



Capital Exchange between Islamic Boarding Schools and Political Parties in the 2019 Election

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Abstract: This study examines the social practices of Islamic boarding schools in Jombang in the 2019 elections. It aims to analyze the role and capital exchange between Islamic boarding schools in Jombang and political parties. This study is important because the intersection of Islamic boarding schools and politics has been going on since colonial times until now. The political dynamics of Islamic boarding schools cannot be separated from NU because several NU Kiai are in the vortex of local and national politics. In the 2019 presidential election, a Kiai of NU named Kiai Ma'ruf Amin ran as Jokowi's partner to be a vice president. As a place for the establishment of NU, Islamic boarding schools in Jombang have a magnet in gaining votes both in the legislative and presidential elections in 2019. By using Pierre Bourdieu's theory as an analytical tool, this research conducted a case study approach. Data collection techniques carried out through interviews, observation, and documentation. The informants are determined purposively. The results of this study indicate that the exchange of capital between Islamic boarding schools and political parties is dominated by symbolic capital exchanges of Islamic boarding schools with the social capital of political elites and political parties. The blue bloodline of Islamic boarding schools and seniority of a Kiai or Nyai have an essential role in determining the reproductive strategy and capital exchange with political parties. Also, the dominance of social practices carried out in Islamic boarding schools. The power of symbolic capital and social capital of NU Islamic boarding school became a tool for conducting bargaining positions with elite political parties, including presidential and vice-presidential candidates. In the end, the capital exchange between Islamic boarding schools and political parties became obvious in getting votes in the 2019 elections.

Keywords: capital; elections; NU Islamic boarding school; political parties; social practice.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini memfokuskan untuk mengkaji praktik sosial pesantren di Jombang dalam pemilu 2019. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis peran dan pertukaran modal antara pesantren di Jombang dengan partai politik. Hal ini penting dilakukan mengingat persinggungan pesantren dan politik sudah berlangsung sejak zaman kolonial hingga saat ini. Dinamika politik pesantren tidak bisa dilepaskan dari NU, di mana beberapa kiai NU berada dalam pusaran politik lokal maupun nasional. Dalam pilpres 2019 ini kembali membawa kiai NU, Kiai Ma'ruf Amin, untuk diusung sebagai cawapres mendampingi Jokowi. Sebagai tempat berdirinya NU, pesantren-pesantren di Jombang mempunyai magnet tersendiri dalam mendulang suara baik dalam pileg maupun pilpres 2019. Dengan menggunakan teori Pierre Bourdieu sebagai alat analisis dalam penelitian yang dilakukan dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara, observasi dan data dokumentasi, dengan informan ditentukan secara purposive. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pertukaran modal antara pesantren dan partai politik didominasi pertukaran modal simbolik yang dimiliki oleh pesantren dengan modal sosial yang dimiliki oleh elit politik dan partai politik. Trah darah biru pesantren dan senioritas seorang kiai atau nyai mempunyai peran penting dalam menentukan strategi reproduksi dan pertukaran modal dengan partai politik, dan juga didominasi praktik sosial yang dilakukan di dalam pesantren. Kekuatan modal simbolik dan modal

sosial yang dimiliki oleh pesantren NU menjadi alat untuk melakukan bargaining position dengan para elit partai politik, termasuk capres-cawapres. Pada akhirnya pertukaran modal antara pesantren dan partai politik semakin terbuka dalam mendulang suara dalam pemilu 2019.

Kata Kunci: modal; partai politik; pemilu; pesantren NU; praktik social.

1. Introduction

Islamic boarding schools are often identified with Nahdlatul Ulama (herein NU), although Muhammadiyah or other Islamic organizations also have educational institutions like an Islamic boarding school. The political dynamics of Islamic boarding school is also apparent. The involvement of Islamic boarding schools and politics in Indonesia has a long history. During the colonial period, Kiai led his students and the community around its Islamic boarding school to fight the invaders, known as the Hezbollah army (Mastuhu, 1994, p. 22). The role of KH Hasyim Asy'ari, one of the founders and leaders of NU, is essential. He was involved in Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI or Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence) and formulated the principles of the Republic of Indonesia. His active role is proven by the Islamic boarding school's involvement in politics (Arifin, 2008, p. 49).

NU's involvement in politics formally started when this Islamic mass organization joined Masyumi Party (Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia or Indonesian Syuro Muslim Council) around 1939. Internal conflict within Masyumi due to differences in understanding Islamic teachings made NU decide to leave and establish its own party. As a new political party, NU succeeded in proving that it has a huge political force and because it gained the second-largest vote after PNI and Masyumi (Arifin, 2008).

In its development, many NU people were involved politically with the aim of pragmatic interests. It makes NU leaning towards practical politics rather than a religious organization that focuses on social and cultural issues. Its tendency led some NU figures in 1959 in the 22nd Congress call to return to NU guidelines in 1926 (*Khittah '26*). However, this idea was not responded to seriously.

Until 1984, some Kiai also played a role as political figures who became political machines during the elections to gain votes among their congregations (Turmudi, 2005, p. 216). It shows that the Kiai is not only the leader of an Islamic boarding school but also the builder of Islam in the political arena and political parties. However, in the same year at NU Conference, it decided to return *Khittah '26*, which meant refocusing on emphasizing more on social and religious areas, not the political sphere (Effendi, 2010, p. 8; Nakamura, 1996, p. 106). It did not immediately make NU or Islamic boarding schools free from political links. In many elections, political party leaders often visited Islamic boarding schools to get political support. Notably, they try to attract the figure of a Kiai who became a role model in the surrounding community (Dhofier, 1999, p. 35; Karim, 2008, p. 157; Kholifah, 2005, pp. 188-189; Srimulyani, 2008, p. 81; Turmudi, 2005; Wagiman, 1997, p. 105).

