak asasi manusia/Human rights.

**Those that answered ‘Up to each Kyai’ commented:**

Respondent no.1: Karena Para kyai mempunyai hak sendiri untuk masuk politik atau tidak/Because all kyai have the right to enter politics or not.

Respondent no.7: Karena semua itu hak kyai/Because it is all a kyai’s right.

Respondent no.9: Karena kyai sebaiknya hanya mengurus pondok pesantren dan karena tidak pantas untuk terlibat dengan urusan politik/Because it is better that kyai run their pesantren and it is not appropriate for them to be involved in political affairs.

Respondent no.10: Karena HAM masing-masing/Because of human rights for everyone.

Respondent no.18: Karena pemikiran tiap para kyai itu berbeda-beda/Because the thinking of each kyai are different

Respondent no.23: Apabila beliau terlibat dengan urusan politik beliau harus bisa membagi antara urusan politik dan urusan pondok/If kyai are involved in politics kyai have to be able to differentiate between political affairs and pondok affairs.

Respondent no.29: Seyogyanya para kyai-kyai hanya fokus pada urusan agama dan jika memang kyai tersebut telibat, sewajarnya saja. Karena kyai lebih pantas terlibat di bidang ilmu agama/Obviously kyai only focus on religious matters and if indeed kyai are involved in politics it is natural. Because it is more appropriate for kyai to be involved in the realm of religion.

Respondent no.32: Karena setiap orang itu mempunyai kewajiban dan kalau para kyai-kyai itu menginginkan masuk atau perlu ikut campur, ya tererah mereka/Because every person has an obligation and if kyai wish to join or need to be involved (in politics), yes it is their choice.

Respondent no.34: Karena menurut saya kalau urusan politik itu kan ada pakarnya sendiri yaitu pakar politik dan apabila kyai itu merasa dia menjadi pakar politik bisa saja kyai itu terlibat di dalamnya/Because in my opinion if politics has their own experts, namely political experts, and if kyai feel that they want to become political experts, kyai may as well become involved in politics.

Respondent no.37: Karena kalau semua para kyai ikut dalam urusan politik mungkin akan ada perbedaan pada partai-partai politik dan itu semua akan membuat cerai berai antara kyai satu dengan lain karena untuk mendukung partai tersebut/Because if all kyai get involved in
political affairs there might be differences in political parties and would cause divisions between one kyai and another because of their respective parties they support.

Respondent no.38: Karena para kyai punya hak untuk menentukan pendapat/Because kyai have the right to express their opinion.

Respondent no.39: Karena itu hak para kyai apakah ingin terlibat dengan urusan politik atau tidak/Because that is the right of each kyai whether they wish to become involved in political affairs or not.

Respondent no.42: Pendapat dan cara berfikir para ulama berbeda-beda/The opinion and way of thinking of each ulama is different.

Respondent no.43: Karena cara pendidikan dan pendapat para ulama atau kyai di pulau Jawa ini berbeda-beda/Because the educational methods and opinions of each ulama and kyai in Java are different.

Respondent no.45: HAM/Human rights.

Respondent no.47: Karena belum tentu/tidak semua kyai mau berurusan dan dengan dunia politik/Because it is not certain; not all kyai want to be entrusted with the affairs of politics.

Respondent no.48: Karena para kyai dalam memperjuangkan agama itu berbeda-beda, ada yang perlu terlibat dalam politik dan ada yang tidak/Because kyai in the struggle of religion varies, some need to be involved in politics and others do not.

Respondent no.55: Karena hak asasi manusia/Because of human rights.

**Those that answered ‘Not at all’ commented:**

Respondent no.6: Karena kyai mengurus pesantren dan umat/Because kyai look after pesantren and the umat.

Respondent no.19: Karena para kyai itu harus mementingkan urusan pondok/Because all kyai should prioritise pondok affairs.

Respondent no.21: Karena kyai harus menjadi penengah/Because kyai should become intermediaries.

Respondent no.25: Karena kyai-kyai itu hanya bertugas untuk mengurus umat bagaimana supaya umat menjadi berahakul karimah dan apabila kyai masuk dalam politik maka semua itu tak akan terlaksana/Because those kyai are entrusted with looking after the umat so that the umat is noble and moral, and if kyai join politics then these things will not be carried out.

Respondent no.30: Karena menurut saya Pak Kyai itu tidak suka sama sekali dalam urusan politik/Because in my opinion Pak Kyai does not at all like to be involved in political affairs.

Respondent no.31: Kyai hanya berkecimpung dalam urusan agama/Kyai only get involved in religious affairs.
Respondent no.52: Karena kyai itu sebagai pengendali/wasitnya jadi gak perlu ikut dengan dalam partai politik/Because *kyai* act as regulators and mediators, so they do not need to join political parties.

**Those that answered ‘Do not know’ commented:**

Respondent no.46: Karena seorang kyai itu harus “membimbing” bukan melibatkan dirinya pada hal-hal yang berbau politik/Because a *kyai* must “guide”, not involve themselves in things that concern politics.

**From Question 22: In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community:**

72.7% Commented 3.6% Do not know 23.6% NA

Respondent no.1: Tidak begitu terpengaruh karena masih banyak para kyai yang tidak terlibat dengan urusan politik/Not that influential because there are still many *kyai* that are not involved in political affairs.

Respondent no.2: Ya, mungkin ada para kyai yang ikut dalam peranan politik tapi karena perbedaan partai politik antara kyai yang satu dengan kyai yang lain kadang membuat perdebatan/Yes, maybe some *kyai* are involved in politics, but because there are differences in political parties of this *kyai* and that *kyai*, then sometimes this creates disagreements.

Respondent no.7: Tidak begitu setuju karena kalau semua kyai ikut serta dalam kegiatan politik pasti para kyai tidak begitu memperhatikan pondok/I do not really agree because if all *kyai* get involved in political activities then *kyai* can not take care of their pondok.

Respondent no.10: Berperan sebagai pacuan masyarakat/Have a role as contestants of society.

Respondent no.11: Baik/Good.

Respondent no.12: Menurut saya itu lumayan penting (karena para kyai sudah mengetahui bagaimana kondisi di daerahnya)/In my opinion it is relatively important (because each *kyai* are familiar with the condition of their area).

Respondent no.15: Menurut saya peranan para kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam di palau jawa itu sangat berpengaruh dalam mendidik masyarakat awam dalam berpolitik/In my opinion the role of all *kyai* in political education of the common people on the island of Java is very influential in educating the common people about politics.

Respondent no.17: Peranan para kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam sangat penting/The role of all *kyai* in political education of the common people is very important.

Respondent no.18: Kurang begitu mementingkan masalah politik/They do not really prioritise political matters.

Respondent no.19: Sebagai penengah/As intermediaries.
Respondent no.20: Para kyai tidak mempunyai peranan dalam pendidikan politik/Kyai do not have a role in political education.

Respondent no.21: Sebagai penengah/As intermedaries.

Respondent no.22: Dengan pengajian yang bertemakan politik/In sermons on political topics.

Respondent no.25: Peranan para kyai terhadap masyarakat pulau Jawa sangatlah besar karena sebagian besar masyarakat Jawa pada Pemilu itu mengikuti pilihan para kyai, karena mereka menganggap kyai itu adalah orang yang baik dan tidak salah dalam memilih pilihan/The role of kyai in the Javanese community is very big because a large portion of Javanese society at general elections follow the choice of kyai, because they regard kyai as good people whose choice is never wrong.

Respondent no.26: Perlu untuk sebagai landasan syariah/Need it as a foundation for shari’ah.

Respondent no.27: Sangat dibutuhkan dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat, soalnya dalam setiap organisasi politik harus ada yang membimbing yaitu para kyai-kyai yang mungkin lebih luas pengalamannya dan sangat dihormati masyarakat/Very necessary for the political education of society, since in every organisation politics must have someone to lead, which should be kyai who have perhaps more experience and are highly respected by society.

Respondent no.28: Sangat tidak penting, karena tugas pokok kyai adalah mengajar ngaji para santri atau sekitarnya, bukan malah mengajar cara berpolitik pada masyarakat awam di pulau Jawa/Not important, because the main duty of kyai is to conduct Qur’anic recitation with santri or the surrounding community, not to teach politics to the common people of Java.

