

## Nahdatul Ulama' (NU) And Identity Politics Practice in the 2019 Presidential Election (Study in Paciran Lamongan Village)

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### Abstract:

Nahdatul Ulama' is a religious social organization that has the largest followers in Indonesia and KH Ma'ruf Amin is a high leader of Nahdatul Ulama' who in the 2019 election paired with Joko Widodo ran for vice president of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period. see and analyze the role of Nahdatul Ulama in winning the candidate pair Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin in Paciran Lamongan village, which is the base of Muhammadiyah? This research seeks to analyze the identity politics practices carried out by Nahdatul Ulama' in Paciran Lamongan village to win the presidential candidate pair Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin. The research results show that the winning process carried out by Nahdatul Ulama' not only used the structural and network resources it had but also used identity politics practices which were used as a tool of political struggle by Nahdatul Ulama' to win Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin.

**Keyword:** Nahdatul Ulama', Identity Politics.

### Background:

The contest in the 2019 presidential election was a very tough contest between two pairs of presidential candidates, namely Jokowi and Prabowo. The severity of the contestation resulted in the emergence of violence and conflict between supporters, which resulted in at least 8 people dying during the election results protest on 21-22 May 2019 in Jakarta. One of the reasons for the severity of the contestation was because the 2019 presidential election involved identity politics practices.

We all know that the 2019 Presidential Election

(Pilpres) is a presidential election that is full of the use of identity politics. According to Ernes Gellner, identity politics is a political movement that focuses on differences as the main political category<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, Agnes Heller explained that identity politics includes racism, bio-feminism, environmentalism and ethnic strife<sup>2</sup> And also, identity revival is interpreted as a form of awareness and mobilization on the basis of a collective identity that was previously hidden, suppressed or ignored<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, actions to carry out political mobilization in the name of identity, whether religious, ethnic or other local interests,

<sup>1</sup> Ernes Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983)

<sup>2</sup> Agnes Heller dan Punsher, Sonja. *Biopolitical Ideologies an their Impact on the New Social Movements: A New Handbook of Political Societies* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1995), hal: ix.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Sparringa. *Multikulturalisme sebagai Respon Alternatif terhadap Politik Identitas dan Resolusi Konflik*

*yang Bersifat Transformatif: Sebuah Perspektif Sosiologi Politik* (2005). Disampaikan pada kursus dan pelatihan singkat tentang HAM dan demokrasi yang diselenggarakan oleh CESSAS-UGM bekerja sama dengan UNHCR-Oslo University Norwegia, Jogjakarta, 28 November-2 Desember 2005.

are the practice of identity politics itself.

Identity politics in Indonesia strengthened after the New Order regime collapsed, which was followed by the process of democratization and decentralization policies<sup>4</sup> The identity politics movement is intensively used by political actors to share power, seize and secure funding sources built through patrimony networks<sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup>. Through decentralization policies and amendments to the 1945 Constitution at the start of reform, it is almost certain that all local elites will use the issue of identity politics as a way to seize power, both at the local and national levels. This identity-based movement, on the one hand, actually has the consequence of giving birth to forms of violence and communal conflict in many areas, by using religion and ethnicity as a way to mobilize mass voters<sup>6</sup>. The peak of the strengthening of identity politics has indirectly become an obstacle to the process of consolidating Indonesian democracy.

A sign of the rise of the practice of identity politics was the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) which was held in 101 regions of Indonesia in early 2017. Identity politics in the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional elections really attracted public attention. This is not only because DKI is the capital of Indonesia with the largest Regional Original Income (PAD) in Indonesia, but more because of increasing ethnic sentiment and religious issues. One of the incumbent gubernatorial candidates, name Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok, who is of Chinese ethnic descen and is non-Muslim, is considered to have insulted religion by misinterpreting the meaning of the letter Al Maidah Ayat (51) which explains leadership.

Through social media, the issue of ethnicity and religious blasphemy spread and succeeded in

sparkling a movement of hundreds of thousands of Muslim masses demanding that Ahok to be trialed. The success of this movement was seen in the mobilization of a mass movement known as the 411 movement and its peak was the 212 movement attended by millions of Muslims<sup>7</sup>. In this political phenomenon, it cannot be denied that some parties have used this religious movement as a political force to win the DKI regional elections. In the Asian region, ethnic and religious elements are one of the most dominant variables that explain political dynamics and the development of democracy<sup>8</sup>. These two political phenomenas illustrates the strenghtene of contemporary identity politics in Indonesia.

