

THE POLITICAL OF PESANTREN IN THE 2018 EAST JAVA GOVERNOR ELECTION ON MADURA ISLAND

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ABSTRACT. Pesantren and East Java (Jatim) share a mutualistic, symbiotic relationship in political and cultural spheres. Pesantren is a byproduct of East Javan culture and a voting platform for regional elections. This study aims to ascertain the elements that voters on Madura Island consider when selecting a candidate in the 2018 East Java Governor Election. A mixed method comprising qualitative and quantitative elements and logistic regression data analysis techniques was employed to accomplish these research aims. According to the study's findings, voters consider four elements: job programs, political parties, pesantren politics, and support from the contemporary Muslim community. Concurrently, these four elements impact the Khofifah-Emil candidate team's outcome. According to the logistic regression findings, the Khofifah-Emil candidate team's pesantren political strategy is to increase the number of graduate networks and pesantren support

Keywords: Strategy Political Marketing; Politic of Pesantren; Gubernatorial Election; East Java

POLITIK PESANTREN PADA PEMILIHAN GUBERNUR JAWA TIMUR TAHUN 2018 DI PULAU MADURA

ABSTRAK. Pesantren dan Jawa Timur (Jatim) memiliki hubungan simbiosis mutualistik dalam bidang politik dan budaya. Pesantren adalah produk sampingan dari budaya Jawa Timur dan platform pemungutan suara dalam pemilihan kepala daerah. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui unsur-unsur yang menjadi pertimbangan pemilih di Pulau Madura dalam memilih calon pada Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Timur Tahun 2018. Metode campuran yang terdiri dari unsur kualitatif dan kuantitatif serta teknik analisis data regresi logistik digunakan untuk mencapai tujuan penelitian ini. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan pemilih mempertimbangkan empat faktor: program kerja, partai politik, politik pesantren, dan dukungan dari komunitas muslim kontemporer dalam memilih gubernur. Secara bersamaan, keempat elemen tersebut berdampak pada hasil akhir tim calon Khofifah-Emil. Berdasarkan temuan regresi logistik, strategi politik pesantren yang dilakukan tim calon Khofifah-Emil adalah memperbanyak jaringan lulusan (alumni) dan dukungan pesantren.

Kata kunci: strategi politik pemasaran; politik pesantren; pemilihan gubernur; Jawa Timur

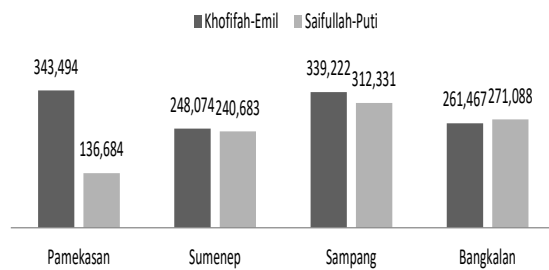
INTRODUCTION

It is fascinating to empirically analyze Khofifah-Emil's win in the 2018 East Java governor's race. The Khofifah-Emil and Saifullah-Puti pairs were the two groups of candidates running for East Java governor at the time. Most people in East Java, whose culture is associated with Islamic boarding schools and Kiai as highly revered religious icons, try to sympathize with both. East Java has seen the growth and development of numerous Islamic residential schools at the provincial level. According to data from the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenag RI)'s Directorate of Early Education and Islamic Boarding Schools, there were 28,146 Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia as of 2019. Of these, East Java has about 6,044 Islamic boarding schools, making it the province with the second-highest number behind West Java, which has 9,167 Islamic boarding schools. From Bangkalan at the west end to Sumenep at the east, there are numerous Islamic boarding schools in Madura, each with a different

student population (Syamsuddin, M., 2019). East Java, the origin of Islamic boarding schools and NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), shares similarities with Madura regarding religious culture. It follows that Syamsuddin's (2019) designation of Madura as the "Island of Santri" for the island is not surprising. I.e., using Islamic boarding schools via Kiai.

Kiai is village elites who specifically handle religious issues or affairs (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). Meanwhile, Hiroko Horikoshi (1987) in *Kyai and Social Change* consistently distinguishes the term Kiai from ulama because of its formal function. Ulama plays more administrative functions, while Kiai plays at the cultural level. Kiai terminology is not Arabic but Javanese (Manfred, 1986). Dhofier (1994), in *the Islamic Boarding School Tradition: A Study of the Kiai's View of Life*, explains that in Javanese, the term Kiai use for three different types of titles, namely as an honorary title for objects that are considered sacred, for example, "Kiai Garuda Kencana," used to mention the golden carriage in the Kraton of Yogyakarta. Kiai also uses as an honorary title for older adults in general. On the other hand,

the phrase *Kiai* also uses as a title given by society to people who are experts in Islam who own or become leaders of *pesantren* and teach Islamic classics to the *santri*. *Kiai* is the secret to obtaining votes in East Java.



Source: East Java General Election Commissions (KPU) 2018,

Proceeded

Figure 1. Votes of Candidate Pairs Khofifah-Emil and Saifullah-Puti in Madura

Madura is the subject of this study because Islamic boarding schools reflect the city's essential culture, which is *Ulama/Kiai* and Islam (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). That Madura is a large base for Islamic boarding schools—also known as political “vote warehouses” during elections—is not surprising. The Madura region can serve as a study hub to investigate if the politics of Islamic boarding schools played a significant role in Khofifah-Emil's win in the 2018 East Java governor's race. Election victory depends on reliable political communicators who motivate voters strongly (Siagian, H., 2012). For the Madurese people, the voice of the *Kiai* represents a reliable communicator figure. Thus, his followers (students) must obey and follow all of his words since they are legally enforceable. Another name for this culture is Madurese *Kiai-Santri's* patronage culture.