In Reformation Era, NU returned to the political sphere and established Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB or Nation Awakening Party). One NU figure, KH. Abdurrahman Wahid or well-known as Gus Dur was elected as president of the Republic of Indonesia in 1999. Then, he was replaced by Megawati. In 2004, Megawati ran for president by collaborating with KH. Hasyim Muzadi, the former chairman of Pengurus Besar NU (PBNU) as Vice President. It proves the vital role of Kiai in the political arena in Indonesia. Some Kiai at Islamic boarding school then also began to participate in political parties. Direct election of the regional head has increasingly encouraged them to start and be reckoned in the political arena.

In 2019, Kiai of NU joined the presidential and vice-presidential election. Kiai Ma'ruf Amin suddenly chosen as the vice-presidential candidate of Jokowi, who fought against Prabowo and Sandiaga Uno. Of course, it created turmoil among various organizations because Kiai Ma'ruf Amin is a highly respected figure in NU circles and prominent figures in Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI or Indonesian Ulema Council). Responding to the nomination of Kiai Ma'ruf Amin, several NU's great Kiai tried to straighten out through a press conference stating that NU did not participate in practical

political activities. So did MUI. Both NU and MUI made it clear that the nomination of Ma'ruf Amin was his personal will, not the decision of those organizations. However, in reality, NU is still a 'sexy' organization for political parties supporting presidential candidates to gain votes. Even at that time, many NU Islamic boarding schools participated in campaigning for one of the president-vice presidential candidates.

It happened in Darussalam Islamic boarding school in Jombang. As a place that has a historical closeness with NU, this Islamic boarding school seems to be a monument that must be visited by presidential candidates when campaigning. So it was not surprised if both candidates scramble to attend this boarding school. Sandiaga Uno as the vice-presidential candidate of no two, was more intense visiting this Islamic boarding school compared to Jokowi, who only came in inaugurating the Museum. Thus, this Islamic boarding school is more supportive of the Prabowo-Sandi pair. Meanwhile, Gus Fafan, as one of Kiai in this boarding school, stated that he supported the elders, Jokowi-Ma'ruf candidate. In contrast, Gus Sholeh, the leader of Darussalam Islamic boarding school at the time, clarified that he was neutral or not in favor of any candidate.

Another Islamic boarding school that involved in the political arena is Darunnajah Islamic boarding school in Jombang. Many Islamic boarding schools affiliated to Darunnajah Islamic boarding school foundation were competing to show their political affiliation. One of its women leaders even has a substantial capital to direct their students' political support, because she occupied a strategic position in the Government of Jombang Regency. Meanwhile, at the Ma'arif Islamic boarding school, the political battle is influenced by the command of Bani Sidiq and Bani Ali, even though they did not directly show their support to the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. There was only the banner of legislative candidates from the Kiai who ran in the parliamentary elections. However, the number of students could become a significant voice pan in the 2019 presidential election.

Based on its background, this research focuses on the social practices of Islamic boarding schools in Jombang in the 2019 elections, both in legislative and presidential elections. This study aims to analyze the role of Islamic boarding schools in Jombang in the 2019 elections, along with the capital exchange between Islamic boarding schools and political parties. Besides, this study analyzes the contestation and habitus of Islamic boarding schools in Jombang in establishing relationships with political parties or political elites.

This study uses Bourdieu's theory as a tool of analysis. Bourdieu explained that habitus is a value that permeates a person's thoughts, feelings, and aesthetics, thereby influence and determine the value of people's tastes. For this reason, habitus can reflect one's position because it is formed through social space (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 131). Habitus is always attached and always exists in a realm (*being exist on the field*), this field is a space defined as a place for social actors/agents to compete with one another to distribute power in determining game's rules (*rule of the game*) (Bourdieu, 1990).

Besides, Bourdieu saw that there were only two methods used by agents in conducting warfare in the realm. First, reproduction strategies that refer to a collection of practices designed to maintain or increase capital. Second, reconversion strategies related to efforts to exchange resources between individuals with one another (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 103).

When agents succeed in gaining power in a realm or succeed in becoming a dominant habitus, then agents have the authority to carry out symbolic violence. Individuals who gained symbolic power in the field do generalize language, which is used as a reference device of truth (Bourdieu, 1984). Every fighting habitus wants to win a battlefield and avoid symbolic violence. Bourdieu called the whole activity above a social practice.

How does habitus create the disposition? Bourdieu answered with the concept of capital, which is an essential tool for agents to win a field. Four important capitals determine the position of habitus in the field: economic capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 503).

Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977) used the concept of capital for the first time as a framework to explain an agent's strategy in shaping the system of cultural activity in society, which asset is an essential tool for agents to create dominance in a social arena. Bourdieu saw individuals using social capital together with a cultural, economic, and educational resource, to advance in life and achieve their goals

(Ferragina & Arrigoni, 2017). In this case, Bourdieu used the concept of social capital to explain a political phenomenon. In a broader sense, it is an effort to obtain and delegate power structures.

This research tries to put the concept of capital into religious and political phenomena. Bourdieu did not specifically discuss the relation of his idea with religion. However, his framework can lead to discussion in this research to the process of forming power relations carried out by religious communities. However, it does not mean the concept of capital has no connection at all with religion because Coleman reimagined its discourse and has long been an interesting subject of discussion.

The discourse of social capital and religion has come to the attention of scholars since Coleman (1988, 1990) created the formulation of the concept of social capital in a centrality on two factors: trust and social networks. Coleman made discussions about social capital lead to strengthening institutional systems, and the assurance of community groups. Coleman's analysis emphasizes institutional approaches that seek to identify the conditions under which trust can be generated. The decision to place trust only includes the same rational considerations as the decision to place a bet (Coleman, 1990).