The great concern from scholar shows the importance of this discourse. Social science scholars understand that identity politics in Indonesia is an important and strategic study, especially the nature of this nation which is plural and multicultural in terms of religion, ethnicity, culture, language and other local wisdom. Each of these varieties has a basic identity value that is inherent in each community's social structure.

According to Kemala Chandrakirana, identity politics is often used by agents as a tool for political agitation with the title "us" for "indigenous people" who want power, and "them" for "immigrants" who must be willing to give up their power or position<sup>9</sup>. According to Sri Astuti Buchari, there are several advantages to the practice of identity politics. First, identity politics can be used as a tool for an ethnic political struggle to achieve certain political goals. Second, political costs are quite cheap because political consolidation on the basis of ethnic, tribal and cultural equality will be easier and cheaper to consolidate for certain political interests on the basis of equality<sup>10</sup>. Third, there is a

<sup>4</sup> Muhtar Haboddin, *Menguatnya politik Identitas di Ranah Lokal* (percik, 2008); Henk Schulte Nordholt, *Decentralisation in Indonesia: Less State, More Democracy?* in *Politicizing Democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

<sup>5</sup> Richard Robison and vedi R Hadiz, *Reorganizing Power In Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*: bias 41 (1), April 2005,"(2005).

<sup>6</sup> Gerry Arend van Klinken, *Perang kota kecil: kekerasan komunal dan demokratisasi di Indonesia* (Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007); Donald L Horowitz: *Ethnic Group in Conflict* (Berkeley, London, & Los Angeles: Univ of California Press, 1985)

<sup>7</sup> Marcus Mietzner&Burhanudian Muhatdi, Explaining the 2016 Islamist Mobilisation in Indonesia: Religious Intolerance, Militant Groups and the Politics of Accommodation. *A s i a n* .

<sup>8</sup> Aurel Croissant, 'From Transition to Defective Democracy: Mapping Asian Democratization', *Democratization* (nama jurnalnya adalah Democratization, jadi ini yg dicetak miring. Baca petunjuk penulisan disertasi ya!1. no.5 (2004).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid hal. 120.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid hal. 20

large possibility of inter-ethnic power sharing (Henk Schulte Nordholt and Gerry van Klinken 2007).

Apart from the positive impacts, the negative impacts resulting from the use of ethnic identity political practices are very dangerous. If ethnic identity politics cannot be well managed and used excessively, it can lead to fascism. Even worse, separatism. A society that has been constructed around a certain identity can be easily mobilized by groups who want to achieve their political agenda. Several incidents of conflict between the Dayak-Madurese tribes, the May 1998 political conflict in Jakarta which resulted in the overthrow of President Soeharto, the expulsion of the Buton-Bugis and Makassar (BBM) ethnic groups in Ambon, are obvious examples of the negative impact from ethnic identity politics. Another worst impact of the escalation of inter-ethnic conflict is the disintegration of a nation. Moreover, the multicultural Indonesian nation certainly has very high resistance.

The practice of religious identity politics, according to Harahap, is a political practice that prioritizes the interests of group members who have similar identities or characteristics, a political practice that provides clear lines for determining and selecting who will be included and who will be rejected or left behind. Religious identity politics uses religious equality as a firm line<sup>11</sup>.

In the practice of religious identity politics there are several advantages. Based on the results of research conducted by the Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies Program or Center for Religious and Crosscultural Studies (CRCS), it can be seen that identity politics involving religion also has advantages if well managed. The reason for religious differences alone is not a determining factor in conflict. Although regulation and law enforcement are needed, the legal approach needs to be strengthened by a process of "social engineering" that supports a situation of coexistence or harmony. The negative impact of the politicization of religious identity based on the

results of Fox and Menchik's research shows that it is not uncommon for electoral mobilization to be carried out by affirming contestation between identity groups. This is very vulnerable to causing conflict and getting stronger and increasingly dividing society<sup>12</sup>.

From several of the arguments of this research, at least it shows that ethnic identity, religion, ideology and local political interests have a very significant role in the construction of identity politics in Indonesia. From the results of the research above, it is possible to assume that the construction of identity politics can be born from various sources which are continuously produced and reproduced by certain agents from each contestant for their political interests.