Khofifah-Emil is superior in 28 districts/cities with a vote acquisition of 10,465,218 votes, or 53.55 percent, according to 2018 East Java KPU data in graph 1. In contrast, candidate pair Saifullah-Puti is superior in 10 districts/cities with a vote acquisition of 9,076 0.014, or 46.45 percent (East Java KPU, 2018). In comparison to the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair, which supports a small number of non-structural *Kiai*, the Saifullah-Puti candidate pair received more support from *Kiai*, particularly in the East Java PWNU (Nahdlatul Ulama regional management) structure. Saifullah and Khofifah have robust support systems within the local Islamic boarding school community. Put another way, both established political Islamic boarding schools to win over voters. There was bound to be a rift in *Kiai's* support due to their significant role in the 2018 East Java governorship race. By forming the *Lirboyo* axis, the East Java *Kiai*, led by KH Anwar Iskanda (Al-Amin Jamsaren Kediri Islamic Boarding School career), publicly supported

Saifullah-Puti. This NU Islamic boarding school comprises the bulk of the East Java PWNU structure management. KH Salahuddin Wahid, also known as Gus Solah, the guardian of the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School, and KH Asep Saifuddin Chalim, the caretaker of the Amatul Mojokerto Islamic Boarding School, spearheaded the support of the Islamic boarding school *kiai* in the Khofifah-Emil camp by forming the Tebuireng axis. Examining this occurrence in greater detail in order to understand the reasons behind Khofifah-Emil's victory in the 2018 East Java governor's race is interesting.

Previous studies clarify how Islamic sociological elements and mass organizations (such as Muhammadiyah, Persis, and NU) significantly impact people's votes in Tasikmalaya (Nasir, 2015). According to Ridho (2006), *Kiai Langitan's* political decisions affected voters' decisions in Widang, Tuban, during the 2004 presidential election. Voters consider religion to be a crucial influence, not just in Indonesia. Studies conducted overseas also reveal this same pattern. Swiss citizens living in Catholic neighborhoods were much more likely than those living outside of them to vote for the Swiss Christian Democratic Party (CVP) at the national level, according to research conducted by Goldberg (2014) in Switzerland between 2007 and 2011. Both underlined how their religious beliefs influence voters' choices for possible leadership partners. The findings of Agbor, U.J.'s research in Nigeria (2019) support the significance of religion as a deciding factor in people's decisions. According to several research findings, the religious element can be leveraged by enlisting *Kiai* or religious leaders to assist prospective leadership partners because *Kiai* is regarded as charismatic and knowledgeable beyond reproach, especially in Indonesia.

The originality of this study is apparent when examined using three perspectives. First, in terms of methodology, this study takes a hybrid approach. Most studies on the issue of winning strategies in the 2018 East Java governor election take a single method. Second, this research has two theoretical foundations: Adman Nursal's political marketing product theory (2004) and Peter Schroder's political strategy theory (2013). Third, regarding themes, research using a case study of the 2018 East Java Province Governor Election using this technique and theoretical framework has yet to be conducted.

This research has three aims. First, to determine the factors influencing voters in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election in Madura. Second, to analyze the influence of these factors on the candidate pair's victory in Khofifah-Emil in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election in Madura simultaneously and partially. Third, to analyze Islamic boarding

school political strategies in winning candidate pairs Khofifah-Emil in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election in Madura.

Pesantren Politics

In the study of political science, pesantren politics is unique and not a particular theme in general political science. To facilitate discussion related to pesantren politics, the researcher will first partially explain the meaning of politics and pesantren. Politics is a community activity that revolves around the question of who gets what, when, and how (Laswell, 1958). Politics also interpreted by Robert (2001) as power and power holders. From the two opinions related to politics, it can conclude that politics talks about power at the executive and legislative levels.

According to Barton, Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) are Islamic boarding schools that provide dormitories for their students (Barton, 2008). Before Greg Barton, the notion of pesantren often referred to the notion put forward by Dhofier and Zarkasyi. According to Dhofier (1994) is a traditional Islamic educational institution to study, understand, live, and practice Islamic teachings by emphasizing the importance of religious morality as a guideline for daily behavior. Asrohah, H (2004) defines *pesantren* as an Islamic educational institution whose roots originate from the local culture. As for the meaning of pesantren, according to Law no. 18 of 2019 concerning Islamic Boarding Schools article 1 paragraph (1), Islamic boarding schools are community-based institutions established by individuals, foundations, and Islamic community organizations. Furthermore, as communities that instill faith and piety to Allah SWT, cultivate noble character, and uphold the Islamic teachings of rahmatan lil'alamin, which reflects in the attitude of humility, tolerance, balance, moderation, and other noble values of the Indonesian nation through education, Islamic da'wah, exemplary and community empowerment within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In Article 5, paragraph (2), states that Islamic boarding schools, as referred to in paragraph (1), must meet at least the following elements: Kiai, students who live in Islamic boarding schools, boarding schools or dormitories, mosques, or prayer rooms, and study of the Yellow Book or Dirasah Islamiah with the Muallimin Education Pattern. Islamic boarding school politics can interpret as political activities involving pesantren actors, such as santri and clerics, for particular political interests. Islamic boarding schools, in this case, are used as a medium to win specific candidates who are the choice of the Kiai's politics. Islamic boarding schools have total capital to achieve these interests, including social,

economic, and cultural capital. Efendi (2014), in his book *Political Elite Muhammadiyah: A Study of Muhammadiyah Elite Fragmentation*, defines santri politics as a political activity organized by a group of santri either through political channels (political Islam) or cultural routes (cultural Islam). The path of political Islam refers to the activities of the Muslim community which promote Islam using religious formalization, for example, by making Islam the sole source of laws in the state's life. Meanwhile, cultural Islam refers to the activities of Muslims who promote Islam by instilling Islamic values in the state's life (Efendi, 2014).

According to Nugroho (2017), the reason Kiai engage in politics is considered as worship, as a means of *Amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, because Kiai does not only play a role in religious affairs but also have a social role, so the most strategic media is politics. However, the risk of the Kiai engaging in politics is to make the Kiai act partisan, that is, to side with his group or political party. Furthermore, Nugroho explained that from the community's point of view, the critical role of the Kiai in politics is to be used as a reference in political choices because they consider knowing the criteria for a leader according to religion. The position of religious leaders is always the highest to use as a reference in political choices. Meanwhile, for political parties, the kiai is considered very important in providing political and cultural legitimacy to their constituents, so approaching the kiai is one of the most effective ways to mobilize the masses. Based on this view, the Kiai, as a representation of pesantren politics, has an important position for voters and (elected) candidates.