However, the fundamental equation of the discussion of two thoughts of Coleman and Bourdieu is that both use social capital theory to link social relations with individual utility functions (Ferragina & Arrigoni, 2017). Although, in reality, both of them use different aspects, as Bourdieu puts more emphasis on creating individual stratification, while Coleman is more on integration among individuals. Later, Putnam (1995) puts the opinion together by adopting religious involvement in social capital as a social resource that produces the types of networks, norms, and relationships that help individuals and society achieve political goals. Putnam even saw social capital as an indicator that can improve the efficiency of society in facilitating coordinated civil society action. According to Putnam, the religious community is increasingly described as a source of social services, a place to recruit volunteers and collect donations, and a meeting place for self-help groups, as well as an administrative mechanism for faith-based government initiatives (Jackman & Miller, 1998; Wuthnow, 2002). By evaluating institutions in 20 Italian regions, as well as the decline in public confidence in the United States, Putnam managed to show that the political effectiveness of local governments depends on patterns of trust and social networks.

Fukuyama (2001) also saw social capital as an ability that arises from the prevalence of trust in society or certain parts of it. He showed the role of confidence in economic performance. Although other factors such as technology, markets, and human capital contribute to economic growth. Fukuyama concluded that the main factor in generating growth was social capital that connected a culture of trust or referred to as spontaneous sociability. For Fukuyama, social capital can be practiced as a rational habit that has 'irrational' origins, so that phenomena such as religion will emerge and are needed to enable the functioning of modern economies and political institutions (Ferragina & Arrigoni, 2017; Fukuyama, 2001; Jackman & Miller, 1998).

The debate about social capital from various figures shows that social capital intertwines with existing structures or systems in society. For Coleman, Putnam, and Fukuyama, 'trust' is an important key to the concept. However, in this study, researchers pay more attention to the idea of capital from Bourdieu, where capital is more as an individual asset that is used to create power relations, not as an asset to realize a collective movement (interests). It relates to the focus of research that is more concerned with Islamic boarding school elites, not on the trust community in an Islamic boarding school. Since the Islamic boarding school elite and the Islamic boarding school community have different capital characteristics. In the Islamic boarding school community, capital is formed by the religious structure that surrounds it collectively. Whereas, in the Islamic boarding school elite, capital is created based on personal knowledge through habitus that has been formed by elderly clerics in each Islamic boarding schools, so that it is partial, and each individual has a unique distinction.

This study uses qualitative research methods with a case study approach as an effort to understand and explain social reality. This study is an explanatory case study with data collection techniques through in-depth interviews and observations at several Islamic boarding schools in Jombang. Besides,

documentation data from 'researchers' records, historical reports arranged in documentary data archives, books/references, journals, and reports in newspapers or internet with data relating to the research issue.

Research informants were determined purposively with the following criteria: a. people who know or understand the existing relationship between Islamic boarding school and political parties or political elites. b. People who live in the Islamic boarding school environment where this research is located. c. People who are willing to provide information related to the case. So in this study, the informants are Kiai/nyai, boarding school administrators/staff, clerics, students, and alumni. The names of Islamic boarding schools and informants are anonymous.

2. Capital Exchange between Islamic Boarding Schools and Political Parties

In this study, Islamic boarding schools affiliated with NU are considered as a battleground for political parties. Because for political parties, NU as a religious organization has a vast mass. So, by winning the battlefield among NU Islamic boarding schools will make political parties hold the rule of NU game. The aim is to direct the NU community's vote to one of the candidates or the political party itself.

Political parties do not emerge or necessarily fight in the field independently, because political parties realize that it is not part of NU's habitus. Therefore, political parties try to build relations with the place where NU habitus is constructed and produced, namely Islamic boarding school. Then, the reproductive strategy and capital exchange between Islamic boarding school and political parties began to occur. So, it is not surprising that there is a battle among NU Islamic boarding schools, as it does have a capital exchange relationship with political parties. The following is an explanation of capital exchanges and social practices that took place in three Islamic boarding schools in Jombang.

Darussalam Islamic Boarding School: Equal Social Bonding

Darussalam Islamic Boarding School founded in 1899 that focused on the study of hadith and interpretation. At the end of the 20th century, Darussalam Islamic boarding school was increasingly developing its education system and integrating religious and general education. Until now, this Islamic boarding school has established many formal educational institutions, from primary education to higher education.

Darussalam Islamic boarding school's role was also prominent in the political movement to fight for Indonesian independence and was considered as the place or center of the forerunner to Islamic political change in Indonesia. Islamic organizations such as NU, Masyumi (Indonesian Syuro A'la Council), Indonesian 'Ala Islamic Council (MIAI), and many warriors such as Sabilillah, Hezbollah are very attached to this Islamic boarding school. Through these organizations, Darussalam Islamic boarding school was able to create many of the nation's best cadres. Until now, the participation of caregivers and alumni in the national political arena increasingly confirmed the vital role of this Islamic boarding school.

The closeness of Darussalam Islamic boarding school to NU has its symbolic capital attraction. The symbolic capital is a form of public legitimacy as a forerunner Islamic boarding school and the center of the development of NU Kiai in Indonesia. Then, it became the bargaining power for Darussalam Islamic boarding school to become a place to visit (*sowan* in Javanese) for figures and political parties.

But in its history, after the dissolution of NU as a party, Darussalam Islamic boarding school had socio-political relations with Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP or United Development Party). At the end of 1998, one of the Kiai from this Islamic boarding school took part in establishing Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB or National Awakening Party). It was the start that Darussalam Islamic boarding school has substantial social capital with PKB. The reciprocal relationship between Islamic boarding school and PKB has even continued until now.

Even though it had a substantial social capital with PKB, it did not rule out the possibility for Darussalam Islamic boarding school to develop its social capital. However, its symbolic capital made it easier for them to build social capital, especially with political figures and political parties. Because

political figures and political parties desperately needed social networks when conducting campaigns. So, capital exchanges were carried out between political parties and Islamic boarding schools.