The practices of identity politics by capitalizing on the strength of networks of religious groups expressed in the form of mobilization by the success teams of each religious network group, down to the family level, strengthened as the 2019 elections took place. Various religious-based mass organization groups tended to strengthen identity attached to him in strengthening the existence of religious groups, and strengthening the position of voter behavior intervention in an effort to fight for the interests of his group. The involvement of identity in the 2019 Presidential Election produced friction between different identity groups very clear and increasingly harsh on each supporter base.

This research was conducted in Paciran Village, a village located on the north coast of Lamongan Regency or the north coast of Lamongan, covering an area of 172.5 hectares (Ha), with populations of 18,150 people. Paciran Village is the second largest populated village in Paciran District, where the livelihood of most of the people of Paciran Village is as fishermen. There are at least several arguments why Paciran Lamongan Village became the object of our research.

First; The majority of Paciran Village residents are Muslim. Islam as a religion embraced by the

<sup>11</sup> Ibid Hal. 2014

<sup>12</sup> Ibid Hal. 2011

majority of people around the north coast of Lamongan has developed with its ability to accommodate local traditions and culture. Dawam Rahardjo explained that Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) have a moderate political tradition and religious paradigm<sup>13</sup>. Both remain pillars of religious movements with the strength of their respective thought bases and membership. Thus, the existence of these two mass organizations has an important historical background that determines the religious style of the community around the north coast of Lamongan, especially in Paciran District<sup>14</sup>

Second, the behavior of residents around the north coast of Lamongan, who are known to be straightforward in their speech, spontaneous in their behavior, and fanatic in their religion, is a sociological factor that cannot be ignored in looking at voter behavior in determining their political choices<sup>15</sup>. In terms of social relations, they appear egalitarian and respect informal figures such as Kiai, government employees and preachers<sup>16</sup>.

Third; The majority of the Paciran community is affiliated with Islamic organizations and the most prominent are Nahdlatul Ulama' and Muhammadiyah. So that almost all residents of Paciran Village are divided into these two large religious organizations<sup>17</sup>. This has an impact on the high influence of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama' on the Paciran community.

Fourth; Many Islamic boarding schools and educational institutions are affiliated and grew from the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama organizations'. There are at least 5 (five) Islamic boarding schools, namely: Karangasem Muhammadiyah Paciran Islamic Boarding School, Mazroatul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, Modern

Islamic Boarding School, Manarul Qur'an Islamic Boarding School and Karang Sawo Islamic Boarding School. The large number of Islamic boarding schools and educational institutions under the auspices of this organization certainly influences the quality of education, the opening up of information space for the Paciran community, and the very wide relations between the Paciran community.

Fifth; Historically, Paciran has been a vote contributor and vote base for Islamic parties, including the vote base for the Indonesian Muslim Syuro Council Party (Masyumi)<sup>18</sup>. Where the Masyumi party became the winning party in the region. The result, in 1958 brought K.H. Abdurrahman Syamsuri<sup>19</sup> elected as Member of the Lamongan DPRD, Masyumi Fraction. Even when Masyumi was disbanded on August 19th 1960<sup>20</sup> local people remained active in Muhammadiyah and NU. When the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi) was founded, the people of Paciran made their political choice on the Islamic political party founded by Mohammad Syafa'at Mintaredja on February 20 1968. Many Muhammadiyah members are involved in Parmusi (Indonesian Muslim Party). Meanwhile, NU residents have channeled their political activities to the United Development Party (PPP). It is not surprising that the two Islamic political parties received a large number of votes in Paciran District in the 1971 Election, namely 75 percent of the total votes in the district.

Paciran's existence as a santri base and Islamic party is maintained to this day, as can be seen from the vote acquisition between Islamic-based and nationalist parties in the 2014 elections. The National Mandate Party (PAN) got 19 percent of the votes, the Social Justice Party (PKS) 3 percent, National Awakening Party (PKB) 17 percent, and

<sup>13</sup> M. Dawam Raharjo. *Perspektif Deklarasi Makkah: Menuju Ekonomi Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 1987).

<sup>14</sup> Syam, Nur. (2005) "*Islam Pesisir*", (Jogjakarta: LkiS: 2005 hal. 83)

<sup>15</sup> Sholihul Huda, *The Clash of Ideology Muhammadiyah: Pertarungan Ideologi Moderat versus Radikal* (Yogyakarta: Semesta Ilmu, 2017 hal.75).