Political Marketing Theory and Political Strategy

To obtain the objectives of this research, it is used theoretical review to analyze it, such as Nursal (2004) and Schroder's (2013) political strategy theory. Nursal (2004) introduced the 3P political marketing theory, namely, push marketing, pull marketing, and, pass marketing. Pertama, Push Marketing. It is about candidates or political parties that try to obtain votes through stimulants given directly to voters. Kedua, Pull marketing. It is marketing political products through mass media that focuses on the image or image of the political product. Terakhir, Pass marketing, It is marketing of political products through influential people or groups who are able to influence voter opinion. From the 3P marketing theory of Adman Nursal above, it is used in political marketing products as variables that influence voters in political contestation. It includes the credibility of candidates, work programs (policies), and the identity of the supporting political parties. First, the candidate's credibility. Candidate credibility is a

form of push marketing because it relates to political products that directly touch voters. Second, the work program. Candidate work programs are a form of pull marketing because they are related to political products conveyed through the mass media. Third, the political party that support certain candidate. It is a form of pass marketing because it relates to political products conveyed through a third person. Research that applies political marketing as a strategy for political victory includes O'cass (2001) and Cwalina et al. (2012).

Beside these three political marketing products, in this research, the researcher included a new variable, such as, politics in Pesantren. This is from the facts on the ground that pesantren politics is a form of local politics that originates from local wisdom politics in Madura. Thus, there were four variables that would be used as the basis for achieving the objectives of this study, namely, candidate credibility, work programs, political party bearers, and politic in Pesantren. In addition to use political marketing, this research also used the basis of the theory of political strategy Schroder (2013). According to Schroder (2013), political strategy can be divided into two forms, namely, offensive and defensive. The main objective of the offensive strategy is to increase the turnout. The offensive strategy emphasizes the importance of displaying clear and attractive distinctions against opposition parties whose constituents are to be dispossessed. The differences that appear are mainly related to the work programs and policies offered. The offensive strategy has two forms, namely a strategy to expand the market and a strategy to penetrate the market. Meanwhile, defensive strategies are used when political actors want to maintain their support base or close it down altogether. This closure aims to bring maximum profit. The defensive strategy also has two forms, namely the strategy to defend the market and the strategy to release or give up the market.

METHOD

Research Design

Two phases comprise mixed-type research methodologies: a quantitative phase utilizing survey methods is the first. Subsequently, the second phase employed a qualitative methodology to examine the winning tactic employed by the Khofifah-Emil duo during the 2018 governorship contest—research on the East Java Province's Madura Island in March and April 2020. Researchers are focusing their efforts on Bangkalan, Pamekasan, Sumenep, and Sampang, four districts of Madura Island. The purposeful selection of Madura as the distribution site for quantitative data collection stems from the city's

status as a national and East Javan benchmark for the politics of Islamic boarding schools, also referred to as the "island of santri" (Syamsuddin, M., 2019). In addition, the homogeneity of Madurese society is a contributing factor. The majority of Madurese people are Muslims who follow the NU mass organization and come from an Islamic boarding school tradition.

The defined response parameters are gender, age, education, and origin. The majority of the 101 participants in the study were 75 men (74.3%), followed by 26 women (25.7%). Of the 101 respondents, 55.4% were aged 17-26 (56 individuals), 35.6% were aged 27-36 (36 people), 7.9% were aged 37-46 (8 people), and 1.0% were aged 47-56 (1 person). According to the data, the majority of respondents were first-time voters. The majority of the 101 respondents (41.6%) had secondary education (high school/equivalent), 29 had low education (elementary school/equivalent and junior high school/equivalent), and 30 had high education (D3, S1, S2). Most of the 101 respondents were from Sampang, with 26 (25.7%). The remaining three regions, Bangkalan, Pamekasan, and Sumenep, received 25 responses (24.8%).

The first stage

The quantitative approach with the survey method begins with determining the research respondents. The number of respondents based on the margin of error (10%) with a population of 3,510,637 spread across four districts, namely Sampang, Pamekasan, Sumenep, and Bangkalan (Table 1), obtained 101 respondents. A purposive sampling technique uses to select respondents with the characteristics of voters in Madura who registers on the Permanent Voters List (DPT).

Table 1. Number of Sample

Districts	Population	Sample
Sampang	904.715	26
Pamekasan	869.777	25
Sumenep	868.763	25
Bangkalan	867.382	25
Total	3.510.637	101

Source: KPU of East Java Province, 2018

The measurement scale in this study uses a Likert scale, where scale 1 (strongly disagree), scale 2 (disagree), scale 3 (quite agree), scale 4 (agree), and scale 5 (strongly agree). The five scales are the reference for respondents in giving opinions on each question posed in the questionnaire. The following is a list of questions in the questionnaire based on political marketing theory to answer the factors determining voters in selecting candidate pairs in the 2018 governor election in East Java.

Table 2. Variable Concept and Operational

Concept Variables	Definition	Operational Variable	Operational Definition
Push Marketing	Candidates or political parties try to get support through stimulants given directly to voters.	Work Program	A collection of a candidate's work to achieve a predetermined target or goal. This target will achieve if it supports by several components, namely the suitability of the issue, the suitability of the target group, and the suitability of the implementing organization.
Pass Marketing	Marketing political products through influential people or groups capable of influencing voter opinion.	Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) Politics, Support from Various Parties	Political activities involve pesantren actors, such as students, alumni, and clerics, for particular political interests. Islamic boarding schools have total capital to achieve these interests, including social, economic, and cultural capital.
Pull Marketing	Marketing of political products through the mass media focuses on the image or image of the political product.	Bearer Political Party	A clear self-image of a political group concerning party orientation, values, and ideals.

Description: Theory by Nursal (2004)

The four operational variables in table 2 function as independent variables. To test the reliability of the four variables, the researcher also used a control variable, namely the number of voters based on gender according to the constituency (male = 1; and female = 0). Furthermore, the dependent variable represents the voters who choose. Paslon Khofifah-Emil in the gubernatorial election in 2018. The form dependent variable data is in the form of a dummy, namely a value of 1 for respondents who have Paslon Khofifah-Emil, and a value of 0 for respondents who choose a competing candidate pair (Saifullah-Puti).

Quantitative Data Analysis Techniques.