The process of capital exchange between Islamic boarding school elite and political parties in Darussalam Islamic boarding school became evident since the eve of the 2019 presidential election. Not only PKB but also many figures and other political parties who want to be able to exchange their social capital for the symbolic assets of Darussalam Islamic boarding school. Some figures and political parties began fighting over symbolic resources through Islamic boarding school caregivers.

In mid-2017, Sandiaga Uno visited Darussalam Islamic boarding school, to be a speaker at a motivational entrepreneurship event. Since the visit, Sandi, who was a newcomer in Indonesian politics, began to build social relations with the caregiver of the female boarding school, Gus Fafan. By building social capital with Gus Fafan, who has symbolic capital as one of the caregivers in Darussalam Islamic boarding school, Sandi has also indirectly created social relations with Darussalam Islamic boarding school itself. Since then, Sandi visited this Islamic boarding school intensely. In 2018, as a running mate, Sandi returned to Darussalam Islamic boarding school with Prabowo in commemoration of National Santri Day.

The capital exchange between Sandi and Gus Fafan was increasingly seen when Gus Fafan attended Sandiaga's event at Pema field Ngunut Tulungagung on March 18, 2019. Sandi had also provided symbolic capital to Gus Fafan when Gus Fafan declared himself as a spokesperson for Badan Pemenangan Nasional (BPN) Prabowo-Sandi. Gus Fafan stated his reason so that Indonesia is in the right people. He claimed his symbolic support by declaring that he received the blessing from Darussalam Islamic boarding school elders. He further mentioned 90 percent of Darussalam Islamic boarding school supported Prabowo-Sandi, the elders of Islamic boarding school did so (interview with Gus Fafan, Jombang, March 23, 2019).

The statement illustrates that Sandi's efforts were very appropriate to exchange his social capital for the symbolic capital of Gus Fafan as an Islamic boarding school caregiver. By exchanging social capital, Sandi has obtained two symbolic capital at once, namely, the symbolic capital of Kiai and the symbolic capital of Islamic boarding school. Although in the analytical level of language, the statement has not been able to represent the entire Darussalam Islamic boarding school. However, thanks to the symbolic capital of Gus Fafan, it was enough to be legitimate to audiences at the event in Tulungagung. Gus Fafan's social capital also influenced Sandi and Gus Fafan close social relations as a member of Partai Berkarya (the Working Party). Gus Fafan also ran for a legislative candidate for the Republic of Indonesia in the Electoral District in East Java. So it was not surprising that Gus Fafan gave support for Sandi because both of them had the same social capital connection, namely with the Working Party, which also supported presidential candidates-number 2.

In addition to Gus Fafan, Sandi also widened his social capital to other Darussalam Islamic boarding school for women caregivers, namely Gus Ilmi. So, the symbolic capital exchanged by Sandi is increasing. Realizing how strong the symbolic capital he had gained, in the end, the Prabowo-Sandi team appointed Gus Ilmi and Gus Fafan as chairmen of Sandi-Prabowo BPN in Jombang. Thus, they became agents who did the contestation to win Prabowo-Sandi in the realm of NU.

As agents, of course, they did a social practice to win a language in the realm of Darussalam Islamic boarding school and NU residents. The style championed by the two Kiai was, as emphasized by Gus Ilmi, that Darussalam was the forerunner of NU people, so if Darussalam chooses Prabowo-Sandi, it meant it represented and appealed to all NU citizen (interview with Gus Ilmi, Jombang, March 26, 2019). This language was later fought to cause symbolic violence in the form of their social practices.

Gus Ilmi and Gus Fafan carried out social practices through several organizations. The most visible social practice was to put up a support banner to Prabowo-Sandi in front of their house. Besides, they also gathered support through the Darussalam Islamic boarding school alumni network. In fact, according to IR, one of the alumni, she got 50,000 rupiah when she came to the campaign event, which was wrapped up with alumni events (Interview with IR, Jombang, March 15, 2019). It shows that in the alumni network, there is an effort to exchange economic capital for symbolic capital and social capital.

The two Kiai more often carried out social practices to Islamic boarding school alumni through alumni groups on social media, rather than students who were still active in Islamic boarding school. They made memes and wrote opinion status on social media about the reasons for supporting Prabowo-Sandi. Printed on a billboard, "I want Indonesia to be in the right hands, that is why I came down the mountain." Besides, they also carried out social practices to campaign for Parbowo-Sandi through routine studies that were usually delivered by both of them.

Outside the Islamic boarding school, they also built a winning post, dubbed as PADI (Supporter of Prabowo-Sandi). This post also operates by utilizing the symbolic capital of Gus Ilmi and Gus Fafan as a Kiai and caregiver of Darussalam Islamic boarding school. In some banners printed in the name of PADI, they always display photos of both Kiai. It is increasingly a description that the capital exchange targeted by BPN Prabowo-Sandi is symbolic capital.

Anwar Sadad, a secretary of DPD Gerindra East Java, supported by saying, "now no one doubts the NU's affiliation of Gus Fafan and Gus Ilmi. It shows Nahdliyin is on our side (Surya, 2019).

The statement became clear evidence that the capital that was most chased and exchanged of both Kiai by Prabowo-Sandi's party was symbolic capital. Symbolic capital as an Islamic Islamic boarding school figure, as well as a NU Kiai. It then led to the emergence of the statement of DPD Gerindra East Java secretary above, which indirectly the report contained symbolic violence to NU residents. NU residents should have chosen number two presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs because NU Kiai had shown their support, as mentioned in the statement.