Respondent no.29: Para kyai hanya memberikan sedikit pengertian saja tentang politik/Kyai merely provide a little understanding about politics.

Respondent no.30: Menurut sepengetahuan saya, Insya Allah pak kyai tidak ikut-ikutan dalam sebuah politik. Sedangkan pendidikan untuk orang awam biasanya melalui pengajian-pengajian/As far as I known, God willing Pak Kyai is not involved in politics. Education for the common people is usually conducted through sermons and Qur’anic recitation.

Respondent no.31: Pada umumnya masih banyak para kyai yang terjun langsung dalam praktik politik yang terkadang menyebabkan perpecahan dalam organisasi partainya misalnya adanya PKB tandingan antara kubu Alwi Shihab dengan kubu Mathori ini menandakan adanya perpecahan dari partai PKB. Para kyai harus menjadi penenggah apabila ada perpecahan seperti ini. Bukanya malah terjun dalam dunia politik/In general there are still many kyai that become directly involved in practical politics which sometimes causes divisions in parties, for example in PKB between the Alwi Shihab faction and the Mathori faction and this manifested that there was a breakaway group from PKB. Kyai must be intermedaries when there is a conflict like this. Instead of becoming involved with the political world.

Respondent no.32: Sangat membantu karena apa orang yang tidak tahu politik menjadi tahu atau semua sikap-sikap di dunianya dalam peran-peran lainnya/Very helpful, because what people do not know about politics, will be known and all the characters of the world and their various other roles.
Respondent no.35: Sangat besar karena di pulau Jawa banyak orang yang belum mengerti dan mudah terpengaruh orang lain, untung kalau kyai yang mempengaruhi pasti tidak perbuat negative yang diberikan, tapi justru yang positif-positif yang diberikan agar orang tersebut semakin dekat dengan Allah/Very big because in Java many people do not yet understand and are easily influenced by other people, lucky if kyai influence them, surely nothing negative, but actually positive would be passed on so these people would become closer to Allah.

Respondent no.36: Sangat besar karena masyarakat awam masih membutuhkan jasa para kyai dalam bidang agama Islam/Very big because the common people still need the services of kyai in the discipline of Islam.

Respondent no.37: Mungkin sangat perlu karena masyarakat awam masih perlu bimbingan dari kyai agar masyarakat tidak seenaknya saja dalam melakukan ibadah atau menunut ilmu apalagi kalau ilmu agama Islam/Perhaps very necessary because common people still need guidance from kyai so that society do not just do whatever they want in carrying out religious obligations or in striving for knowledge, let alone Islamic knowledge.

Respondent no.38: Peranan kyai sangat diperlukan untuk menuntun masyarakat awam ke jalan yang benar/The role of kyai is very necessary to ensure the common people stay on the correct path.

Respondent no.39: Menurut pandangan saya peranan para kyai dalam urusan politik sangat berpengaruh misal ada kyai memandang partai politik itu yang lebih baik maka sebagian masyarakat akan mengikuti partai yang dianggap baik oleh kyai itu, tapi juga kadang-kadang masyarakat tidak peduli tidak pendapat kyai tapi malah menuruti hati nurani mereka masing-masing yang dianggap bisa lebih baik/In my opinion the role of kyai in political affairs is very influential, for example a kyai views a political party as good, so a section of society will support the party that is considered good by that kyai, but also sometimes people do not care about the opinion of kyai and instead will follow their own conscience as to which party they consider the best.

Respondent no.40: Sangat penting/Very important.

Respondent no.42: Sangat penting/very important.

Respondent no.43: Peranannya tidak begitu penting biasa saja/Their role is not that important, average.

Respondent no.45: Penting untuk mengarahkan masyarakat agar memiliki calon-calon pemimpin yang baik/Important to guide people so that they choose suitable candidate leaders.

Respondent no.46: Peranan kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam seharusnya membimbing dan tidak melibatkan dirinya di dalam urusan-urusan politik tersebut/The role of kyai in the political education of the common people should be to guide, and not to involve themselves in political affairs.

Respondent no.47: Pada umumnya masyarakat awam akan sangat menharga kyainya karena itu apabila seorang kyai menjelaskan/memberikan pendidikan politik itu akan memberikan peranan yang sangat besar/In general the common people really appreciate kyai because when a kyai explains and provides political education it fulfils an important role.
Respondent no.48: Menurut saya peranan para kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam adalah sangat penting, karena para kyai adalah penerusnya para nabi dan para penerus nabi itu lah yang bisa mengantar negara ini menjadi negara yang aman dan tenteram/In my opinion the role of kyai in the political education of the common people is very important, because kyai are the successors to the prophets, and the successors to the prophets are the ones who can make this country become safe and peaceful.

Respondent no.49: Peranan kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam sangat besar artinya masyarakat awam berkiblat kepada Pak Kyai siapa yang dipilih jadi pimpinan masyarakat ikut/The role of kyai in political education of the common people is very big, meaning that common people are oriented towards Pak Kyai as to who he chooses as leader, and the people follow.

Respondent no.50: Kyai adalah penuntun umat jadi dalam dakwahnya bukan saja masalah agama tetapi juga masalah dunia/Kyai are guides of the umat so their sermons are not just about religious problems but also worldly problems.

Respondent no.51: Kyai termasuk ulama dan ulama adalah pewaris para nabi jadi peranan kyai sangat penting karena dapat mengarahkan masyarakat untuk menjadi lebih baik/Kyai are also ulama, and ulama are the successors to the prophets so the role of kyai is very important because they can guide people to become better.

Respondent no.52: Pengaruh sangat besar/Influence is very big

Respondent no.54: Penting untuk mengarahkan masyarakat umum untuk dapat memilih pemimpin yang jujur, adil dan bijaksana/Important to guide the general public to elect a leader who is honest, just, and wise.

Respondent no.55: Pengaruh sangat besar/Influence is very big.
Appendix 5.1: Original Indonesian Survey Questionnaire at Pesantren Sunan Drajat

Assalamu’alaikum Wr. Wb.

Santri dan keluarga yang terhormat,


Tidak ada paksaan untuk mengikutsertakan survei ini. Keterlibatan Anda atas rasa sukarela saja.

Saya berjanji menghormati informasi personal Anda, dan tidak akan menyalahgunakan informasi yang Anda sampaikan dalam survei ini.

Kalau Anda ingin menghubungi saya, informasi kontak saya adalah sebagai berikut:

**HP:** +62183 8469 9002  
**Email:** nathan.franklin@cdu.edu.au  
**Alamat di Indonesia:** Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat, Banjaranyar, Paciran, Lamongan, Jawa Timur, Indonesia.  
**Alamat di Australia:** Charles Darwin University, Ellengowan Drive, Casuarina Campus, Darwin, Northern Territory, Australia, 0909.

Terimakasih banyak sebelum dan sesudahnya,  
Nathan Franklin  
Mahasiswa tingkat S3 dari Universitas Charles Darwin

Survei ini telah dibaca dan disetujui

........................................................
KH. Abdul Ghofur, Pengasuh Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat
Untuk diisi oleh Santri

1) Jenis Kelamin: □ Pria\(^1\) □ Wanita\(^2\)
2) Tanggal lahir (tgl/bulan/tahun): .................................................................
3) Tempat lahir (Desa/Kec/Kab/Prov): ............................................................
4) Tempat tinggal keluarga Anda sekarang: ....................................................
5) Tahun berapa Anda mulai belajar di Pesantren Sunan Drajat? ......................
6) Anda tinggal di mana sekarang? □ Dengan keluarga Anda\(^1\) □ Di pondok\(^2\)
   □ Tempat lain, tolong ditulis\(^3\) .................................................................

7) Jenjang pendidikan Anda di Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
   □ Sekolah Menengah Pertama\(^4\) □ Madrasah Tsanawiyah\(^2\) □ Perguruan tinggi\(^3\)
   □ Sekolah Menengah Atas\(^4\) □ Madrasah Aliyah\(^5\)
   □ Madrasah Mu’allimin/Mu’allimat\(^6\) □ Lain, tolong ditulis\(^7\) ......................