Quantitative data collected from surveys were analyzed using two approaches: factor analysis and binary logistic regression. Factor analysis aims to understand what factors respondents consider in selecting leaders. Factor analysis aims to reduce old variables into new variables called main factors. The old variables in question are the statement items in the questionnaire. The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) method uses the varimax rotation method to determine the number of primary factors. Factor analysis consists of four stages. They first test the Return's validity and reliability (Chakrabartty, 2013), (Cronbach, L.J., 2021). Question items in the correct category are indicated by a corrected Item-Total Correlation value of at least 0.3. Furthermore, a reliable item is if the Cronbach alpha test value exceeds 0.7. In this study, 27 questions proved valid and reliable. Second, Barlett's test tests the correlation matrix formed, and the KMO test intends to measure sampling adequacy. It expects that the KMO value is > 0.7 (Hair et al., 2010) because the smaller KMO value (<0.7) indicates insufficient data. Third, the MSA anti-image test also intends to measure the intercorrelation between variables. Fourth, the interpretation of the factors obtained after obtaining the main factors is characterized by an eigen-value ≥1 (Hair et al., 2010). The subsequent analysis

uses binary logistic regression, which follows the following equation;

$$\text{Log} \left(\frac{p}{1-p} \right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 \dots + \beta_k X_k \dots \dots \dots (1)$$

$$\hat{p} = \frac{\exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \dots + \beta_k X_k)}{1 + \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \dots + \beta_k X_k)} \dots \dots \dots (2)$$

The first equation shows the binary logistic regression equation, which indicates by Log, which is the natural logarithm. In this case, the definite value of the dependent variable is in binary form (1: choosing the Khofifah-Emil Candidate Pair, and 0: selecting the Saifullah-Puti Candidate Pair). is a constant coefficient, and represents a regression coefficient (intercept) whose number depends on the k number of independent variables (X). To interpret the results of binary logistic regression, the Odds Ratio value calculated, commonly abbreviated as Exp(B), is shown by equation 2. In this case, Exp(B) is the exponent of the regression coefficient.

Second Stage

The second stage uses a qualitative approach with data collection techniques through interviews. There are four informants representing voters in East Java, including;

1. Dr. KH. Asep Saifuddin Chalim, M.A. The resource persons are caretakers of Amanatul Ummah Islamic Boarding Schools in Surabaya and Pacet, Mojokerto. The researcher chose him because he was the Chief Spokesperson for the Khofifah-Emil Paslon in the 2018 East Java Pilgub and the primary mover of the Kiai and Santri Network supporting the Khofifah-Emil Candidate.
2. H. Abdul Muchid, SH. The resource person was the Commander of the National Banser (Kasatkornas) for the period of General Chairperson Nusrin Wahid's friend (2010-2015). The researcher chose him because he always accompanies Prof. Dr. KH. Asep Saifuddin Chalim, M.A., in a campaign to the regions.

3. H. Abdullah Aminuddin Aziz, M.Pd.I. The resource person is the personal assistant of the late Dr (HC) KH. Salahuddin Wahid (Gus Solah), Caretaker of Tebuireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School. The researcher chose him because he was a person who always accompanied the late Gus Solah, especially during the 2018 East Java Pilgub.
4. Santri Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School. Chosen because the Kiai is the Team Leader of 9 Kiai for winning the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair in the 2018 East Java Pilgub. This primary data will obtain through direct, systematic, and in-depth interviews.

Furthermore, the data were analyzed using a triangulation technique that aims to answer the political strategy of the pesantren used to win the regional head candidate, which best describes the victory of the Khofifah-Emil pair.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Results of Factor Analysis: Factors to be Considered by Voters in Choosing a Leader

Before ascertaining the elements, voters consider when selecting a leader (the governor of East Java in this case), data feasibility tests, specifically the KMO Msa test and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, must be evaluated. Both display results that satisfy the criteria for data sufficiency, with a

KMO Msa value of more than 0.7 and a significant Bartlett's test of sphericity at the 1% significance level. Additionally, to determine if all items are amenable to factor analysis, run the MSA Anti-image correlation test with a minimum threshold of 0.5. The data processing results show that the MSA Anti-image test score was more than 0.5 for 18 items. Thus, the 18 items are used later in factor analysis. The 18 question items underwent a reduction process, producing four variables according to the extraction results obtained using the PCA approach. Table 3 illustrates that the four fulfill the conditions needed to develop primary factors, namely eigenvalues that are more significant than one.

The following process determines which items include certain main factors based on the highest correlation value, namely the stages of the rotated component matrix. The first factor consists of five indicators: popular Kiai, number of santri, number of pesantren alumni, financial independence, and number of employees. The indicator most able to explain the first factor can see from the highest loading factor value. In this case, the loading factor indicator value for the highest number of pesantren alumni was 0.866, followed by the number of employees (0.818) and the number of students (0.811). These three indicators explain the characteristics of political variables in pesantren.

Table 3. Data Feasibility Test Results and Factor Analysis

Variable	MSA Anti Image Corr	Initial Eigenvalues	% of Variance	Loading Factor
Politic in Pesantren		5,782	27,533	
Popular Kiai	0,871			0,751
Number of Santri	0,855			0,811
Number of pesantren Alumni	0,789			0,866
Financial Independence	0,776			0,809
Number of Employees	0,817			0,818
Work Program		3,289	15,663	
Honest	0,752			0,644
Having Solution	0,773			0,743
Realist and Innovative	0,696			0,639
Work Program that Cares for Marginalized People	0,818			0,724
Anti Corruption Political Parties	0,74			0,768
Political Parties that Support Justice for All	0,713			0,675
Bearer Political Party		2,078	9,893	
Work Program for Isolated Society	0,558			0,546
Political Party aims to welfare society	0,77			0,628
Political party is human resource development-oriented	0,698			0,706
Political Parties Uphold Nationalism	0,721			0,666
Support from Various Party		1,57	7,475	
Political Parties Uphold Islamic Sharia	0,763			0,552
Modern Pesantren	0,684			0,6
Semi Modern Pesantren	0,663			0,76
KMO Msa		0,746		
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity		0,000		

Notes: The Data is Processed using the SPSS Statistical tool 23.

