

Involvement of Local Strong People in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election

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Abstract

This research was motivated by the development of the role of local elites in politics, especially after the implementation of a decentralized system that gave the right to regions to manage regions independently, including in holding Regional Head Elections. In this situation, local elites have the flexibility to be involved in regional elections. Therefore, this study aims to determine the role of local elites who have a significant influence in society, in this case, namely Kiai, Belater, and Juragan in Pamekasan Regency. They are local powerful people who are able to influence and control society. The theory used in this study is Status and Role Theory (Linton, 1936), Local Strongmen/Local Bossism Theory (Migdal, 1988; Sidel, 2005), and Patron-Client Theory (Scott, 1972). This research method uses a qualitative approach, while the data analysis technique uses a descriptive-analytical method. In the process of data collection using two methods, namely: first, literature study and in-depth interviews. The findings of this study corroborate previous research on the existence of local strong people such as kiai, belater, and Juragan related to their role in society, especially in local level politics. They have their own sources of power and ways of influencing society to follow their wishes. Their involvement in the 2018 Pamekasan regional election was influenced by religious, existential, and economic factors. They harness the power of relationships, economics, even with threats. Kiai has an interest in choosing leaders who are most qualified according to Islamic teachings, while belater have an interest in existence and material gain. The interest of the employer is to maintain and develop his business.

Abstract

Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh perkembangan peran elite lokal dalam perpolitikan, utamanya pasca diberlakukannya sistem desentralisasi yang memberikan hak kepada daerah-daerah untuk mengelola daerah secara mandiri, termasuk dalam penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah (Pilkada). Pada situasi tersebut para elite lokal memiliki keleluasaan untuk terlibat dalam Pilkada. Karenanya, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui peran para elite lokal yang memiliki pengaruh signifikan dalam masyarakat, dalam hal ini yaitu Kiai, Belater, dan Juragan di Kabupaten Pamekasan. Mereka adalah orang-orang kuat lokal yang mampu mempengaruhi dan mengendalikan masyarakat. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah Teori Status dan Peran (Linton, 1936), Teori Local Strongmen/Local Bossism (Migdal, 1988; Sidel, 2005), dan Teori Patron-Klien (Scott, 1972). Metode penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, sedangkan teknik analisis data menggunakan metode deskriptif-analitis. Dalam proses pengumpulan data menggunakan dua metode, yaitu: pertama, studi literatur dan wawancara mendalam. Temuan penelitian ini menguatkan penelitian terdahulu tentang keberadaan orang-orang kuat lokal seperti kiai, belater, dan juragan terkait perannya dalam masyarakat, utamanya dalam perpolitikan tingkat lokal. Mereka memiliki sumber kekuasaan dan cara-cara tersendiri dalam mempengaruhi masyarakat untuk mengikuti keinginannya. Keterlibatan mereka dalam Pilkada Pamekasan 2018 dipengaruhi oleh faktor agama, eksistensi, dan ekonomi. Mereka memanfaatkan kekuatan politik, ekonomi, bahkan dengan ancaman. Kiai memiliki kepentingan memilih pemimpin yang paling memenuhi kualifikasi sesuai ajaran Islam, sedangkan belater memiliki kepentingan eksistensi dan keuntungan materi. Adapun kepentingan juragan adalah untuk mempertahankan dan mengembangkan bisnisnya.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The power structure in a dynamic society always has implications for various aspects of people's lives, ranging from cultural, social, to political aspects. Before the reform era, the government in Indonesia was in a centralistic situation, so the space for local governments was limited, including not having flexibility in making policies in the regions. This is true until the

implementation of a decentralized system. Since then the local government has received a distribution of power and has become the representative of the central government in implementing policies and carrying out development in the regions (Sidel, 2005). The existence of decentralization policies has given birth to the consequences of the emergence of elites to local rulers (small kings at the regional level) and an opportunity for local elites to show their existence in power at the regional level. In social life, local elites are identified with groups that have advantages so that they have influence and play a role in determining changes and community life (Kartodirdjo, 1992).

In the areas the local elite/strongmen are known by various terms and groups. On the islands of Java and Madura local strongmen with religious backgrounds are known as *kiai*, *ajengan*, *lora*, *gus*, and *bindereh*. They are religious leaders and most have Islamic educational institutions, namely Islamic boarding schools or *madrassas* (Chalik, 2017; Patoni, 2019). As for the economic elite, it is a local strongman with excess control of capital. They are known by several terms such as *cukong* (As'ad, 2020), *tauke*, *juragan*, *sentana* or *ario*, *employer* (Zamroni, 2012), *pangamba'* (Rivaldi, 2020), *keda* (Solissa, 2019), *landlord* (Maftuchin, 2016) and so on. So are the strong men who emerged from the civil movement, who had physical dexterity beyond society at large. They are known as *thugs* (Sidel, 2005), *champions* in Betawi (Novytsari, 2019), *bandits*, *bromocoroh* in Jember–East Java, *weri*, and in Hobsbawm – a British social historian – called *social bandits* (Ham, 2018), *champions* in Banten (Hudaeri, 2003; Saepudin, 2018), *bejingan* (Bahar, 2021), *belater* in Madura (Rozaki, 2012; Kosim, 2007; Zamroni, 2007; Ham, 2018), and so on.