By giving symbolic capital to BPN Prabowo-Sandi, Gus Ilmi and Gus Fafan got social capital that their social networks with figures and political parties are increasing. However, in some news published in Banjarmasin Post, said that Prabowo promised the position of Minister of Religious Affairs for NU residents (Erdianto, 2018). It was the negotiation effort to get a symbolic capital from NU Kiai. So, if Prabowo-Sandi wins the election, then the symbolic capital of several NU Kiai who provide support to Prabowo-Sandi will increase, by offering a position of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

When the intense social activities of Gus Ilmi and Gus Fafan became publicly known, Gus Sholeh, Darussalam Islamic boarding school caretaker leader, clarified that it nothing to do with Darussalam. He further stated that "once again, I emphasize that it is not true that Darussalam Islamic boarding school supports number two of the presidential candidate, I do not know anything about the activities of that campaign. I am neutral, not in favor of any candidate" (interview with Gus Sholeh, Jombang, March 25, 2019). Gus Sholeh reiterated that no official support was given in the name of Darussalam Islamic boarding school; various supports for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates were left to the rights of each individual (Interview with UF, Jombang, March 21, 2019). So that all kinds of support carried out by one of Darussalam's families, only those individual rights, do not represent the name of Darussalam Islamic boarding school.

Social practices and capital contestation over the capital were not only done by Prabowo-Sandi but also Jokowi-Ma'ruf. The strategy undertaken by Jokowi-Ma'ruf is more to maintain existing capital. Jokowi's symbolic capital as a President, and Kiai Ma'ruf Amin as MUI chairman made it easier for the pair to expand their social capital in Islamic boarding school and to obtain symbolic capital from Kiai in Darussalam Islamic boarding school.

With this modality, Jokowi visited Darussalam Islamic boarding school several times as a state guest. One of them was his visit to the inauguration of the Museum in this Islamic boarding school. Jokowi was also considered easier in expanding his modality due to the attachment of social capital between Darussalam and PKB. PKB, as one of the parties supporting Jokowi-Ma'ruf, certainly did not need to approach or exchange resources with the Islamic boarding school Darussalam. Many PKB figures also belonged to the Darussalam Islamic boarding school family. However, this group carried out the social practices individually and not in the name of Darussalam. Although this group also put up the Jokowi-Ma'ruf banner in the burial area of the Islamic boarding school elders.

Besides, the son of Gus Sholeh, Gus Hang took his side and listed as Deputy Director of Political Communication of Tim Kampanye Nasional (TKN or National Campaign Team) of Jokowi-Ma'ruf. Through Gus Hang, Jokowi-Ma'ruf team conducted social practices to hook up Darussalam Islamic

boarding school modality. Therefore, Bagus Bersatu (Bagus) or Barisan Gus and Santri Bersatu were formed. It was an organization formed by Gus Hang to build and strengthen Jokowi- Ma'arif's social capital with the students and Gus (sons of the Kiai) in the Islamic boarding school. Through Gus Hang, the TKN team also managed to get symbolic capital from Gus Sholeh, who had previously declared neutral. Gus Hang claimed that the forerunner of the organization came from Bagus (interview with Gus Hang, Jombang, April 4, 2019).

The above conditions indicate that there was contestation in Darussalam Islamic boarding school during the 2019 presidential election. This contestation was increasingly felt when the two groups fought in the realm of Islamic boarding school. Several times Lily, one of the women leaders of Darussalam Islamic boarding school that had been in national politics, insinuated Gus Ilmi and Gus Fafan in the media by saying that, "NU figures who support Prabowo are figures who are not rooted in society."

The situation shows that the contestation and capital struggle by political parties supporting the presidential and vice-presidential candidates is very influential in the life of Darussalam Islamic boarding school. Political parties scramble and compete to exchange modalities. They have to establish support with Islamic boarding school figures. It then led to contestation within the Islamic boarding school itself.

Ma'arif Islamic Boarding School: Clan Social Bonding

Ma'arif Islamic boarding school is a boarding school led by Kiai Sidiq, who still has a relationship with Kiai Ali, a senior Kiai who has been close to Golkar since the New Order era. Ma'arif Islamic boarding school has a long history in the Indonesian politics world. Like other Islamic boarding schools in Jombang, during the guided democracy period, this Islamic boarding school was the main base of the NU party. Even Kiai Sidiq was considered as one of the successful political figures in each of his nominations through NU party, including becoming a member of DPRD-GR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah – Gotong Royong) from NU Party (1955-1960), chairman of Jombang DPR-GR from NU Party (1960-1969), a member of the East Java DPRD from NU Party (1969-1971). Until 1971, Ma'arif Islamic boarding school was still familiar with the NU party. However, from the 1977 to 1999 elections, this Islamic boarding school was closer to Golkar.

Kiai Ali's fatwa to fight with Golkar was followed in an Islamic manner by Kiai Sidiq, and it did not invalidate Kiai Sidiq's political image. Together with Golkar, Kiai Sidiq's charisma remained stable in the political arena during the New Order. His political career even went up with Golkar, namely: East Java DPRD members from Golkar (1982-1987); East Java DPRD member from Golkar (1987-1992); RI MPR member from Golkar (1992-1997); member of the DPR-MPR RI from Golkar (1997-1999). It shows that each phase of the election between Ma'arif Islamic boarding school and Golkar always exchanges their respective modalities for political interests.

But in the 2004 election, Kiai Sidiq made a decision that shocked the Golkar party. He decided to leave the party led by Akbar Tandjung and declared neutral in the 2004 election. Although he had declared himself neutral in the election, Ma'arif Islamic Boarding School was always visited and became a political reference for party elites and presidential candidates. Kiai Sidiq, as an Islamic boarding school leader, openly welcomed the guests.