Furthermore, the second-factor forms from six indicators: honest, solutive, realist, and innovative, the Work Program for Caring for Marginalized People, Anti-Corruption Political Parties, and Political Parties Supporting Justice for All. Of the six indicators that are most able to explain the second factor is the Anti-Corruption Political Party (factor loading value of 0.768), which has a solution (0.743), and the Work Program for Caring for Marginalized People (0.724). That is, the three indicators show the characteristics of the work program variables. Four indicators form the third factor: Work Programs for Isolated Societies, Political Party aims to welfare society, Political party human resource development-oriented, and Political Parties Uphold Nationalism. These four indicators describe the characteristics of the carrier political party from the candidates for governor and deputy governor pairs. The last factor to be considered by voters in selecting their leaders is Support from Various Parties. The support factor from various parties represents the importance and level of trust in the pair of prospective leaders considered worthy of being elected. Three indicators explain the factors supporting multiple parties: Political Parties Uphold Islamic Sharia, Modern Islamic Boarding Schools, and semi-modern Islamic boarding schools.

The main factors contributed to Khofifah-Emil's success in the 2018 East Java governor's election

After learning the four factors voters consider when selecting an East Java governor candidate, the next step is to ascertain which factors were most important in Khofifah-Emil's win in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election. The binary logistic regression analysis results address the research objectives displayed in Table 4. By comparing them with other political marketing variables such as work programs, supporting political parties, and support from various parties, the logistic regression model in this case shows how Islamic boarding school political variables influence Khofifah-Emil's success.

Based on the findings of the Wald test, which evaluates each independent variable's degree of significance. At the 5% significance level, the findings demonstrate the statistical significance of each independent variable. The Wald test values for each variable (Table 4) show that this is the case, with values greater than 3.841. GVS and GVB, with coefficients of 1.828 and 1.81, respectively, were variables that substantially impacted Khofifah-Emil's victory. Further explanation revealed that Khofifah-Emil's success among male voters was 6,222 times greater than that of female voters in the Bangkalan region and 6,112 times greater than that of female voters in the Sumenep region. When Khofifah-Emil adopted the Islamic boarding school political strategy, her win became even more noteworthy. The Exp(B) value for the political variable related to Islamic boarding schools is 1.852, as indicated by the statistical results presented in Table 4. According to the analysis, the Khofifah-Emil ticket's success in the 2018 gubernatorial election increased by 1,852 times when the Islamic boarding school political approach came into practice as opposed to not doing so. The work program variables and the support from different parties show additional factors that statistically boost Khofifah-Emil's triumph. These findings indicate that, statistically, the Islamic boarding school political approach was the one that contributed most to Khofifah-Emil's win in the 2018 gubernatorial contest.

Furthermore, based on the statistical results above, five alternative strategies can be compiled to explain Khofifah-Emil's victory in the gubernatorial election in 2018 based on their probability value. The first alternative, the Khofifah-Emil pair, only applies the pesantren political strategy, so the chance for the team to win is 38.118%. The second alternative is if the couple uses the pesantren's political approach and creates a work program that meets voters' expectations, then the chances of Khofifah-Emil's victory are 11.724%. Likewise, when the

Table 4. Binary Logistic Regression Results: The Khofifah-Emil Victory Model in the 2018 East Java Governor Election.

Variable	B (Wald-Test)	Exp(B)
(WP) Work Program	0,00 (5,704)**	1,00
(PP) Politic of Pesantren	0,616 (4,279)**	1,852
(SFVP) Support From Various Party	0,00 (9,301)**	1,00
(GVS) Gender Voter of Sumenep	1,828 (6,452)**	6,222
(GVB) Gender Voter of Bangkalan	1,81(6,789)***	6,112
Constant	-3,775***	0,023
-2 log likelihood	83,383***	
Hosmer and Lemeshow test (Chi-square)	23,405***	
Nagelkerke R-Square	0,415	

Notes: The Data is Processed using the SPSS Statistical tool 23. * Sig 1%, ** Sig 5% and *** Sig 10%. Chi-square table (0,05;1) = 3,841

Khofifah-Emil pair implemented the pesantren political strategy and received support from various parties, the chance of winning was only 11.724%. The two approaches are equal to the single plan by strengthening pesantren politics. The probability of winning will increase if the two spouses do not only implement Islamic boarding school politics. Then, create work programs that meet expectations and implement strategies to gain support from various parties and garner support for male voters in the Bangkalan region. Khofifah-emil's chances of winning by implementing these four strategies increase to 46.516%. The Khofifah-Emil pair won the 2018 gubernatorial election with an 80.966% chance by implementing five interrelated strategies, namely starting with the pesantren political strategy, then trying to get support from various parties, especially male voters in the Bangkalan and Sumenep regions. Then it is strengthened by preparing a work program according to voters' expectations.

The Extent to which Islamic Boarding School Political Techniques Contributed to Khofifah-Emil's Triumph in the 2018 East Java Governor's Race

The work program is the primary reference for voters to determine their political choices, especially for rational voters and voters who have not yet made their choice (swing votes), because the program contains written formulations prepared by the candidates based on fundamental issues according to the views of the community and the needs of the community. Even Bartels (1988) warned that political parties or prospective leaders who do not have a definite work program would negatively impact voter perceptions because voters tend to be disinterested in work programs that do not answer the problems faced by society.

According to the results of the partial binary logistic regression test, the program variable Work (X2) substantially impacts the victory of candidate pair Khofifah-Emil in the 2018 East Java governor election (Y). The Wald value is 5.704, with $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 1$. The Chi-square table has a value of 3.841, indicating that the Chi-square value is less than the Wald value. The significance value of 0.017 is less than the threshold of $\alpha = 0.05$, and the regression coefficient value for the Work Programme variable (X2) is positive (0.000). Aside from that, the Work Programme variable (X2) has an Odds value Ratio of 1,000, indicating that if the substance of the work program is enhanced (the more appealing), the likelihood of winning for candidate pair Khofifah-Emil increases by 1 times.