8) Apa alasan utama Anda memilih belajar di Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
   □ Kharisma Pengasuhnya\(^4\) □ Pembayaran pesantren murah\(^3\) □ Dekat rumah Anda\(^3\)
   □ Pesantrennya terkenal\(^4\) □ Teman-teman Anda ke sana\(^5\) □ Belajar agama\(^6\)
   □ Kualitas pendidikan\(^7\) □ Disiplin ketat\(^8\) □ Disuruh oleh Orang tua\(^9\)
   □ Tidak tahu\(^10\) □ Lain, tolong ditulis\(^11\) ......................................................

9) Apakah Anda berencana belajar pada tingkat perguruan tinggi?
   □ Ya\(^1\) □ Mungkin\(^2\) □ Tidak\(^3\) □ Tidak tahu\(^4\)

10) Anda ingin belajar di perguruan tinggi seperti apa?
    □ Universitas Negeri\(^1\) □ Universitas Islam Negeri\(^2\) □ Akademi Kesehatan\(^3\)
    □ Akademi Militer/Polisi\(^4\) □ Universitas Swasta\(^5\) □ Tidak tahu\(^6\)
    □ Lain, tolong ditulis\(^7\) ............................................................................

11) Jika Anda ingin perguruan tinggi, Anda mau mengambil fakultas apa?
    □ Agama\(^1\) □ Pendidikan\(^2\) □ Tarbiyah\(^3\) □ Hukum\(^4\) □ Sosial-Politis\(^5\)
    □ Bisnis\(^6\) □ Basaha asing\(^7\) □ Ilmu pasti\(^8\) □ Kedokteran\(^9\) □ Kepolisian/militer\(^10\)
    □ Teknik\(^11\) □ Humaniora\(^12\) □ Tidak tahu\(^13\) □ Lain, tolong ditulis\(^14\) ....

12) Anda ingin bekerja sebagai apa pada masa depan?
    □ Karyawan\(^1\) □ Guru umum\(^2\) □ Guru agama\(^3\) □ Pengacara\(^4\) □ Politikus\(^5\)
    □ Wirausaha\(^6\) □ Pegawai negeri\(^7\) □ Insinyur\(^8\) □ Dokter\(^9\) □ TNI/Polri\(^10\)
    □ Tukang bengkel\(^11\) □ Wartawan\(^12\) □ Nelayan\(^13\) □ Petani\(^14\) □ Buruh\(^15\)
    □ Tidak tahu\(^16\) □ Lain, tolong ditulis\(^17\) ..................................................

13) Organisasi Islam apa yang Anda ikuti?
    □ NU\(^1\) □ Muhammadiyah\(^2\) □ Netral\(^3\) □ Lain, tolong ditulis\(^4\) ........

14) Kebanyakan keluarga Anda mengikuti organisasi Islam apa?
    □ NU\(^1\) □ Muhammadiyah\(^2\)
    □ Rata-rata 50 persen NU dan 50 persen Muhammadiyah\(^3\) □ Netral\(^4\)
    □ Tidak tahu\(^5\) □ Lain, tolong ditulis\(^6\) .....................................................
15) Asas partai politik apa yang Anda lebih sukai?
☐ Pancasila\(^1\) ☐ Islam\(^2\) ☐ Tidak tahu\(^3\)

16) Apakah keluarga Anda mempertimbangkan pendapat KH. Abdul Gho
gur pada waktu ada Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Ya\(^1\) ☐ Mungkin\(^2\) ☐ Kadang-kadang\(^3\) ☐ Tidak\(^4\) ☐ Tidak tahu\(^5\)

17) Seberapa besar pengaruh KH. Abdul Gho
fur dalam mempengaruhi pilihan Orang tua Anda pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Sangat besar\(^1\) ☐ Biasa\(^2\) ☐ Tidak terpengaruh\(^3\) ☐ Tidak Tahu\(^4\)

18) Menurut Anda, apakah kyai-kyai di pulau Jawa perlu terlibat dengan urusan politik?
☐ Perlu\(^1\) ☐ Terserah para Kyai\(^2\) ☐ Tidak sama sekali\(^3\) ☐ Tidak tahu\(^4\)
Kenapa?...........................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................................................

19) Apakah Anda yakin KH. Abdul Gho
fur bisa mempengaruhi orang-orang di masyarakat setempat untuk memilih salah satu calon politik tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Ya\(^1\) ☐ Mungkin\(^2\) ☐ Kadang-kadang\(^3\) ☐ Tidak\(^4\) ☐ Tidak tahu\(^5\)

20) Seberapa kuat pengaruh KH. Abdul Gho
fur dalam mendorong masyarakat untuk memilih salah satu calon politik tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Pengaruh kuat\(^1\) ☐ Pengaruh sedikit\(^2\) ☐ Tidak ada pengaruh sama sekali\(^3\) ☐ Tidak tahu\(^4\)

21) Pada tingkat pemilihan yang mana KH. Abdul Gho
fur paling bisa mempengaruhi orang-orang biasa untuk memilih calon-calon tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Kabupaten\(^1\) ☐ Provinsi\(^2\) ☐ Legislatif (DPR/MPR)\(^3\) ☐ Presiden\(^4\)
☐ Tidak ada pengaruh sama sekali pada tingkat apapun\(^5\) ☐ Tidak tahu\(^6\)

22) Menurut pandangan Anda, bagaimana peran para Kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam di pulau Jawa?
........................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................

Terima kasih atas partisipasi Anda
Mohon agar salah satu Orang tua Anda ikut serta dalam survei ini, kemudian formulir-formulir yang telah diisi dikembalikan kepada Nathan Franklin.
Untuk diisi oleh salah satu Orang tua santri

1) Jenis Kelamin? □ Pria¹ □ Wanita²

2) Apa perkerjaan Anda? □ Guru¹ □ Petani² □ Wiraswasta³
□ Pegawai negeri⁴ □ Buruh⁵ □ Nelayan⁶ □ Ibu Rumah tangga⁷
□ Pegawai swasta⁸ □ TNI/Polri⁹ □ Sudah pensiun¹⁰
□ Lain, tolong ditulis¹¹ ..............................................................

3) Berapa rata-rata pendapatan Anda setiap bulan dalam uang Rupiah?
□ 0–499.000¹ □ 500.000–999.000² □ 1.000.000–1.499.000³
□ 1.500.000–1.999.000⁴ □ 2.000.000–2.990.000⁵ □ 3.000.000 ke atas⁶

4) Organisasi Islam apa yang Anda ikuti?
□ NU¹ □ Muhammadiyah² □ Netral³ □ Lain, tolong ditulis⁴.................................

5) Apa alasan utama Anda memutuskan anak Anda belajar di Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
□ Kharisma Pengasuhnya¹ □ Pembayaran pesantren murah² □ Dekat rumah Anda³
□ Pesantrennya terkenal⁴ □ Teman-teman anak Anda ke sana⁵ □ Belajar agama⁶
□ Kualitas pendidikan⁷ □ Disiplin ketat⁸ □ Tidak tahu⁹
□ Lain, tolong ditulis¹⁰ ..............................................................

6) Apakah pendidikan terakhir Anda?
□ Sekolah Dasar¹ □ Sekolah Menengah Pertama² □ Sekolah Menengah Atas³
□ Perguruan Tinggi⁴ □ Tidak pernah sekolah⁵ □ Lain, tolong ditulis⁶..............................

7) Di manakah Anda bersekolah pada waktu Anda duduk di Sekolah Menengah Pertama?
□ Sekolah Negeri¹ □ Sekolah Swasta² □ Pesantren³ □ Tidak sampai tingkat ini⁴
□ Lain, tolong ditulis⁵ ..............................................................

8) Di manakah Anda bersekolah pada waktu Anda duduk di Sekolah Menengah Atas?
□ Sekolah Negeri¹ □ Sekolah Swasta² □ Pesantren³ □ Tidak sampai tingkat ini⁴
□ Lain, tolong ditulis⁵ ..............................................................

9) Apakah Anda pernah ikut pengajian KH. Abdul Ghofer? □ Ya¹ □ Tidak²

10) Berapa kali Anda ikut pengajian KH. Abdul Ghofer?
□ Tiap Hari¹ □ Sekali se-bulan² □ Sekali se-tahun³
□ Tiap Minggu⁴ □ Tiap beberapa bulan⁵ □ Tiap beberapa tahun⁶ □ Tidak pernah⁷

11) Di mana tempatnya paling sering Anda ikut pengajian KH. Abdul Ghofer?
□ Kalau Kyai Ghofer ke desa Anda¹ □ Di masjid² □ Di radio³
□ Tidak pernah ikut pengajianannya⁴ □ Lain, tolong ditulis⁵ ..............................................................