<sup>16</sup> Nur Syam ..... hal. 12

<sup>17</sup> Widiyastutik, *Sejarah Muhammadiyah Pesisir dari Paciran Untuk Lamongan*, Surabaya: Pustaka Indis : 2021 hal. 29).

<sup>18</sup> Naskah hari jadi lamongan, <http://www.scribd.com/23543368/>, Naskah Riwayat Hari Lamongan

<sup>19</sup> K.H. Abdurrahman Syamsuri adalah merupakan Pendiri Pondok Pesantren Muhammadiyah Karangasem Paciran Lamongan.

<sup>20</sup> Tira Pustaka, *30 Tahun Indonesia Merdeka 1950-1964* (Jakarta: 1983). Hal. 166-167.

PPP 5.4 percent. The votes of Islamic parties in Paciran continue to grow, especially in the 2019 elections, the issue of religious identity politics was able to increase the vote share of all Islamic-based political parties. The vote share of Islamic-based political parties rose quite significantly in the 2019 elections. For example, PAN got 23 percent, PKS 5.7 percent, PKB 21 percent, PPP 6.5 percent.<sup>21</sup> This shows that historically the practice of identity politics in Paciran Village has worked effectively.

Forms of political practices carried out by Nahdatul Ulama', to support Jokowi, where they entered NU organizational spaces, in study groups, majlis ta'lim, tahlilan forums within NU as well as fatayats or Muslimat ( NU women's organization) Anshor Youth Movement study group. Also enter the recitation or ta'lim rooms held in the mosque or NU prayer rooms in Paciran Lamongan Village.

Jokowi's supporters not only enter formal recitation rooms or ta'lim assemblies, but also informal spaces of coffee shops or "cangkruan" spaces for NU residents, where instead of discourse about the crystallization of support carried out by Jokowi's supporters -Ma'ruf Amin to enter the most private room, called the family room.

Based on those facts, this research seeks to analyze the identity politics practices carried out by the Nahdatul Ulama' in Paciran Lamongan village to win the presidential candidate pair Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin. NU's involvement in winning this pair is actually very understandable because vice presidential candidate Ma'ruf Amin is a leader and one of main figure of Nahdatul Ulama.

The formulation of the problem in the research is what is the role of Nahdatul Ulama in winning the candidate pair Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin in Paciran Lamongan village, which is the base of Muhammadiyah?

### Research methods:

This study used qualitative research methods. According to Hennink (Hennink, 2020). Qualitative method is an approach to building knowledge statements through interpretation of

multi-perspective input from all participants involved in the research. Qualitative research aims to build an ideographic body of knowledge, so it tends not to provide an in-depth explanation or extrapolation of the object under study. He believes that in society there is order that is formed naturally. Therefore, the task of researchers is to find this regularity, not to create or make their own boundaries based on existing theories. On that basis, qualitative research is essentially a systematic activity that finds theories to test theories or hypotheses.

Empirical approaches and social criticism are used as research methods. This approach is used because the problems revealed in this study do not arise from a priori assumptions, but are based on empirical facts in the field, which can be obtained through observations or field observations carried out in a complex and objective manner. As well as to find answers to research problems through describing their meanings (Norman, 2009). Armed with an empirical approach and social criticism, in this research researchers can connect with the most basic human experiences.

In extracting initial data, the subjects of this research were determined purposively, consisting of leaders of Nahdatul Ulama' and Islamic boarding schools affiliated with Nahdatul Ulama' in Paciran Lamongan Village. The criteria for determining leaders of mass organizations and kiyai as resource persons in this study were based on considering their highly regarded position in the Paciran Village community.

The subject of this research is First, the Leader of the Nahdhotul Ulama (NU) Branch. Second, the Branch Leader of the Anshor Youth Movement. Third, the caretaker of the Mazroatul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. The Mazroatul Ulum Islamic Boarding School is an Islamic boarding school with a Nahdiy culture.