In the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election, the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair offered their work

program called Nawa Bhakti Satya. This program consists of nine excellent work programs to develop East Java, namely, East Java Prosperous, East Java Work, East Java Intelligent Healthy, East Java Access, East Java Diniyah, East Java Agro, Empowered East Java, East Java Trust, and Java Harmony East. Based on the results of the Poltracking survey (2018), there are several immediate needs that Nawa Bhakti Satya must answer to strengthen electoral support for the Khofifah-Emil Candidate Pair. The employment sector is the most fundamental factor for the people of East Java. On the other hand, based on BPS data, until 2018, the poverty rate in East Java was still around 11.8 percent, even though if you look at developments since the Soekarwo period in 2008, poverty was only around 18 percent. It means that during the last ten years, the poverty rate in East Java has decreased (EastJava.bps, 2019).

The support of the Kyai of the Salaf Islamic boarding schools in the Saifullah-Puti camp, such as the Lirboyo Kediri Islamic Boarding School, the Ploso Kediri Al-Falah Islamic Boarding School, the Sidogiri Pasuruan Islamic Boarding School, and several other salaf Islamic boarding schools demonstrated that. While the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair support by the majority of pesantren with modern or semi-modern culture, such as the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School, the Amanatul Ummah Mojokerto Islamic Boarding School, and several other modern or semi-modern Islamic boarding schools. The results of logistic regression testing in this study confirmed the split conditions in support of the salaf and modern pesantren.

Based on the results of the partial binary logistic regression test, the support variable from various parties (especially modern Muslims) significantly affects the victory of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election. The chances of winning the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair increase once, if more significantly, the support of the modern Muslim community. A pesantren represents this modern Muslim community with an educational style that prioritizes general subject matter and methods over religious material. Although the Saifullah-Puti candidate pair received more support from the NU structural kiai, the majority of whom were administrators of salaf Islamic boarding schools. The impact is no less significant than the support of the kiai who take care of modern or semi-modern pesantren, which significantly impacts the victory of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair. Therefore, even though NU is the largest mass organization in East Java, simplifying East Java voters using only the NU variable could have fatal consequences because East Java voters, the majority based on NU, have diverse preferences. The results of this research imply that

NU may unite from a religious point of view, but from a political point of view, it remains divided.

Islamic boarding school alumni significantly affect the chances of winning the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair. One of the reasons for the high chance of victory is the large number of alumni scattered in various places. Previous research that supports the results of this study is Hasanudin (2017). He concluded that the political power of pesantren social networks such as the Hamidah alumni network garnered support to win specific candidates in the Tasikmalaya District Election. The victory of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair cannot separate from the support of the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School alumni network who have gathered in the Gus Solah Front (BAGUSS). BAGUSS is a volunteer for winning the Khofifah-Emil pair, which consists of alumni of the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School spread across the East Java region. BAGUSS was taught directly by Gus Solah, the caretaker of the Tebuirng Jombang Islamic Boarding School. Furthermore, pesantren alum networks are still effective for gaining public support in political contestation. On the other hand, there is a calculation in politics, and if you can get support at a lower cost, then the target will become a priority, including approaching pesantren alumni. There needs to be more than the kiai's character factor because those who have direct contact with the community are alums. Especially in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election, the support for the pesantren kiai split between two pairs of candidates. That makes the influence of the pesantren kiai in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election smaller than the influence of alumni in electoral terms.

According to the results of the partial binary logistic regression test, the Islamic Boarding School Politics variable with the Many Alumni indicator (X1.43) has a significant effect on the win of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair in the 2018 East Java governor election (Y). The Wald value is 4.279 with $\alpha = 0.05$ and $df = 1$ in the Chi-square table, whereas the Chi-square table value is 3.841, indicating that the Chi-square value is less than the Wald value. Apart from that, it can be shown that the significance value of 0.039 is smaller than the value of $\alpha = 0.05$ plus the regression coefficient value on the Islamic Boarding School Politics variable with the Many Alumni indicator (X1.43), which is positive namely 0.616. The Islamic Boarding School Politics variable also has indicators, including the number of Alumni (X1.43), which has an Odds Ratio value of 1.852. This value shows that if there is more support from the Islamic boarding school alum network, the chance of winning for the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair will be 1.852 times greater.

Apart from the factors by Nursal's (2004) political marketing product theory above, the victory of the Khofifah-Emil pair in the 2018 Governor election-East Java must be separate from the **voter identity factor**. As previously explained, this study's quantitative data collection conducting in four districts in Madura, East Java. Respondents in this study were voters in four districts. The identities of the respondents asked about the research were gender, education, age, and origin. Based on the partial results of the binary logistic regression test, the variables Sumenep Regional Gender (GDS) and Bangkalan Regional Gender (GDB) have a significant effect on the victory of the Khofifah-Emil pair in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election. The logistic regression results show that the chances of winning the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair Emil from male voters in the Sumenep Regency are 6.222 times more significant than female voters in Sumenep Regency.

Meanwhile, the chances of winning for the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair from male voters in Bangkalan Regency are 6.112 times greater than those of female voters in Bangkalan Regency. In both Sumenep and Bangkalan, there is an influence of the gender variable, which has a different character than the other regions in Madura (Sampang and Pamekasan). The implications of the results of this research show that Khofifah-Emil's victory greatly influences by his ability to raise the trust of male students in the Sumenep and Bangkalan regions.

The Analysis of Political Strategy of Pesantren in Winning Candidate Pair Khofifah-Emil

Based on the results of the logistic regression analysis, statistically, Islamic boarding school politics had a significant effect on the victory of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair. One indicator of pesantren politics is the popularity of the kiai which shows the importance of the kiai for santri voters. The existence of Islamic boarding schools in East Java has a socio-cultural influence that is rooted in society. For the people of East Java, pesantren are not only valuable as religious and educational institutions, but kiai is also still used as patrons of political affairs, so kiai are essential actors who have electoral influence in political contestation. It must connect to his figure and extensive political network. Therefore, the involvement of religious leaders in political contestation is one of the variables to boost the electability of candidates. The involvement of pesantren actors in the 2018 election for governor of East Java looks very prominent and massive, resulting in a split in support of the pesantren kiai. The Khofifah-Emil and Saifullah-Puti couples have loyal supporters from the Islamic boarding school group.

The involvement of pesantren actors in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election is also part of a winning political strategy. Therefore, the political strategy of the Islamic boarding schools which play to win the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair is interesting to study. This study will analyze the political strategy of the pesantren played by the Khofifah-Emil camp using Peter Schroder's political strategy theory (2013).