The long journey of this Islamic boarding school with the dynamics of Indonesian politics is still intertwined today. Now, the grandchildren of the caregivers of Ma'arif Islamic boarding school also continue to play a role in the local and national political stage. It makes Ma'arif Islamic boarding school still a promising place for elites and political parties. But unlike in previous times, there is also contestation as happened in Darussalam Islamic boarding school. Ma'arif Islamic boarding school is very heterogeneous. The Kiai and his sons, under this Islamic boarding school foundation, have links with various political parties.

In the descendants of Kiai Ali, there was Gus Gatot, who followed his father in the political stage. With the symbolic capital of his father, he became a figure who was also reckoned when participating in political contestants. However, he did not use his father's social capital in Golkar Party; instead, he

joined the Democratic Party in 2014. In that year, he was a candidate for the DPRD of Democratic Party. Through symbolic capital as a Kiai, as well as cultural capital as a child of Kiai Ali, Gus Gatot was successfully elected as a representative in DPRD in 2014-2019. In 2017, he became a chairman of Democratic Party DPC (Dewan Pimpinan Cabang) for the 2017-2022 period.

The process of modalities reproducing carried out by Gus Gatot through the Democratic Party was beneficial. In the 2019 elections, he took part in political contestation as a legislative candidate in Jombang District Election II DPRD. To expand his social capital, Gus Gatot more often did social practices in the villages such as Jogotero, Jombang. In that region, according to one of his students, Gus Gatot had funded community activities several times including, the annual village carnival (Interview with UR Jombang, March 29, 2019). His activity showed that he also has a large economic capital, which was then exchanged for the community's social capital, which Gus Gatot asked for support and prayers for his success in nomination as the DPRD representative.

Gus Gatot has two symbolic capitals, as a Kiai and a Democratic Party cadre. Therefore, in the presidential election, Gus Gatot dropped his support for Prabowo-Sandi, who was also supported by the party. Besides, this decision was related to the modality relationship with the former Governor of East Java, Soekarwo, known as Pakde Karwo. Gus Gatot said: "We have had a good relationship with Democrats for a long time, including with the former Governor of East Java who is a Democratic role model in East Java. So we followed the party's decision on support." (interview with Gus Gatot, Jombang, April 1, 2019). The substantial symbolic capital of Pakde Karwo as the former East Java Governor and role model from the Democratic Party make it easy to appeal to other Democratic Party leaders.

Besides, Gus Gatot also conducts social practices within Ma'arif Islamic boarding school because most of his successful teams are students of its Islamic boarding school. He urged his students to choose him and the Prabowo-Sandi candidate. With symbolic capital as a son of Kiai Ali, it is effortless for him to expand his social capital to his students.

Another figure is Gus Arul from Bani Sidiq, who was also a cadre from the Democratic Party. Gus Arul is also nominated to be a member of the DPRD District in Election area one. As a caregiver of Ma'arif Islamic boarding school, Gus Arul also used his symbolic capital to carry out social practices by appealing his students to elect him in legislative elections. Banners of Gus Gatot and Gus Arul, as parliamentary candidates, were displayed in several places in the Islamic boarding school environment. It shows the symbolic capital and social capital of both Gus Gatot and Gus Arul advanced in the election is very useful in getting votes.

As Democratic Party cadre, Gus Arul also supported Prabowo-Sandi. "As a Democratic candidate, of course, support for the presidential election is also in line with the party decision, it can't be different, right?" (interview with Gus Arul, Jombang, April 1, 2019). It strengthened the relationship between figures and political parties involving the exchange of modalities. Democratic Party has expanded its social capital to Ma'arif Islamic boarding school, which incidentally has substantial social and symbolic capital with the Golkar Party. Democratic Party exchanged assets with Gus Gatot and Gus Arul by giving him symbolic capital in the form of a position within the party. It increases the modalities of Gus Gatot and Gus Arul. Meanwhile, Democratic Party expanded its social capital with figures, clerics, as well as caretakers of Islamic boarding school in Jombang.

But political affiliation in Ma'arif Islamic boarding school was heterogeneous, Nyai Titin, the wife of Kiai Ali, made her choice on Jokowi-Ma'ruf in the presidential election. PPP appointed her as a campaigner for PPP that supporting Jokowi-Ma'ruf. Nyai Titin had a close relationship with PPP because her father is a PPP figure. She said: "Abah used to be a PPP figure, automatically I always had a close relationship with PPP, even though my husband used to be a Golkar figure in this Islamic boarding school" (interview with Nyai Titin, Jombang, March 29, 2019). As the wife of Kiai Ali, she also had social and cultural capital with the Golkar Party, which was also the bearer of Jokowi. With this powerful modality, she had a firm decision on political choices in line with PPP and Golkar. Although his son, Gus Gatot, supported Prabowo-Sandi, it did not influence the political color formed for a long time. In line with Nyai Titin, Gus Handy from Bani Sidiq supported the Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair through

his social and symbolic capital. He was a Golkar Party cadre. Currently, he is a Deputy Chairperson of East Java's Golkar Party DPD. Moreover, during governor election, he was also active as Spokesperson of Khofifah-Emil, one of the candidates for governor who had the support of Golkar (interview with Gus Handy, Jombang, April 11, 2019).

Both Gus Handy and Nyai Titin conducted social practices in the Islamic boarding school environment by targeting their students. In contrast to Gus Gatot and Gus Arul, they focused more on the presidential election campaign because both of them did not run in legislative elections. In the parliamentary elections, students are directed one vote to Gus Gatot or Gus Arul. However, in the presidential election, there was contestation among caregivers for votes in Ma'arif Islamic boarding school.

Currently, Ma'arif Islamic boarding school has a very different political affiliation and no longer refers to the previous tradition which coned to Golkar Party. Many parties have begun to consider religious issues in each political contestation. So those parties started to enter and want to develop their modality to the Islamic Boarding Schools to get symbolic capital. Besides, the social capital of the Kiai and Gus or his son with profoundly different political parties and the Islamic boarding school increasingly open to the outside world makes the determination of political affiliation also diverse. However, Ma'arif Islamic boarding school is dominated by two bani (descendants), Bani Ali and Bani Sidiq. Both descendants will always colour the political dynamics and models of capital exchange and habitus that will form there.

Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School: Hierarchal Social Bonding

Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School was founded in 1825 focused on the field of thareqat/Sufism and sharia. In the early 19th century, this Islamic boarding school developed rapidly, and its caretakers carried out regeneration by sending the eldest son to study in Mecca. In 1920, the leader of the Islamic boarding school was handed over to his three sons. One of them was Kiai Abdullah. However, Kiai Abdullah was more active outside Darunnajah Islamic boarding school. Mainly after NU was founded in 1926, he more developed this organization throughout the island of Java and worked in the government. After the proclamation of independence, he became a member of Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (KNIP or Central Indonesian National Committee) and then Dewan Pertimbangan Agung (DPA or Supreme Advisory Council) and Indonesian representative assembly of Republik Indonesia Serikat (RIS or The Republic of the United States of Indonesia) in 1949. Thus the Islamic boarding school matters were practically the responsibility of his two brothers. This fact shows that Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School had a close relationship with politics and government for a long time ago.

Until now, under Darunnajah Islamic boarding school foundation, there has been a variety of formal education from kindergarten to college. The number of students currently recorded in all Darunnajah Islamic Boarding Schools is approximately nine thousand. To accommodate the students, Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School developed several main complexes and filial complexes that remained under the supervision of the central Islamic boarding school.

In his journey till now, many Kiai or Islamic scholars from Darunnajah are active in politics. This Islamic boarding school now has substantial symbolic capital in Jombang. It is since one of the figures in Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School, Nyai Ida has a vital position in the Regional Government of Jombang Regency supported by PPP. "Alhamdulillah, all this time I have always been strict in PPP, in the past I was in East Java DPRD, and now I focus on serving in Jombang, this achievement is related to the support of PPP" (interview with Nyai Ida, Jombang, March 28, 2019). This condition makes Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School has a close social capital with PPP now.

The capital exchange relationship between Nyai Ida and PPP is very close. Moreover, it involves broader capital exchanges in the realm of families and Islamic boarding schools by bringing the entire family of Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School to PPP. Several of Nyai Ida's families, who became PPP cadres and participated in PPP political arena, are Gus Didik (the eldest son who advanced the legislative candidate for the Regional Parliament of East Java Province), Ning Eny (the eldest daughter

who advanced as a legislative candidate for the Indonesian Parliament), Gus Farhan (son-in-law who came forward as a legislative candidate for the Jombang DPRD), and Gus A'ad (grandchild who advanced as a legislative candidate for the Jombang DPRD).

The condition above is interpreted as a form of Nyai Ida's social practice in expanding PPP modalities. On the other hand, PPP makes Nyai Ida as an agent in developing its pattern with Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School. PPP uses her symbolic capital to regenerate its boarding School, extended family. As more her families become PPP cadres, it can create symbolic capital in return for PPP to legitimize support from its Islamic boarding school.

In the presidential election, as an Islamic boarding school that already has a capital exchange relationship with PPP, Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School was more appealing to choose the Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair because PPP is registered as the party supporting Jokowi-Ma'ruf. Some students were also not surprised that Islamic boarding school caregivers directed them to choose Jokowi-Ma'ruf. PPP figures and members were always present there. Besides, PPP was also able to win Nyai Ida as an important person in Jombang Regency. It became a meeting point for PPP's close relationship with Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School and also influenced the political nuances there.

According to collegian, the students had begun to support Jokowi actually since the nomination of Nyai Ida, when Kiai and Nyai under the Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School Foundation appealed to all students to choose Nyai Ida (Interview with FH, Jombang, March 20, 2019). Nyai Ida is a very senior at Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School. At the same time, there was an appeal to choose Jokowi to lead Indonesia for two periods. This appeal was more directed towards collegian, not school students.

As stated by the cleric at this Islamic boarding school, the Kiai and his mother in his dorm often gave direction to their students to support Jokowi-Ma'ruf (Interview with UF, Jombang, March 20, 2019). UF explained further that various courses lead to political choices. For example, in the photo style, students are encouraged to show one finger. The reason was that Jokowi-Ma'ruf was the number one candidate for the presidential election. Moreover, during the study session and meeting with the students, there was always a discussion that led to Jokowi-Ma'ruf.

Besides, according to UA, there was a student discussion forum to discuss various issues, such as current political conditions (Interview with UA, Jombang, April 9, 2019). Through this forum, Kiai and Nyai sometimes slipped appeals to support Jokowi-Ma'ruf. It made the students did feel the political preferences of its Islamic boarding school. Of course, there was a very open social practice compared to other Islamic boarding schools in Jombang. So some students asked to Nyai the reason for choosing Jokowi-Ma'ruf. She answered with arguments based on Islamic values. In the end, the students took a silent attitude when their Kiai or Nyai discussed the issue of the presidential election.

The powerful modality of Jokowi-Ma'ruf supporters did not mean that nobody supports for Prabowo-Sandi presidential candidacy. Gus Hendro, Nyai Ida's son-in-law, is a Democratic Party cadre. He ran for the Democratic East Java provincial legislative candidates. "Political choices can be different. Because I am a Democratic candidate, I am different from other family members who are dominant to PPP, that's fine" (interview with Gus Hendro, Jombang, April 10, 2019). However, because he did not have blood relations with Darunnajah Islamic boarding school family, he was unable to carry out social practices there.

The case in Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School is very different from other Islamic boarding schools in Jombang. In this Islamic boarding school, the built modality with political parties supporting Jokowi-Ma'ruf has been dominant. It is due to the capital exchange relationship between PPP and Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School for a long time. So it is tough for other parties to develop modalities in this Islamic boarding school. The strategy of political parties in exchanging capital with Islamic boarding schools has made the contestation of political parties move to the realm of Islamic boarding school. It eventually created a political network within the Islamic boarding school itself. Thus, divisions based on political choices in Islamic boarding schools become inevitable.