There are several methods of data collection that are known in qualitative research, but the first step in the empirical data collection process begins with

<sup>21</sup> Data Pilihan legislative di Ambil dari Panitia Pemungutan Suara

Desa Paciran periode 2019.

understanding the location of the research object. In this case, the researcher will be directly involved and become part of the research subject. This is done so that researchers gain trust as part or research subjects (going native). In this way, researchers can understand the setting and collect empirical data, then understand and reflect on individual experiences descriptively. Researchers begin by gathering information from key informants, actors who have broad and in-depth knowledge and experience about the problem being studied.

### Results and Discussion:

We cannot deny that Nahdatul Ulama has made a significant contribution to Jokowi- Ma'ruf Amin's victory against Prabowo Subianto - Sandiaga Uno in the 2019 presidential election. This is understandable because Ma'ruf Amin, Jokowi's vice president, is a figure and leader of Nahdatul Ulama. ' So psychologically of course Nahdatul Ulama will be at the forefront of winning Jokowi-Ma'ruf, amen. And that is Jokowi's argument for choosing Ma'ruf Amin so that the people of Nahdiyin, who are known for their large and solid past, who are networked at the village level, will become strong enough social and political capital if capitalized into political power.

Nahdatul Ulama's solidity in supporting political work to win Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin is undoubtedly proven by the very systematic, massive and structured movement of the Central Leadership of Nahdatul Ulama' and its Banom (Autonomous Bodies) both Muslimat, Fatayat, GP Anshor moved massively from the center to the branch level to win over the "Nahdatul Ulama" cadres. Using an identity politics approach made them easier to capitalize on the structural network and other resources within the Nahdatul Ulama to convince Nahdatul Ulama residents to vote for Jokowi Ma'ruf Amin.

We can see the results with the 2019 election being won easily by the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair and one of the biggest contributions to this victory was the massive political work carried out by Nahdatul Ulama' with Nahdiyah's identity politics approach

in convincing citizens. Nahdatul Ulama' to choose the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair.

Nahdatul Ulama' is very serious in the political work carried out to win the Jokowi- Ma'ruf Amin pair in the 2019 presidential election by involving all leadership elements from the center to the village branch level and even to the RT level. They exploit all available resources to be used in winning socialization with various media used to support their political work, as is the case in Paciran Lamongan Village. Even though Paciran Village is a political base for Muhammadiyah residents, they have not relaxed their intention to win the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair.

All resources for winning are carried out, includes education institutions and other structural resources, such as Islamic boarding schools, schools, study groups, as well as official organizational structures, leadership of institutions, including Anshor, Banser, fatayat, Muslimat and NU structures, which are very important in order to be able to convince voters to vote. Nahdatul Ulama cadres in the 2019 presidential election.

Real political work by going down to convince Nahdatul Ulama residents to vote for the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair is one of the tasks carried out by the leadership of the organization, one of which is carried out by the Chairmen of the Anshor Branch Youth Movement in Paciran Lamongan village.

*What I did first; provide an overview for citizens to choose a presidential candidate. Don't let us disbelieve that person. Gusdur has always said that too. Second; because the vice president is the best leader and cadre of NU, so we will automatically support him. (Interview with Chairman of the Anshor Paciran GP Branch, Zainal Abidin on July 1 2023).*

The similarity of identity is a marker of strengthening each identity. Identity politics is often used by agents as a tool for political agitation with the names "us" and "them" who want power and "them" for "immigrants". In its implementation, identity politics practices do have several advantages. First, identity politics can be

used as a tool for an ethnic political struggle, to achieve certain political goals. Second, political costs are quite cheap because political consolidation on the basis of ethnic, tribal and cultural equality will be easier and cheaper to consolidate for certain political interests on the basis of equality.

The argument above further strengthens Richard Jenkins' opinion<sup>22</sup> which explains that identity is the human capacity to know who he is. This involves knowing who we are, knowing who other people are, other people knowing who we are, us knowing how other people think about us, and so on. A multidimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our place in it as individuals and members of collectivities. From this explanation, it can be summarized that in identity there is always be a component that tells about oneself and other people at the same time. The difference in identity between NU people and non-NU people, who are being promoted and who will be supported in the 2019 presidential election, has become a strengthening ideological bond to be more convincing and increasingly influence the political choices of Paciran residents.

The structure of the organization and the actors within have been operating and maintaining their

respective bases for a long time, so it is very easy to communicate. Nevertheless, concrete political practices are still needed because not all citizens who have votes related to the same identity are well literate. Therefore, to consolidate votes, these political practices are needed.