12) Apakah KH. Abdul Ghofer pernah menyarankan Anda memilih salah satu calon politik tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
□ Ya¹ □ Tidak²
13) Apakah Anda yakin KH. Abdul Ghofur bisa mempengaruhi orang-orang di masyarakat untuk memilih salah satu calon politik yang tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Ya¹  ☐ Mungkin²  ☐ Kadang-kadang³  ☐ Tidak⁴  ☐ Tidak tahu⁵

14) Apakah Anda lebih suka calon politik berlatar belakang NU atau Muhammadiyah?
☐ NU¹  ☐ Muhammadiyah²  ☐ Sama saja³  ☐ Tidak tahu⁴  ☐ Lain, tolong ditulis⁵

15) Siapakah yang Anda pilih pada Pilkada Kabupaten 2005?

16) Apakah KH. Abdul Ghofur mempengaruhi pilihan ini?
☐ Ya¹  ☐ Tidak²

17) Siapakah yang Anda pilih pada Pilkada Provinsi 2003?

18) Apakah KH. Abdul Ghofur mempengaruhi pilihan ini?
☐ Ya¹  ☐ Tidak²

19) Apa partai politik yang Anda pilih pada Pemilu Legislatif 2004?

20) Apakah KH. Abdul Ghofur mempengaruhi pilihan ini?
☐ Ya¹  ☐ Tidak²

21) Siapakah calon yang Anda pilih pada Pemilu Presiden 2004?

22) Apakah KH. Abdul Ghofur mempengaruhi pilihan ini?
☐ Ya¹  ☐ Tidak²

23) Seberapa kuat pengaruh KH. Abdul Ghofur dalam mendorong masyarakat untuk memilih salah satu calon politik tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Pengaruh kuat¹  ☐ Pengaruh sedikit²  ☐ Tidak ada pengaruh sama sekali³  ☐ Tidak tahu⁴

24) Pada tingkat pemilihan yang mana KH. Abdul Ghofur paling bisa mempengaruhi orang-orang biasa untuk memilih calon-calon tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Kabupaten¹  ☐ Provinsi²  ☐ Legislatif (DPR/MPR)³  ☐ Presiden⁴  ☐ Tidak ada pengaruh sama sekali pada tingkat apapun⁵  ☐ Tidak tahu⁶

25) Menurut Anda, apakah kyai-kyai di pulau Jawa perlu terlibat dengan urusan politik?
☐ Perlu¹  ☐ Terserah Para Kyai²  ☐ Tidak sama sekali³  ☐ Tidak tahu⁴
Kenapa?

26) Apakah Anda setuju bahwa pengaruh kyai-kyai di pulau Jawa pada umumnya sudah mulai menurun karena keterlibatan mereka dalam politik praktis?
☐ Sangat setuju¹  ☐ Kurang setuju²  ☐ Tidak setuju³  ☐ Tidak tahu⁴

27) Apakah asas partai politik yang Anda lebih sukai?
☐ Pancasila¹  ☐ Islam²  ☐ Tidak tahu³

28) Bupati Lamongan Pak Masfuk dari organisasi Islam apa?
☐ NU¹  ☐ Muhammadiyah²  ☐ Tidak tahu³  ☐ Lain, tolong ditulis⁴
29) Wakil Bupati Lamongan Pak Tsalits dari organisasi Islam apa?
☐ NU
☐ Muhammadiyah
☐ Tidak tahu
☐ Lain, tolol ditulis

30) Apakah Anda yakin KH. Abdul Ghofur berperan penting pada kemenangan Masfuk dan Tsalits pada pilkada Lamongan 2005?
☐ Ya
☐ Mungkin
☐ Tidak
☐ Tidak tahu

31) Apakah Anda mempertimbangkan pendapat KH. Abdul Ghofur pada waktu ada Pilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur pada bulan Juli tahun ini?
☐ Ya
☐ Tidak

32) Siapakah pasangan calon gubernur dan calon wakil gubernur yang didukung atau dianggap terbaik oleh KH. Abdul Ghofur pada Pilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur tahun ini?
☐ Kofifah-Mudjiono
☐ Soenarjo-Ali Maschan Moesa
☐ Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf
☐ Sucipto-Ridwan Hisjam
☐ Achmady-Suhartono
☐ Tidak Tahu

33) Apakah Anda mempertimbangkan pendapat KH. Abdul Ghofur pada waktu ada Pilihan Legislatif (MPR/DPR) tahun depan?
☐ Ya
☐ Mungkin
☐ Tidak
☐ Tidak tahu

34) Apakah Anda mempertimbangkan pendapat KH. Abdul Ghofur pada waktu ada pilihan Presiden Republik Indonesia tahun depan?
☐ Ya
☐ Mungkin
☐ Tidak
☐ Tidak tahu

35) Menurut pandangan Anda, bagaimana peranan para Kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam di pulau Jawa?

Terima kasih atas partisipasi Anda
Appendix 5.2: English Translation of Survey Questionnaire at Pesantren Sunan Drajat

Peace be upon you with God’s blessing and prosper

Respectful Santri and family,

My name is Nathan Franklin. I am a PhD student from the Charles Darwin University in Australia. I am currently conducting research in Lamongan on pesantren. I would like to ask for your participation in this survey to understand the background of families that send their children to board at pesantren. Questions regard general details, then will concentrate on the impact and benefits that pesantren have on the wider community, including religion and politics. To complete this survey will only take a few minutes. Your name is not necessary and your identity will remain anonymous.

This survey has been approved by the Headmaster of Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat, Bapak Kyai Haji Abdul Ghofur, and has permission from the Indonesia Government with the Research Permit No. 100/FRP/SM/2008.

The survey is divided into two sections. The first section must be filled in by the santri, the second must be completed by one parent of the santri. Once the survey has been completed, please give it to Mbak Mingsih at the Administration Office at Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat.

There is no obligation to participate in this survey. Your participation is totally voluntary.

I promise to respect your privacy, and I will not misuse the information you provide in the survey.

Should you wish to contact me, my details are as follows:

Mobile number: +62183 8469 9002
Email: nathan.franklin@cdu.edu.au
Address in Australia: Charles Darwin University, Ellengowan Drive, Casuarina Campus, Darwin, Northern Territory, Australia, 0909.

Thank you,
Nathan Franklin
PhD Candidate from the Charles Darwin University

This survey has been read and approved by

.................................
KH. Abdul Gho fur, Headmaster of Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat
To be completed by Santri

1) Gender: □ Male  □ Female

2) Date of birth (day/month/year): ..................................................

3) Birthplace (Vil/Subdis/Dis/Prov): ..........................................................

4) Where your family lives now: ..............................................................

5) What year did you begin studying at Pesantren Sunan Drajat? ..................

6) Where do you live now?  □ With your family  □ At the pondok  □ Somewhere else, please specify ..........................................................

7) What institution are you currently attending at Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
   □ Sekolah Menengah Pertama  □ Madrasah Tsanawiyah  □ Perguruan tinggi  
   □ Sekolah Menengah Atas  □ Madrasah Aliyah  
   □ Madrasah Mu’allimat/Mu’allimat  □ Other, please specify ..................

8) What is the main reason why you study at Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
   □ Charisma of Headmaster  □ Cheap pesantren costs  □ Close to home  
   □ Pesantren is famous  □ Your friends go there  □ To study religion  
   □ Quality of education  □ Strict discipline  □ Parents made you  
   □ Do not know  □ Other, please specify ..........................................................

9) Do you plan to study at tertiary level?
   □ Yes  □ Maybe  □ No  □ Do not know

10) What type of tertiary institution would you like to study at?
    □ State University  □ Islamic State University  □ Medical academy  
    □ Military/police academy  □ Private University  □ Do not Know  
    □ Other, please specify ..........................................................