Offensive Strategy

According to KH Asep Saifuddin Chalim (Kiai Asep) as Chair of the spokesperson for the Khofifah-Emil pair, the strategy played in winning the Khofifah-Emil pair is generally the same as the winning strategy in general, namely trying to gain popularity and electability first, because at first, it was before the campaign period. Starting from the popularity and electability of Khofifah, it is still below Saifullah. Saifullah is around 58%, and Khofifah is only around 30%. The role of the Team of 9 Kiai was very dominant. Apart from being a critical actor that pushed Khofifah to run again in the East Java Pilgub field, the Team of 9 Kiai was also the one who ultimately paired Khofifah with Emil Dardak. Even though administratively, the position of Team 9 Kiai does not register as the Winning Team, the facts on the ground of the victory of the Khofifah-Emil pair cannot separate from the critical role of Team 9 of this Kiai. In this Team of 9 Kiai, two Kiai figures appear most often in public: Gus Solah and KH Asep Saifuddin Chalim (Kiai Asep). Gus Solah was the coordinator, while Kiai Asep was the chief spokesman. It was the background of the two that made the domination of these two figures in Khofifah-Emil's victory in the pesantren electorate. Gus Solah is the grandson of KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari, founder of Indonesia's most prominent Islamic mass organization, especially East Java, NU. Kiai Asep, the caretaker of the Amanatul Ummah Surabaya and Mojokerto Islamic Boarding Schools, is known as the billionaire Kiai because of the large number of assets he has; this was also said directly by Kiai Asep when the researcher conducted the interview. The difference in the background of these two figures also influenced the political strategy of the Islamic boarding school, which carried out in winning the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair. Referring to Peter Schoder's political strategy, Kiai Asep was more dominant with an offensive approach, while Gus Solah applied a more defensive strategy. The combination of these two strategies turned out to have a positive impact on the victory of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair.

According to Kiai Asep, the initiator of the event as well as the host, the fatwa fardhu' ain chose the Khofifah-Emil pair based on clear arguments, one of which is the hadith of the Prophet in the book al-

Bujairimi 'ala al-Khotib volume 4 page 318, which reads:

"Man ista'mala 'amilan 'ala al-muslimina wa huwa ya'lamu anna ghairahu khoirun minhu faqod khona Allaha ta'ala wa Rasulullahu wa al-mu'minina" (HR. Al-Baihaqi and Al-Hakim)

It means:

"Whoever chooses a leader among those he leads is a Muslim; he knows that others do not choose better than the one chooses, then he is truly a traitor to Allah, His Messenger, and the believers."

According to Kiai Asep, if translated in the context of the East Java governor election in 2018, whoever chooses the Saifullah-Puti candidate pair while he knows that the Khofifah-Puti candidate pair is better than their opponent, then he has betrayed Allah, His Messenger, and the believers who will become the object of his leadership. For Kiai Asep, the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair is better than the Saifullah-Puti pair; judging from the track record so far, Khofifah was once the best minister in the Jokowi-JK government, then also in three public debates, the Khofifah-Emil pair always won absolutely and the Saifullah pair -Puti lost severely. According to Kiai Asep, all Kiai in the Khofifah camp can easily understand and accept this fardhu 'ain fatwa.

"Well, another consideration is why it has to be fardhu 'ain. How come you know better? It is From track records. "Well, another consideration is why it has to be fardhu 'ain. How come you know? From track record. At that time, how was Mrs. Khofifah's performance as Minister? One of the best ministers in Indonesia". Then, the first debate was 8-0, and CNN said that. The second debate score by Mrs. Khofifah, who won unanimously, if Mrs. Khofifah won unanimously, it means that Gus Ipul lost badly."

In addition to issuing a fardhu 'ain fatwa choosing the Khofifah-Emil pair, according to Kaji Muchid as Chair of the Mojokerto Regency Winning Team, Kiai Asep often conducts campaigns in Islamic boarding schools, which are the basis for the Saifullah-Puti candidate pair. According to him, Kiai Asep already knew the Islamic boarding school's political affiliation background. However, for Kiai Asep, the main goal of going to Islamic boarding schools was friendship, even though this was carried out at the Saifullah-Puti Islamic boarding school, regardless of whether it had an electoral impact or not on the votes of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair.

"Kiai Asep does not care who is in the pesantren he visits; even though the pesantren has PKB members, he still goes to him and stays in touch."

Except for the pesantren who do not want it, like this, to make a "motion." Gus Fahrur Pasuruan is still the dzurriah of Kiai Hamid, that is, to the point of misunderstanding with Kiai Asep about fardhu 'ain to vote for Khofifah."

Kiai Asep also often makes his pesantren, the Amanatul Ummah Islamic Boarding School, both in Surabaya and Mojokerto, a place for consolidating Kiai and the Winning Team and also a place for an open campaign for the victory of the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair. In fact, according to Kiai Asep, when registering the prospective candidates to the East Java KPU on January 10, 2018, the Khofifah-Emil pair departed from the Amanatul Ummah Siwalankerto Islamic Boarding School, Surabaya. If drawn in the political strategy of Schroder (2013), the ways of Kiai Asep by "utilizing" pesantren as a political field include the category of an offensive political strategy to expand the market. The market expansion strategy aims to form a new group of voters while maintaining existing (permanent) traditional voters. So it is necessary to offer new products by political parties and actors who compete to win the votes of a new segment of voters in a political contest. By issuing a "new product" in the form of a statement that is quite controversial and tends to be provocative and using Islamic boarding schools as the venue for the campaign, this method has become an effective strategy to influence new groups of voters who have yet to make their choice while retaining existing voters. With this strategy, the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair gained strong legitimacy in the santri and pesantren voters segment.

It can conclude that the offensive strategy implemented by Khofifah-Emil through the role of the Kiai, namely, First, expanding the market, in this case issuing a *fardhu 'Ain* fatwa choosing Khofifah-Emil's candidate pair, and Making the Amanatul Ummah Surabaya and Mojokerto Islamic Boarding Schools a place of consolidation and campaigning. Second, penetrate the market, and carry out campaigns at the Saifullah-Puti-based Islamic boarding schools.