In order to consolidate Nahdlatul Ulama's voice so that it can be maximized, leaders who are ideologically affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama' collaborate intensively to carry out political work in various ways and forms of political practices. One form of this is conducting outreach at tahlilan istighosal recitations, as well as other meetings involving elites and the base or residents of Nahdliyin Paciran. One of these forums is the night of Lailatul Ijtima':

*What approaches do you take to influence voters? We are socializing Jokowi-Ma'ruf. First; through study. Every month there is Laylatul Ijtima. It was a gathering night for NU members throughout Indonesia, including in Paciran. That's where the coordination of information and so on. Gather all Banom, Leaders. That is an NU study. NU residents all gathered. Laylatul ijtima is performed on 15,16,17 Islamic months. (Interview with H Frikhi, Chair of the NU Paciran Branch Leadership on August 19 2023).*



**Photo 01: Lailatul Ijtima' NU Paciran Branch**

<sup>22</sup> Richard Jenkins Social Identity ,London, eBook Published

2014 . ISBN 9780415706926

The roles of the Paciran Nahdlatul Ulama leadership, cadres and elites and their autonomous bodies, both Banser and Anshor, are almost the same. They are united in carrying out political practices to influence the political choices of Paciran Lamongan residents' voters, so that they choose the number 1 choice pair, namely Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin. This is in line with the results of an interview with the Chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama' Paciran Branch. One belief why they chose the same political option, the closeness of the identity of religious organizations. The role of this shared identity is very significant in unifying the political choices of agents and structures within the Nahdlatul Ulama congregation. This was also conveyed by the Chairman of the NU Paciran Branch.

*"I'll just be brief. Pak Jokowi is not blue blood but red blood. The person is low profile and from below. Good at grassroot. First, he has a lot of experience. He's been mayor, governor. Find me someone like that in Indonesia. Find me if there is something like that in Indonesia. Then, for poor people, their houses were evicted. He's from down there himself. Then partner was Ma'ruf Amin, a senior cadre. I'm a cadre. Continue to be my senior cadre. In Anshor, it's movement. The movement must be one line. So that time Anshor and NU automatically fully supported it. We're moving the rows must be the same. If it's not the same, just leave. We as volunteers only focus on winning." (Interview with H Frikhi, Head of the NU Paciran Branch, 19 August 2023).*

To influence voters to choose according to the wishes of the existing leadership with all the resources possessed by the Nahdatul Ulama' structure, it is not enough just to have close identity as a marker of the same political choices. Rational arguments are needed as to why one should choose Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin. This is in accordance with Anthony Giddens' views in Structuration theory. That allows for discursive actions even within the same identity. Therefore, political practices are really needed to provide rationalization for the

political choices of Agents and Structures, which are offered to the people of Jam'iyah Handatul Ulama, Paciran Lamongan Village.

Therefore, the similarities in the arguments between Chairman Ashor and Banser Paciran and the Chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama Paciran can be justified. There are rationalizations and arguments for actions as justification for the actions of leaders and cadres to campaign for Nahdlatul Ulama Paciran residents to vote for Jokowi- Ma'ruf Amin.

*My form of support; Yes, I became a winning volunteer. What are Jokowi's winning programs, embodying the implementation of the Nawacita program in the form of outreach. With a form of winning socialization. At that time it was conveyed indirectly in forums, both formal and informal. In recitation forums, tahlilan is also conveyed, although in satirical or kinayah language. And the public already knows too. In Paciran we lost. Why do I dare? Because in Paciran my hypothesis was defeated. Because I knew I was losing, I stepped forward as a successful team to help. (Interview with H Frikhi, Head of the NU Paciran Branch, 19 August 2023)*

The implementation of the political practices used by the Agent to influence voters by the leadership of the NU Paciran Branch is almost the same as the implementation of the political practices used by the Banom, namely, Banser and Anshor. One of them is by providing winning socialization. Who will they vote for in the 2019 Presidential Election, using their forums. Both formal forums and informal forums such as recitations or tahlilan or cultural meetings held by Nahdliyin residents when they are in coffee shops and other cultural meetings. All meeting and socialization tools are utilized as best as possible as discussion spaces.