3. A Mutual Symbiosis between Islamic Boarding School and Political Elites: A Theoretical Analysis

The results of this study indicate the role of religious communities, Islamic boarding schools in this case, in using their capital in political practice. This condition is also in line with the government's own efforts to actively engage in religion and encourage the participation of various religious organizations to develop the existing capital of the community, including those related to politics. Although the relationship between religion and the state in Indonesia also experienced ups and downs, the position of religion is still considered necessary in political discourse. It reflects how religious values are seen as more important and integrated on a larger scale for various aspects of one's life in Indonesia (Permani, 2011). Therefore, the discourse on the application and use of capital interconnected with religious and political phenomena has involved many studies that contributed to describing the phenomenon.

In Southeast Asia, generally, government policies towards religion help to identify strategies that encourage capital formation through religious organizations. Each religious organization is considered to have maintained its capital through specific beliefs (Candland, 2000). Candland's study (Candland, 2000) in Indonesia, using Putnam's concept as a tool for analysis, showed that NU's affiliation with PKB in the 1999 elections succeeded in gaining significant votes. One of those was due to Kyai's position in NU that was respected and trusted by the public. However, NU reiterated that they kept their distance from being involved in formal politics and promoted Islamic values through the institutions they had. These institutions include IPNU (Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama), IPPNU (Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama), Fatayat, Muslimat, etc.

Of course, the above statement is very different from the results of this study that Islamic boarding school affiliated with NU to use the power of symbolic capital and social capital to bargain positions with political parties and presidential candidates. They also use economic capital to gain votes in elections. NU, as a significant religious organization in Indonesia, became a symbolic capital force which, at the same time, was attached to social capital. Some Islamic boarding school even show their efforts to expand their social capital through the 2019 election political agenda.

In another study, Hefner (2012) pointed out that democratization in Indonesia was indeed initiated by strengthening spiritual capital. He used the concept to specify the solid idea of the social capital of the Indonesian religious community. Spiritual capital means organizations feature based on religion, including networks, norms, knowledge, and socialization, which might make achieving specific goals. Therefore, for Hefner (Hefner, 2012), the case of Indonesia showed that the spiritual capital created by religious revival helps to make democratic work will depend on the outcome of the contest of Muslim decisions in which they must invest their spiritual capital. Based on his observation, the Islamic Defenders Front in Indonesia has been able to create disciplined spiritual capital by committing to an undemocratic understanding in the name of good people. In contrast, Indonesian Islamic tertiary institutions try to create spiritual capital that is more flowing than against democratic currents.

Hefner's observations in Indonesia is as the same as the results of other studies in Europe and America. The tug-of-war of social capital with religious beliefs always leads to specific political consequences. Putnam's research in America showed that the strong belief of the religious community has led to a very stable increase in the republic formation (Ferragina & Arrigoni, 2017; Jackman & Miller, 1998; Kettell, 2019; Park & Bowman, 2015; Putnam, 1995). Besides, Weber's thesis linked Protestant Calvinism with capitalism. His analysis drew attention to the influential role of the level of trust of the Calvinist community that can support economic and political growth, to create social change (Jackman & Miller, 1998). Research in Europe also showed that calls for social engagement have traditionally been supported by the Christian-Democratic community (Ferragina & Arrigoni, 2017). Moreover, Britain was claimed to be the first European country to push a political agenda using the discourse of religious, social capital to emphasize the importance of civil society (Kettell, 2019). The above-mentioned studies show more how capital, religion, and politics in a system, in the sense of how the movement of capital is related to the existing structure in society.

However, Bourdieu's framework has taken a different position in looking at the movement of capital in society. His efforts to embed social capital in the agent's movement, embody a sharper and comprehensive analysis of political dynamics. He more clearly shows efforts to form individual power relations in a society. It is different from the ideas of Coleman, Putnam, and Fukuyama, who tried to pull the concept of social capital into a collective movement. If in this study, using the Coleman, Putnam, or Fukuyama social capital framework, it might show more how NU as a religious organization. However, through Bourdieu's framework, it is possible to emphasize that within NU itself, there are many variants. From the study, various contestation sought that arises in each Islamic boarding school. Each individual is unique in making a capital exchange and it is also influenced by the habitus that has formed at the Islamic boarding school. Every elite there has the authority to exchange their capital with the political elite who are considered able to foster a symbiosis of mutualism to develop their capital.

4. Conclusion

Islamic boarding school is still a strategic area in capturing and gaining votes in elections or presidential elections, including the Islamic boarding schools in Jombang. Contestation in the Islamic boarding schools is also increasingly seen when Kiai or Nyai also have political affiliations with different political parties. The capital exchange between Islamic boarding school and political parties becomes more open. At present, Kiai dominates the political sphere and has a role in determining the political direction of the Islamic boarding school. The blue bloodline of Islamic boarding school and seniority of a Kiai or Nyai has several important roles. First, determining the form and capital exchange between Islamic boarding school and political parties. Second, determining the social practices carried out within the Islamic boarding school. As a junior, the social practices undertaken tend to be outside the Islamic boarding school while still highlighting symbolic capital as a Kiai or Nyai from NU. The symbolic and social capital inherent in NU Islamic boarding school is a used force to bargain positions with elite political parties and vice-presidential candidates. In the end, the symbiosis of mutualism between Islamic boarding school and political parties is increasingly open because of the very dynamic capital exchange between the two. The contestation within the Islamic boarding school itself is also unavoidable since the Islamic boarding school is the realm of contestation between the Islamic boarding school elite who are also the political party elite.

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