Defensive Strategy

As Team Leader of the 9 Kiai, Gus Solah has a different way from Kiai Asep in gaining public support to win the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair. Gus Solah prioritizes an approach that tends to be defensive and does not involve the Tebuireng pesantren as a campaign media. On the one hand, Gus Solah relies more on his character than "selling" the big name of his pesantren. Also, Gus Solah never required students, alums, and even the dzurriyah (family) of the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school to follow his political choices. It confirms by Gus

Solah's assistant, Gus Aminuddin Aziz, during an interview.

"Father never brought the name of the Islamic boarding school at that time but brought his name. Only in the process of becoming a nation-state did you use our people, his students. However, you do not want it to be thoughts that it is legal for you to vote for anyone. Even if it is dzurriah, there is no obligation. However, most of the dzurriahs agreed with Gus Solah's choice at that time. Tebuireng has become accustomed to democracy by making their thoughts. So, even if we have different choices, we will not be brave with our Kyai. It does not reduce our sense of tawadhu and faith in our Kiai. That is common in Tebuireng. So, even though Kiai Solah, in yesterday's gubernatorial election, immediately voted for Khofifah, did all the administrators then go to Khofifah? 20% no, 80% yes. Just come back to each other again. You never forced it; whatever choice you made, you never forced it"

In line with Gus Aminuddin Aziz, according to M Abror Rosyidin, a close student of Gus Solah and, at the same time, the Tebuireng Media Team, Gus Solah has never given a unique appeal to students to follow his political choices.

"There is no specific appeal. In every interview, he does not oblige students, and Kiai, dzurriyah, and Tebuireng alumni to choose Khofifah-Emil. Because sami'na wa atha'na is a santri to his Kiai, that makes much santri, alumni, and dzurriyah join his ranks. However, in particular, he once denied that he obligated his students, alumni, and the extended Tebuireng family to join him in choosing Khofifah-Emil. He even said it was everyone's political right".

Thus, the concept of *sami'na wa atha'na* (I hear, I do) santri towards Kiai in political affairs does not apply at the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school. Gus Solah familiarized his students with a democratic approach in all matters. For Gus Solah, everyone has their thoughts and choices, even though they have different political choices. It does not mean reducing the students' humility and respect for the Kiai. Therefore, not all of the extended family of the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School followed Gus Solah's political choices, and some supported the Saifullah-Puti candidate pair. M Abror Rosyiddin, a student close to Gus Solah, justified this.

"Even Tebuireng himself, in general, is a supporter of Khofifah; there are several dzurriyah supporters of Gus Ipul, such as Madrasatul Qur'an (MQ) who are supporters of Gus Ipul, including Gus Zakki from the Al-Masruriyah

Islamic boarding school. For those in Tebuireng who support Gus Ipul, there is MQ, Gus Didik, Gus Dowi, Gus Zakki, and Gus Aizzuddin (who lives in Tambakberas but is still in Tebuireng's dzurriyah)."

This method made many students, alumni, and dzurriyah join the ranks of Gus Solah. To maintain Gus Solah's commitment to the "purity" of the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school from the 2018 East Java Pilgub processes, Gus Solah formed a special volunteer named Barisan Gus Solah (BAGUSS) consisting of Tebuireng alumni. The form of Gus Solah's defensive strategy in the 2018 East Java Governor election also evidences by Gus Solah's political way of never using harmful methods in defeating opponents, even though the Saifullah-Puti camp often attacked the Khofifah-Emil camp with black campaigns. Once Gus Solah was also accused of using the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school as a political vehicle in winning the Khofifah-Emil candidate pair, defensively, Gus Solah did not respond to these accusations. Gus Solah has provided sufficient evidence that within the Tebuireng pesantren, everyone is free to choose anyone. Several dzurriyah, even students and alumni, openly support the Saifullah-Puti candidate pair. In Peter Schroder's political strategy, this defensive strategy chose to narrow the distance with the community and blur the barriers of existing differences because closeness to the community is the key to the success of a defensive strategy. So far, Islamic boarding schools have been very thick with a patronage culture. In order to gain public support, Gus Solah was able to melt the frozen patronage culture with a more defensive political strategy. It can conclude that the defensive strategy carried out by the Khofifah-Emil pair through Kiai Gus Solah was not to make Tebuireng Islamic. Islamic boarding schools, as a campaign arena, do not require students, alumni, and dzurriyah of the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School to participate in Gus Solah's political choices. Precisely with this strategy, Front Gus Solah (BAGUSS) creates. Finally, compared to the Islamic boarding school politics used by the Syaiful-Puti candidate pair, Khofifah-Emil's strategy worked better to win the two candidate pairs in the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election in the Madura region.

CONCLUSION

Evidence from Islamic boarding school politics in the Madura electoral district contributed to Khofifah-Emil's win in the 2018 East Java governor's race. Aside from that, political party support, backing from different parties, and job programs all have an impact.

In Islamic boarding school politics, alumni numbers are the most important. However, Khofifah-Emil's successful execution of Islamic boarding school politics qualitatively describes the approach to Kiai, who are near the grassroots, through two techniques. With the help of Kiai, the Amanatul Ummah Islamic Boarding School in Surabaya and Mojokerto has launched an offensive plan to increase the number of voters by issuing a fatwa fardhu 'Ain. Consolidation and campaigning take place in schools. Using campaigns in Islamic boarding schools located in Saifullah-Puti is the following approach to implement in order to gain market share. Defensive strategy, by forming the Gus Solah (BAGUSS) line. A positive attitude will win more followers among students and Islamic boarding school graduates without orders and coercion. The fact that the research region is limited to Madura indicates that the study focuses on some instances. It is necessary to investigate Islamic boarding school politics in a more extensive research area (at the national level) concerning presidential and gubernatorial elections. There are several suggestions based on the analysis results in this research; first, Kiai's general position is still crucial in the eyes of the Islamic community in East Java, primarily cultural Kiai at the grassroots. Second, Simplifying politics in East Java by simply dichotomizing Islamic boarding schools and non-Islamic boarding schools is a careless and fatal view because there are still many other people, such as fishermen, farmers, online motorcycle taxi drivers, mothers, the millennial generation, and others. Third, Each candidate must have solid political intelligence to read his political choices, including going on a political safari to Islamic boarding schools, because each school already has its political affiliation and loyal voters.

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