11) If you study at tertiary level, what area of study would you like to focus on?
    □ Religion  □ Education  □ Tarbiyah  □ Law  □ Socio-politics  
    □ Business  □ Foreign language  □ Science  □ Medicine  □ Police/military  
    □ Technology  □ Humanities  □ Do not know  □ Other, please specify  

12) What occupation would you like to do in the future?
    □ Kyai  □ Public teacher  □ Religious teacher  □ Lawyer  □ Politician  
    □ Businessman  □ Public servant  □ Engineer  □ Doctor  □ TNI/Police  
    □ Mechanic  □ Journalist  □ Fisherman  □ Farmer  □ Labourer  
    □ Do not know  □ Other, please specify ..........................................................

13) Which Islamic organisation does the majority of your family follow?
    □ NU  □ Muhammadiyah  □ Neutral  □ Other, please specify  ..................................................

14) Is your family majority NU or Muhammadiyah?
    □ NU  □ Muhammadiyah  
    □ Roughly 50 percent NU and 50 percent Muhammadiyah  □ Neutral  
    □ Do not know  □ Other, please specify  ..........................................................

15) What political party platform do you prefer?
☐ Pancasila
☐ Islam
☐ Do not know

16) Do you think your family is influenced by the KH. Abdul Ghoafur during elections?
☐ Yes
☐ Maybe
☐ Sometimes
☐ No
☐ Do not know

17) To what extent is KH. Abdul Ghoafur able to influence your parents’ vote during elections?
☐ Very big
☐ Ordinary
☐ No influence
☐ Do not know

18) In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics?
☐ Necessary
☐ Up to each Kyai
☐ Not at all
☐ Do not know

Why?............................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................

19) Do you believe that KH. Abdul Ghoafur can influence people in the local community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
☐ Yes
☐ Maybe
☐ Sometimes
☐ No
☐ Do not Know

20) How influential is KH. Abdul Ghoafur in persuading the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
☐ Strongly influential
☐ Mildly influential
☐ Not influential at all
☐ Do not know

21) Please rank in order which level of government where KH. Abdul Ghoafur’s influence is strongest in terms of directing the local community to vote for candidates? Please write 1, 2, 3 and 4. Number 1 means strongest, 2 strong, 3 ordinary, 4 weakest.

☐ District
☐ Provincial
☐ Legislative (DPR/MPR)
☐ Presidential
☐ No influence at any level
☐ Do not know

22) In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?

............................................................................................................................
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Thank you for your participation

Please ensure that at least one of your parents participates in this survey, and then return it to Nathan Franklin
To be completed by a Parent

1) Gender? □ Male □ Female

2) What is your occupation? □ Teacher □ Farmer □ Entrepreneur □ Public servant □ Labourer □ Fisherman □ House wife □ Private company worker □ TNI/Police □ Retired □ Other, please specify

3) What is your average monthly salary in Rupiah?
□ 0–499,000 □ 500,000–999,000 □ 1,000,000–1,499,000 □ 1,500,000–1,999,000 □ 2,000,000–2,990,000 □ 3,000,000 and above

4) Which Islamic organisation do you follow?
□ NU □ Muhammadiyah □ Neutral □ Other, please specify

5) What is the main reason you decided to send your child to Pesantren Sunan Drajat?
□ Charisma of Headmaster □ Cheap education costs □ Close to home □ Pesantren is famous □ Your friends go there □ To study religion □ Quality of education □ Strict discipline □ Do not know □ Other, please specify

6) What is your highest level of education?
□ Primary school □ Middle school □ Senior high school □ Tertiary education □ Never attended school □ Other, please specify

7) Which type of middle school did you attend?
□ Public school □ Private school □ Pesantren □ Not to this level □ Other, please specify

8) Which type of senior high school did you attend?
□ Public school □ Private school □ Pesantren □ Not to this level □ Other, please specify

9) Have you ever listened to a sermon by KH. Abdul Gho fur? □ Yes □ No

10) How often do you listen to sermons of KH. Abdul Gho fur?
□ Daily □ Once a Month □ Once every few months □ Once a week □ Once a year □ Once every few years □ Never

11) Where do you most often hear a sermon of KH. Abdul Gho fur?
□ When Kyai Gho fur visits your village □ At the mosque □ On the radio □ Never heard his sermon □ Other, please specify

12) Has KH. Abdul Gho fur ever advised you to vote for a particular political candidate during an election? □ Yes □ No
13) Do you believe that KH. Abdul Ghofur can influence people in the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
☐ Yes  ☐ Maybe  ☐ Sometimes  ☐ No  ☐ Do not know

14) Do you prefer political candidates from an NU or Muhammadiyah background?
☐ NU  ☐ Muhammadiyah  ☐ Both equally  ☐ Do not know  ☐ Other, please specify

15) Who did you vote for in the District Election of 2005?

16) Did KH. Abdul Ghofur influence this decision? ☐ Yes  ☐ No

17) Who did you vote for in the Provincial Election of 2003?

18) Did KH. Abdul Ghofur influence this decision? ☐ Yes  ☐ No

19) Which party did you vote for in the Legislative Election of 2004?

20) Did KH. Abdul Ghofur influence this decision? ☐ Yes  ☐ No

21) Who did you vote for in the Presidential Election of 2004?

22) Did KH. Abdul Ghofur influence this decision? ☐ Yes  ☐ No

24) How influential is KH. Abdul Ghofur in persuading the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
☐ Strongly influential  ☐ A little influential  ☐ Not influential at all  ☐ Do not know

25) Please rank in order which level of government where pesantren influence is strongest in terms of directing the local community to vote for candidates? Please write 1, 2, 3 and 4. Number 1 means strongest, 2 strong, 3 ordinary, 4 weakest.

_____District
_____Provincial
_____Legislative (DPR/MPR)
_____Presidential
☐ No influence at all at any level  ☐ Do not know

26) In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics?
☐ Necessary  ☐ Up to each Kyai  ☐ Not at all  ☐ Do not know

27) Do you agree that the influence of kyai on the island of Java in general is declining because of their practical involvement in politics?
☐ Highly agree  ☐ Do not quite agree  ☐ Do not agree  ☐ Do not know

28) What political party platform do you prefer?
☐ Pancasila  ☐ Islam  ☐ Do not know
29) Lamongan District Head Pak Masfuk is from which Islamic organisation?

☐ NU  ☐ Muhammadiyah  ☐ Do not know  ☐ Other, please specify

30) Lamongan Deputy District Head Pak Tsalits is from which Islamic organisation?

☐ NU  ☐ Muhammadiyah  ☐ Do not know  ☐ Other, please specify

31) Do you believe that KH. Abdul Ghofur played an important role in the victory of Masfuk and Tsalits during the Lamongan District Election of 2005?

☐ Yes  ☐ Maybe  ☐ No  ☐ Do not know

32) Are you considering KH. Abdul Ghofur’s advice regarding the East Java Gubernatorial Election held this July?

☐ Yes  ☐ No

33) Which candidate for governor and deputy governor is supported or is considered the best by KH. Abdul Ghofur during this year’s gubernatorial election?

☐ Kofifah-Mudjiono  ☐ Sucipto-Ridwan Hisjam
☐ Soenarjo-Ali Maschan Moesa  ☐ Achmady-Suhartono
☐ Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf  ☐ Do not know

34) Are you considering KH. Abdul Ghofur’s advice regarding the legislative (MPR/DPR) election for next year?

☐ Yes  ☐ Maybe  ☐ No  ☐ Do not know

35) Are you considering KH. Abdul Ghofur’s advice regarding the presidential election for next year?

☐ Yes  ☐ Maybe  ☐ No  ☐ Do not know

36) In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?

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Thank you for your participation
Appendix 6.1: Original Indonesian Survey Questionnaire at Pesantren Karangasem

Assalamu’alaikum Wr. Wb.

Santri dan keluarga yang terhormat,


Tidak ada paksaan untuk mengikutsertakan survei ini. Keterlibatan Anda atas rasa sukarela saja.

Saya berjanji menghormati informasi personal Anda, dan tidak akan menyalahgunakan informasi yang Anda sampaikan dalam survei ini.

Kalau Anda ingin menghubungi saya, informasi kontak saya adalah sebagai berikut:
**HP:** +62183 8469 9002
**Email:** nathan.franklin@cdu.edu.au
**Alamat di Indonesia:** Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat, Banjaranyar, Paciran, Lamongan, Jawa Timur, Indonesia.
**Alamat di Australia:** Charles Darwin University, Ellengowan Drive, Casuarina Campus, Darwin, Northern Territory, Australia, 0909.