The identity variable is a very significant variable as a binding variable on the basis of similarity of identity and when supported by the capabilities of Agents and Structures, with all the resources, it will be easier to attract voters to vote according to the wishes of the Organization's Leadership and elite.



The same identity strengthens the actor's support for the contestants. Even though in theory it is very likely that the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair will lose in Paciran, the actors continue to fight as hard as they can to win the contest, sacrificing time, energy, and even financial or logistical resources. Their struggle is an identity and ideological struggle, even though it is about politics. However, if approached with an ideological approach, the spirit will emerge and sacrifice willingly and enthusiastically.

*At the time of winning, I only visited NU members, and could not canvass Muhammadiyah members. Because Muhammadiyah Paciran residents are very ideological and old-fashioned. Different from Muhammadiyah in other areas. Example: Muhammadiyah Ndengok welcomes NU. But if Paciran doesn't want to be right with NU. Muhammadiyah, Ndengok can still do it. Paciran can't do it. (Interview with H Frikhi, Head of the NU Paciran Branch, 19 August 2023).*

Conceptually, this view emphasizes the presence of primordial ethnic and religious identities, which function as the glue of a community. Definitively, adherents of primordialism emphasize efforts to achieve collective interests and the ability of collective identity to define and articulate general views of the past and present. As well as forming a vision for the future.

The primordial approach suggests that the individual interests of religious members are created to support the interests of the group and its leaders, in order to strengthen the basis of religion as a source of social power. However, this opinion cannot be maintained methodologically because it limits the space for interpretation and explanation of changes in social phenomena that occur from time to time. As did Max Weber, who explained ethnicity as a group of people who entertain subjective beliefs in their songs, because of physical similarities, religion, or because of memories of colonization and migration. The second approach is constructivist which was

developed by Frederik Barth. This theory views religious and cultural identity as the result of a complex process, where symbolic boundaries continue to be built and developed, by the benefits of mythology that occurs through language and past experiences.

Frederik Barth (1988)<sup>23</sup> further arguing that religion and ethnicity undergo continuous change, and the boundaries of membership of an ethnic group are frequently negotiated and renegotiated. Depends on the political struggle between existing groups. Frederik Barth calls this phenomenon of identity negotiation situational. At this limit, actors attempt to exploit cultural symbols and display certain ethnic behavior that changes over time, according to certain situations, or according to personal or social interests.

This is considered important because it is closely related to self-image and self-esteem, both as an individual and as a group. These identities will always be experienced, communicated, processed, or constructed by each individual in interaction. Even though basically a person has many sides in terms of expressing his identity, according to Barth, a person's ethnic and religious identity is always the main thing for building differentiating categories.

Although the theory above is not always true, not all ideological approaches are carried out by all those with the same ideology. There is still room for what Anthony Giddens calls discursive practice, where agents begin to think rationally in seeing the political reality that is occurring. Even though there is a similarity in identity, it is possible for the agent to carry out dialectical thinking to question his support again.

*Support was conveyed by the NU Branch to tahlilan recitation forums attended by NU people. Of course with language that is not vulgar. With satirical language. In Muhammadiyah it is also the same. Carrying out socialization with allusions. Yes, same thing. As a santri, if I look at my Salaf leanings, I tend to support Prabowo. But because*

<sup>23</sup> Frederik Barth, *Kelompok Etnisi dan Batasannya*, Jakarta UI

Press 1988.

*the Center instructed me like that, I thought, the Center is more of a student than me. But personally, most deeply, I vote for Prabowo. Seeing the people behind Jokowi, who is behind them, in my deepest heart, I go to Prabowo. That's from my background as a student from Bangil, and coincidentally Bangil all voted for Prabowo. Yes, actually I tend to go to Prabowo. (Interview with Gus Em Syaichul Kamal Al Khusyni Caretaker of the Mazroatul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, 19 August 2023)*

Organizational structure has a very big role in gathering power. This is very understandable because the organizational structure has sufficient resources. One of the resources that the Nahdatul Ulama organizational structure has is domination resources. It depends on the mobilization of two different types of resources, namely; allocative resources, and authoritative resources. Allocative resources refer to transformative capacities that give rise to command over objects, things or material phenomena. This form of allocative resource has real existence in the sense of having a presence in space and time in a certain way.