Terimakasih banyak sebelum dan sesudahnya,
Nathan Franklin
Mahasiswa tingkat S3 dari Universitas Charles Darwin

Survei ini telah dibaca dan disetujui

........................................................................
KH. Anwar Mu’rob, Pengasuh Pondok Pesantren Karangasem
Untuk diisi oleh Santri

1) Jenis Kelamin: □ Pria  □ Wanita
2) Tanggal lahir (tgl/bulan/tahun): .................................................................
3) Tempat lahir (Desa/Kec/Kab/Prov): ..............................................................
4) Tempat tinggal keluarga Anda sekarang: ......................................................
5) Tahun berapa Anda mulai belajar di Pesantren Karangasem? .........................
6) Anda tinggal di mana sekarang? □ Dengan keluarga Anda □ Di pondok
□ Tempat lain, tolong ditulis .................................................................
7) Jenjang pendidikan Anda di Pesantren Karangasem?
□ Sekolah Menengah Pertama □ Madrasah Tsanawiyah □ Perguruan tinggi
□ Sekolah Menengah Atas □ Madrasah Aliyah □
□ Madrasah Mu'allimin/Mu'allimah □ Lain, tolong ditulis ................................
8) Apa alasan utama Anda memilih belajar di Pesantren Karangasem?
□ Kharisma Pengasuhnya □ Pembayaran pesantren murah □ Dekat rumah Anda
□ Pesantrennya terkenal □ Teman-teman Anda ke sana □ Belajar agama
□ Kualitas pendidikan □ Disiplin ketat □ Disuruh oleh Orang tua
□ Tidak tahu □ Lain, tolong ditulis .............................................................
9) Apakah Anda berencana belajar pada tingkat perguruan tinggi?
□ Ya □ Mungkin □ Tidak □ Tidak tahu
10) Anda ingin belajar di perguruan tinggi seperti apa?
□ Universitas Negeri □ Univeristas Islam Negeri □ Akademi Kesehatan
□ Akademi Militer/Polisi □ Universitas Swasta □ Tidak tahu
□ Lain, tolong ditulis .....................................................................................
11) Jika Anda ingin perguruan tinggi, Anda mau mengambil fakultas apa?
□ Ugam □ Pendidikan □ Tarbiyah □ Hukum □ Sosial-Politik
□ Bisnis □ Basaha asing □ Ilmu pasti □ Kedokteran □ Kepolisian/militer
□ Teknik □ Humaniora □ Tidak tahu □ Lain, tolong ditulis ................................
12) Anda ingin bekerja sebagai apa pada masa depan?
□ Kya □ Guru umum □ Guru agama □ Pengacara □ Politikus
□ Wirausaha □ Pegawai negeri □ Insinyur □ Dokter □ TNI/Polri
□ Tukang bengkel □ Wartawan □ Nelayan □ Petani □ Buruh
□ Tidak tahu □ Lain, tolong ditulis .............................................................
13) Organisasi Islam apa yang Anda ikuti?
□ NU □ Muhammadiyah □ Netral □ Lain, tolong ditulis .................................
14) Kebanyakan keluarga Anda mengikuti organisasi Islam apa?
□ NU □ Muhammadiyah □
□ Rata-rata 50 persen NU dan 50 persen Muhammadiyah □ Netral
□ Tidak tahu □ Lain, tolong ditulis .............................................................
15) Asas partai politik apa yang Anda lebih sukai?
☐Pancasila\(^1\) ☐Islam\(^2\) ☐Tidak tahu\(^3\)

16) Apakah keluarga Anda mempertimbangkan pendapat KH. Anwar Mu’rob pada waktu ada Pemilihan Umum?
☐Ya\(^1\) ☐Mungkin\(^2\) ☐Kadang-kadang\(^3\) ☐Tidak\(^4\) ☐Tidak tahu\(^5\)

17) Seberapa besar pengaruh KH. Anwar Mu’rob dalam mempengaruhi pilihan Orang tua anda pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐Sangat besar\(^1\) ☐Biasa\(^2\) ☐Tidak terpengaruh\(^3\) ☐Tidak Tahu\(^4\)

18) Menurut Anda, apakah kyai-kyai di pulau Jawa perlu terlibat dengan urusan politik?
☐Perlu\(^1\) ☐Terserah para Kyai\(^2\) ☐Tidak sama sekali\(^3\) ☐Tidak tahu\(^4\)
Kenapa?........................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................
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..........................................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................

19) Apakah Anda yakin KH. Anwar Mu’rob bisa menpengaruhi orang-orang di masyarakat setempat untuk memilih salah satu calon politik tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐Ya\(^1\) ☐Mungkin\(^2\) ☐Kadang-kadang\(^3\) ☐Tidak\(^4\) ☐Tidak tahu\(^5\)

20) Seberapa kuat pengaruh KH. Anwar Mu’rob dalam mendorong masyarakat untuk memilih salah satu calon politik tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐Pengaruh kuat\(^1\) ☐Pengaruh sedikit\(^2\)
☐Tidak ada pengaruh sama sekali\(^3\) ☐Tidak tahu\(^4\)

21) Pada tingkat pemilihan yang mana KH. Anwar Mu’rob paling bisa mempengaruhi orang-orang biasa untuk memilih calon-calon tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
Ditulis 1, 2, 3 dan 4. Angka 1 berarti paling kuat, 2 kuat, 3 biasa, 4 paling lemah.

☐Kabupaten\(^1\)
☐Provinsi\(^2\)
☐Legislatif (DPR/MPR)\(^3\)
☐Presiden\(^4\)
☐Tidak ada pengaruh sama sekali pada tingkat apapun\(^5\) ☐Tidak tahu\(^6\)

22) Menurut pandangan Anda, bagaimana peranan para Kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam di pulau Jawa? .................................................................
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..........................................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................

**Terima kasih atas partisipasi Anda**
Mohon agar salah satu Orang tua Anda ikut serta dalam survei ini, kemudian formulir-formulir yang telah diisi dikembalikan kepada Nathan Franklin.
Untuk diisi oleh salah satu Orang tua santri

1) Jenis Kelamin? □ Pria	□ Wanita
2) Apa perkerjaan Anda? □ Guru	□ Petani	□ Wiraswasta
□ Pegawai negeri	□ Buruh	□ Nelayan	□ Ibu Rumah tangga
□ Pegawai swasta	□ TNI/Polri	□ Sudah pensiun
□ Lain, tolong ditulis
3) Berapa rata-rata pendapatan Anda setiap bulan dalam uang Rupiah?
□ 0–499.000 □ 500.000–999.000 □ 1.000.000–1.499.000
□ 1.500.000–1.999.000 □ 2.000.000–2.990.000 □ 3.000.000 ke atas
4) Organisasi Islam apa yang Anda ikuti?
□ NU	□ Muhammadiyah	□ Netral	□ Lain, tolong ditulis
5) Apa alasan utama Anda memutuskan anak Anda belajar di Pesantren Karangasem?
□ Kharisma Pengasuhnya	□ Pembaruan pesantren murah	□ Dekat rumah Anda
□ Pesantrennya terkenal	□ Teman-teman anak Anda ke sana	□ Belajar agama
□ Kualitas pendidikan	□ Disiplin keta	□ Tidak tahu
□ Lain, tolong ditulis
6) Apakah pendidikan terakhir Anda?
□ Sekolah Dasar	□ Sekolah Menengah Pertama	□ Sekolah Menengah Atas
□ Perguruan Tinggi	□ Tidak pernah sekolah	□ Lain, tolong ditulis
7) Di manakah Anda bersekolah pada waktu Anda duduk di Sekolah Menengah Pertama?
□ Sekolah Negeri	□ Sekolah Swasta	□ Pesantren	□ Tidak sampai tingkat ini
□ Lain, tolong ditulis
8) Di manakah Anda bersekolah pada waktu Anda duduk di Sekolah Menengah Atas?
□ Sekolah Negeri	□ Sekolah Swasta	□ Pesantren	□ Tidak sampai tingkat ini
□ Lain, tolong ditulis
9) Apakah Anda pernah ikut pengajian KH. Anwar Mu’rob? □ Ya	□ Tidak
10) Berapa kali Anda ikut pengajian KH. Anwar Mu’rob?
□ Tiap Hari	□ Sekali se-bulan	□ Sekali se-tahun
□ Tiap Minggu	□ Tiap beberapa bulan	□ Tiap beberapa tahun	□ Tidak pernah
11) Di mana tempatnya paling sering Anda ikut pengajian KH. Anwar Mu’rob?
□ Kalau Kyai Mu’rob ke desa Anda	□ Di masjid	□ Di radio
□ Tidak pernah ikut pengajianannya	□ Lain, tolong ditulis
12) Apakah KH. Anwar Mu’rob pernah menyarankan Anda memilih salah satu calon politik
tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum? □ Ya	□ Tidak
13) Apakah Anda yakin KH. Anwar Mu’rob bisa mempengaruhi orang-orang di masyarakat untuk memilih salah satu calon politik yang tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?
☐ Ya1 ☐ Mungkin2 ☐ Kadang-kadang3 ☐ Tidak4 ☐ Tidak tahu5

14) Apakah Anda lebih suka calon politik berlatar belakang NU atau Muhammadiyah?
☐ NU1 ☐ Muhammadiyah2 ☐ Sama saja3 ☐ Tidak tahu4 ☐ Lain, tolong ditulis5

15) Siapakah yang Anda pilih pada Pilkada Kabupaten 2005?

16) Apakah KH. Anwar Mu’rob mempengaruhi pilihan ini? ☐ Ya1 ☐ Tidak2

17) Siapakah yang Anda pilih pada Pilkada Provinsi 2003?

18) Apakah KH. Anwar Mu’rob mempengaruhi pilihan ini? ☐ Ya1 ☐ Tidak2

19) Apa partai politik yang Anda pilih pada Pemilu Legislatif 2004?

20) Apakah KH. Anwar Mu’rob mempengaruhi pilihan ini? ☐ Ya1 ☐ Tidak2

21) Siapakah calon yang Anda pilih pada Pemilu Presiden 2004?

22) Apakah KH. Anwar Mu’rob mempengaruhi pilihan ini? ☐ Ya1 ☐ Tidak2

23) Seberapa kuat pengaruh KH. Anwar Mu’rob dalam mendorong masyarakat untuk memilih salah satu calon politik tertentu pada waktu pemilihan umum?
☐ Pengaruh kuat1 ☐ Pengaruh sedikit2 ☐ Tidak ada pengaruh sama sekali3 ☐ Tidak tahu4

24) Pada tingkat pemilihan yang mana KH. Anwar Mu’rob paling bisa mempengaruhi orang-orang biasa untuk memilih calon-calon tertentu pada waktu Pemilihan Umum?

☐ Kabupaten1 ☐ Provinsi2 ☐ Legislatif (DPR/MPR)3 ☐ Presiden4
☐ Tidak ada pengaruh sama sekali pada tingkat apapun5 ☐ Tidak tahu6

25) Menurut Anda, apakah kyai-kyai di pulau Jawa perlu terlibat dengan urusan politik?
☐ Perlu1 ☐ Terserah Para Kyai2 ☐ Tidak sama sekali3 ☐ Tidak tahu4
Kenapa?.....................................................................................................................
.....................................................................................................................
.....................................................................................................................

26) Apakah Anda setuju bahwa pengaruh kyai-kyai di pulau Jawa pada umumnya sudah mulai menurun karena keterlibatan mereka dalam politik praktis?
☐ Sangat setuju1 ☐ Kurang setuju2 ☐ Tidak setuju3 ☐ Tidak tahu4

27) Apakah asas partai politik yang Anda lebih suka?
☐ Pancasila1 ☐ Islam2 ☐ Tidak tahu3
28) Bupati Lamongan Pak Masfuk dari organisasi Islam apa?
☐ NU ☐ Muhammadiyah ☐ Tidak tahu ☐ Lain, tolong ditulis

29) Wakil Bupati Lamongan Pak Tsalits dari organisasi Islam apa?
☐ NU ☐ Muhammadiyah ☐ Tidak tahu ☐ Lain, tolong ditulis

30) Apakah Anda yakin KH. Anwar Mu’rob berperan penting pada kemenangan Masfuk dan Tsalits pada pilkada Lamongan 2005?
☐ Ya ☐ Mungkin ☐ Tidak ☐ Tidak tahu

31) Apakah Anda mempertimbangkan pendapat KH. Anwar Mu’rob pada waktu ada Pilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur pada bulan Juli tahun ini?
☐ Ya ☐ Tidak

32) Siapakah pasangan calon gubernur dan calon wakil gubernur yang didukung atau dianggap terbaik oleh KH. Anwar Mu’rob pada Pilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur tahun ini?
☐ Kofifah-Mudjiono ☐ Sucipto-Ridwan Hisjam
☐ Soenarjo-Ali Maschan Moesa ☐ Achmady-Suhartono
☐ Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf ☐ Tidak Tahu

33) Apakah Anda mempertimbangkan pendapat KH. Anwar Mu’rob pada waktu ada Pilihan Legislatif (MPR/DPR) tahun depan?
☐ Ya ☐ Mungkin ☐ Tidak ☐ Tidak tahu

34) Apakah Anda mempertimbangkan pendapat KH. Anwar Mu’rob pada waktu ada Pilihan Presiden Republik Indonesia tahun depan?
☐ Ya ☐ Mungkin ☐ Tidak ☐ Tidak tahu

35) Menurut pandangan Anda, bagaimana peranan para Kyai dalam pendidikan politik masyarakat awam di pulau Jawa?

Terima kasih atas partisipasi Anda
Appendix 6.2: English Translation of Survey Questionnaire at Pesantren Karangasem

Peace be upon you with God’s blessing and prosper

Respectful santri and family,

My name is Nathan Franklin. I am a PhD student from the Charles Darwin University in Australia. I am currently conducting research in Lamongan on pesantren. I would like to ask for your participation in this survey to understand the background of families that send their children to board at pesantren. Questions regard general details, then will concentrate on the impact and benefits that pesantren have on the wider community, including religion and politics. To complete this survey will only take a few minutes. Your name is not necessary and your identity will remain anonymous.

This survey has been approved by the Headmaster of Pondok Pesantren Karangasem, Bapak Kyai Haji Anwar Mu'rob, and has permission from the Indonesia Government with the Research Permit No. 100/FRP/SM/2008.

The survey is divided into two sections. The first section must be filled in by the santri, the second must be completed by one parent of the student. Once the survey has been completed, please give it to Bapak Ustadz Mufti Labib at Pondok Pesantren Karangasem.

There is no obligation to participate in this survey. Your participation is totally voluntary.

I promise to respect your privacy, and I will not misuse the information you provide in the survey.

Should you wish to contact me, my details are as follows:
**Mobile number:** +62183 8469 9002
**Email:** nathan.franklin@cdu.edu.au
**Address in Indonesia:** Pondok Pesantren Karangasem, Banjaranyar, Paciran, Lamongan, East Java, Indonesia.
**Address in Australia:** Charles Darwin University, Ellengowan Drive, Casuarina Campus, Darwin, Northern Territory, Australia, 0909.

Thank you,
Nathan Franklin
PhD Candidate from the Charles Darwin University

This survey has been read and approved by

..................................................
KH. Anwar Mu'rob, Headmaster of Pondok Pesantren Karangasem
To be completed by Santri