Material resources in the context of this research include the Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama organizations, as well as Islamic boarding schools in Paciran Lamongan. Meanwhile, authoritative resources refer to the types of transformation capabilities that give rise to orders over people or actors, namely non-material resources such as status, knowledge, competence. In the context of this research Kiai, ustadz, teacher who teaches at Muhammadiyah and NU Islamic boarding schools. These resources can be used by the Agent as justification to other people so that they do what the Agent wants, such as NU leaders, Islamic boarding school leaders (Kiai, Islamic boarding school heads, and ustadz).

These two resources have the power to gain authority so that students and members of their organizations choose one of the candidates that a particular agent wants. Or Kiai, ustadz, teachers

who teach at each institution give their authority to carry out rationalization so that they choose according to the wishes of the Agents. Based on the arguments above, we can understand that authoritative dominance resources and allocative dominance resources work quite effectively in influencing voters, even though voters actually have their own preferences. However, organizations with all the characteristics and resources they have, are able to influence a person's choices.

One person's political choices can be influenced by the political practices carried out by the leadership of the organization, by providing justification arguments for the steps that must be taken by their group, by utilizing all the potential possessed by the leadership of the organization.

Leaders, cadres, kiyai who have the same identity as voters, find it easier to carry out their political practices in a sustainable manner. Therefore, to be a leader you must be able to use (continuously in everyday life) a series of causal powers, including influencing the powers exercised by other people. Action depends on an individual's ability to influence a pre-existing state of affairs or series of events. A leader is no longer able to play this role if he loses the ability to influence, that is, to use a type of power. In this context, the Chairman of the NU Paciran Branch has tried to maximize his political practices as much as possible to influence the political choices of the residents of Nahdliyin Paciran.

The actions carried out by the leaders of these organizations are a continuous process, a flow in which the ability of individual introspection is very important for the control over the body that occurs in their daily lives. The continuity of everyday life (durèe of day to day life) flows as a flow of intentional action.<sup>24</sup> However, the actions taken by the winning actors had unintended consequences. Unintended consequences can systematically feed back into unrecognized consequences of subsequent actions<sup>25</sup> What is the meaning of this?

<sup>24</sup> Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *Teori Strukturasi Dasar-Dasar Pembentukan Struktur Sosial Masyarakat*. Terjemahan oleh

Maufur dan Daryanto. 2010. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. Hal. 7-8

<sup>25</sup> Ibid hal. 12

There is an assumption that human winning actors can be determined by humans based on intentions. This refers to behavior to be considered as an action, whoever does it must intend to perform the action. If not, then the behavior is just a reactive response. Deliberate actions by winning actors in their political practices will give rise to or obtain feedback or responses from voters. The response from voters to political actions or practices carried out by winning actors and structures is a reciprocal response. It could be that the response or reciprocity was intentional by the voters, it could be that it wasn't, or it could be reflective.

By involving all the instruments and resources available, including materials, networks, kiyai's charisma and identity politics practices, the candidate pair Jokowi Ma'ruf in the 2019 presidential election was successful. We can see that with Jokowi- Ma'ruf Amin, the pair representing Nationalism and Religion where Jokowi, who represents Nationalists, and Ma'ruf Amin, Religious students, won 66% in East Java, which is the base of Nahdatul Ulama', meaning the practice of identity politics is carried out. By Nahdatul Ulama' in order to consolidate its power, it has been successful in winning the contest in the 2019 presidential election.

### Conclusion:

Nahdatul Ulama' with the various resources it has, both structures from the central to the village level and with its various autonomous bodies which almost touch all levels of society, plus the business amah they have with strong legitimacy resources and the figure of the kiyai as a charismatic leader who is certainly a role model for the ummah . With these enormous resources, of course Nahdatul Ulama' contributed greatly to Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin's victory in the 2019 presidential election with all the organizational consolidation from the center to the sub-district which was so massive, it is not surprising that in East Java, which is the Nahdiyin base for the Jokowi-Ma'Ruf Amin got 66% of the vote while Prabowo only got 34%.

On the other hand, Nahdatul Ulama, in its winning process, also used the power or resources of shared identity in its winning campaign or identity politics which was used as a tool of political struggle by Nahdatul Ulama' to achieve political goals, the victory of Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin. This will of course have an impact on political costs which are quite cheap because political consolidation on the basis of a common organizational identity will be easier and cheaper and can mobilize all elements easily because there is a common identity and ideology so that the struggle is more Ideological.

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