1) Gender: □ Male  □ Female
2) Date of birth (day/month/year): ..............................................
3) Birthplace (Vil/Subdis/Dis/Prov): ............................................................
4) Where your family lives now: ................................................................
5) What year did you begin studying at Pesantren Karangasem? ....................
6) Where do you live now? □ With your family  □ At the pondok
    □ Somewhere else, please specify ..........................................................
7) What institution are you currently attending at Pesantren Karangasem?
    □ Sekolah Menengah Pertama □ Madrasah Tsanawiyah □ Perguruan tinggi
    □ Sekolah Menengah Atas □ Madrasah Aliyah
    □ Madrasah Mu’allimat/Mu’allimat □ Other, please specify ......................
8) What is the main reason why you study at Pesantren Karangasem?
    □ Charisma of Headmaster □ Cheap pesantren costs □ Close to home
    □ Pesantren is famous □ Your friends go there □ To study religion
    □ Quality of education □ Strict discipline □ Parents made you
    □ Do not know □ Other, please specify .................................................
9) Do you plan to study at tertiary level?
    □ Yes  □ Maybe  □ No  □ Do not know
10) What type of tertiary institution would you like to study at?
    □ State University □ Islamic State University □ Medical academy
    □ Military/police academy □ Private University □ Do Not Know
    □ Other, please specify ........................................................................
11) If you study at tertiary level, what area of study would you like to focus on?
    □ Religion □ Education □ Islamic Education □ Law □ Socio-politics
    □ Business □ Foreign language □ Science □ Medicine □ Police/military
    □ Technology □ Humanities □ Do not know □ Other, please specify .........
12) What occupation would you like to do in the future?
    □ Kya □ Public teacher □ Religious teacher □ Lawyer □ Politician
    □ Businessman □ Public servant □ Engineer □ Doctor □ TNI/Police
    □ Mechanic □ Journalist □ Fisherman □ Farmer □ Labourer
    □ Do not know □ Other, please specify ..................................................
13) Which Islamic organisation does the majority of your family follow?
    □ NU □ Muhammadiyah □ Neutral □ Other, please specify ....................... 
14) Is your family majority NU or Muhammadiyah?
    □ NU □ Muhammadiyah
    □ Roughly 50 percent NU and 50 percent Muhammadiyah □ Neutral
    □ Do not know □ Other, please specify ..................................................
15) What political party platform do you prefer?
☐ Pancasila
☐ Islam
☐ Do not know

16) Do you think your family is influenced by the KH. Anwar Mu’rob during elections?
☐ Yes
☐ Maybe
☐ Sometimes
☐ No
☐ Do not know

17) To what extent is KH. Anwar Mu’rob able to influence your parents’ vote during elections?
☐ Very big
☐ Ordinary
☐ No influence
☐ Do not know

18) In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics?
☐ Necessary
☐ Up to each Kyai
☐ Not at all
☐ Do not know

19) Do you believe that KH. Anwar Mu’rob can influence people in the local community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
☐ Yes
☐ Maybe
☐ Sometimes
☐ No
☐ Do not Know

20) How influential is KH. Anwar Mu’rob in persuading the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
☐ Strongly influential
☐ Mildly influential
☐ Not influential at all
☐ Do not know

21) Please rank in order which level of government where KH. Anwar Mu’rob’s influence is strongest in terms of directing the local community to vote for candidates? Please write 1, 2, 3 and 4. Number 1 means strongest, 2 strong, 3 ordinary, 4 weakest.

☐ District
☐ Provincial
☐ Legislative (DPR/MPR)
☐ Presidential
☐ No influence at any level
☐ Do not know

22) In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?:

Thank you for your participation
Please ensure that at least one of your parents participates in this survey, and then return it to Nathan Franklin
To be completed by a Parent

1) Gender?  □ Male^1  □ Female^2

2) What is your occupation?  □ Teacher^1  □ Farmer^2  □ Entrepreneur^3
□ Public servant^4  □ Labourer^5  □ Fisherman^6  □ House wife^7
□ Private company worker^8  □ TNI/Police^9  □ Retired^10
□ Other, please specify^11 .................................................................

3) What is your average monthly salary in Rupiah?
□ 0–499,000^1  □ 500,000–999,000^2  □ 1,000,000–1,499,000^3
□ 1,500,000–1,999,000^4  □ 2,000,000–2,990,000^5  □ 3,000,000 and above^6

4) Which Islamic organisation do you follow?
□ NU^1  □ Muhammadiyah^2  □ Neutral^3  □ Other, please specify^4 .................

5) What is the main reason you decided to send your child to Pesantren Karangasem?
□ Charisma of Headmaster^1  □ Cheap education costs^2  □ Close to home^3
□ Pesantren is famous^4  □ Your friends go there^5  □ To study religion^6
□ Quality of education^7  □ Strict discipline^8  □ Do not know^9
□ Other, please specify^10 .................................................................

6) What is your highest level of education?
□ Primary school^1  □ Middle school^2  □ Senior high school^3
□ Tertiary education^4  □ Never attended school^5  □ Other, please specify^6 .................

7) Which type of middle school did you attend?
□ Public school^1  □ Private school^2  □ Pesantren^3  □ Not to this level^4
□ Other, please specify^5 ....................................................................

8) Which type of senior high school did you attend?
□ Public school^1  □ Private school^2  □ Pesantren^3  □ Not to this level^4
□ Other, please specify^5 ....................................................................

9) Have you ever listened to a sermon by KH. Anwar Mu’rob?  □ Yes^1  □ No^2

10) How often do you listen to sermons of KH. Anwar Mu’rob?
□ Daily^1  □ Once a Month^2  □ Once every few months^3
□ Once a week^4  □ Once a year^5  □ Once every few years^6  □ Never^7

11) Where do you most often hear a sermon of KH. Anwar Mu’rob?
□ When Kyai Mu’rob visits your village^1  □ At the mosque^2  □ On the radio^3
□ Never heard his sermon^4  □ Other, please specify^5 ........................................

12) Has KH. Anwar Mu’rob ever advised you to vote for a particular political candidate during an election?
□ Yes^1  □ No^2
13) Do you believe that KH. Anwar Mu’rob can influence people in the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
☐ Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ Sometimes ☐ No ☐ Do not know

14) Do you prefer political candidates from an NU or Muhammadiyah background?
☐ NU ☐ Muhammadiyah ☐ Both equally ☐ Do not know ☐ Other, please specify

15) Who did you vote for in the District Election of 2005?

16) Did KH. Anwar Mu’rob influence this decision? ☐ Yes ☐ No

17) Who did you vote for in the Provincial Election of 2003?

18) Did KH. Anwar Mu’rob influence this decision? ☐ Yes ☐ No

19) Which party did you vote for in the Legislative Election of 2004?

20) Did KH. Anwar Mu’rob influence this decision? ☐ Yes ☐ No

21) Who did you vote for in the Presidential Election of 2004?

22) Did KH. Anwar Mu’rob influence this decision? ☐ Yes ☐ No

23) How influential is KH. Anwar Mu’rob in persuading the community to vote for a particular political candidate during elections?
☐ Strongly influential ☐ A little influential ☐ Not influential at all ☐ Do not know

24) Please rank in order which level of government where pesantren influence is strongest in terms of directing the local community to vote for candidates? Please write 1, 2, 3 and 4. 1 means strongest, 2 strong, 3 ordinary, 4 weakest.
☐ District ☐ Provincial ☐ Legislative (DPR/MPR) ☐ Presidential
☐ No influence at all at any level ☐ Do not know

25) In your opinion, is it necessary for kyai in Java to be involved in politics?
☐ Necessary ☐ Up to each Kyai ☐ Not at all ☐ Do not know
Why?....................................................................................................................................................
....................................................................................................................................................
....................................................................................................................................................

26) Do you agree that the influence of kyai on the island of Java in general is declining because of their practical involvement in politics?
☐ Highly agree ☐ Do not quite agree ☐ Do not agree ☐ Do not know

27) What political party platform do you prefer?
☐ Pancasila ☐ Islam ☐ Do not know

28) Lamongan district head Pak Masfuk is from which Islamic organisation?
29) Lamongan district head Pak Tsalits is from which Islamic organisation?
☐ NU ☐ Muhammadiyah ☐ Do not know ☐ Other, please specify

30) Do you believe that KH. Anwar Mu’rob played an important role in the victory of Masfuk and Tsalits during the Lamongan District Election of 2005?
☐ Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ No ☐ Do not know

31) Are you considering KH. Anwar Mu’rob’s advice regarding the East Java Gubernatorial Election held this July?
☐ Yes ☐ No

32) Which candidate for governor and deputy governor is supported or is considered the best by KH. Anwar Mu’rob during this year’s gubernatorial election?
☐ Kofifah-Mudjiono ☐ Sucipto-Ridwan Hisjam
☐ Soenarjo-Ali Maschan Moesa ☐ Achmady-Suhartono
☐ Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf ☐ Do not know

33) Are you considering KH. Anwar Mu’rob’s advice regarding the legislative (MPR/DPR) election for next year?
☐ Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ No ☐ Do not know

34) Are you considering KH. Anwar Mu’rob’s advice regarding the presidential election for next year?
☐ Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ No ☐ Do not know

35) In your opinion, how can the role of Kyai in politics contribute to how common people understand politics in your community?

Thank you for your participation
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