On the island of Madura consists of four districts, namely Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. In these four districts, it is synonymous with the influence of the figure of *kiai* in every social aspect of people's lives, including in the political aspect. This can be seen in recent periods, four districts in Madura are led by *kiai* figures (Khoiri, 2017). In the election of political leaders, candidates supported by *kiai* can easily gain large votes from the public. This can be seen in the power possessed by KH. Fuad Amin and his descendants, namely Raden Moh Makmun Ibn Fuad in Bangkalan, KH. Busyro Karim in Sumenep, KH. Fannan Hasib in Sampang. They became regents because of the great influence of the *kiai* and of course also the network of relations. *Kiai*'s support for the three regents had a major impact and even hegemonized the voters so that they became winners in political battles (Abid Aziz, 2018). But the role of *kiai* is not a single factor. There are also other actors, such as *belaters* and *bosses*, who also have an important influence and role in society.

Belater and the *boss* have their own influence and source of power. The figure of *Belater* who has the ability to influence society with a certain approach, including with threats makes him part of a social class that is respected and even feared by society. Unlike *belater*, the *mastering* group has advantages in *mastering* the material. *Juragan* usually empowers the community in the company he owns and provides assistance to the surrounding community, especially on holidays / months in Islam. This makes the *boss* a respected figure by the community (Zamroni, 2012).

Local political dynamics in Indonesia have experienced a long dynamic after the decentralization policy, including the involvement of local strongmen in regional elections. Actors who play a role in regional elections also experience new dynamics, from the original central role played by one particular group to the emergence of other groups that appear in political activities such as regional elections. In Pamekasan, the actors involved such as *kiai*, *belater*, and *juragan* in the regional elections with various motives and their respective power bases. They play a certain role and also establish massive relationships to build political power. *Kiai*, *belater*, and *juragan* have the ability to influence people's political attitudes and choices.

Based on this background, this study discusses the involvement of *Kiai*, *Belater*, and *Juragan* in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election. The manifestation that local strongmen are the power of the people was so visible in the 2018 Pamekasan regional election. Because the strong coalition (non-party) in Pamekasan which has long experience in the regional elections was predicted to be the winner again in the 2018 Pamekasan regional election, but was defeated by a coalition that

was considered weak, the coalition supporting Baddrut Tamam. Baddrut Tamam's victory was influenced by local elites who played an active role in political contestation, in this case, namely kiai, juragan, and belater.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research method uses a qualitative approach, while the data analysis technique uses a descriptive-analytical method. In the process of data collection using two methods, namely: first, literature study and in-depth interviews. The data collected are analyzed using data reduction techniques, data presentation, and conclusions so that the data can answer the problems studied.

3. DISCUSSION

The winner of Baddrut Tamam cannot be separated from the role of important actors involved in it, especially local strong people who are the main topic of this research. The involvement of local strongmen in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election is certainly based on certain reasons or interests. In building communication with the community also has certain ways. This chapter will analyze the role of kiai, belater, and juragan in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election by basing on the theories used in this study as an analysis knife. These elites have advantages and strong influence on their respective territories. They are organized in one winning team MINGLE.

Migdal (2001) revealed that societies consisting of groups have leaders in their respective groups. The leader is often called *informal leader* due to its existence autonomous from the state. Therefore they have social capacity, which allows them to organize their own way of playing in their group and be free from state intervention. This condition is also the impact of the weakened capacity of the state in controlling society so that strong people have their power space at the local level. It is also a reflection of the strength of society.

According to Migdal, the existence of local strongmen cannot be separated from his collaboration with the state and political parties. Migdal calls it the "triangle of accommodation". While Sidel (2005) mentioned that local strongmen apply coercive violence to maintain their existence and power. So at political moments such as regional elections, there can be seen a manifestation of the triangle of accommodation concept of Migdal where local strongmen will play a role in it and use certain methods, including violence, as referred to in Sidel's statement.

In the momentum of the 2018 Pamekasan regional election, *local strongmen have a significant role, even based on interviews with sources in the field that* local strongmen such as kiai, belater, and juragan are part of the political pillars. Their existence is very calculated in society, making it difficult for candidates to win regional elections without accommodating these local strongmen. To see how they played their role in the 2018 Pamekasan regional election, it will be described in the following sub-chapters.

A. The Role of Kiai, Belater, and Juragan

1. Kiai

Kiai's involvement in political activities is practically not unfamiliar but prevalent in Pamekasan. This is motivated by the motives and interests of the Kiai both for the benefit of many people and individuals. Generally, a Kiai will be involved in a winning team motivated by two things, namely the candidate is his student or still has a family relationship.

But one of the main motives Kiai has is more than just a relationship between teacher and student or blood relationship. Kiai's involvement in politics is in line with the mission of Gerbang Salam initiated by Pamekasan scholars. One of the efforts to maintain the movement is to participate in political activities, especially during regional elections. Scholars including Kiai understand that to maintain social, cultural, religious stability in Pamekasan one of the ways is through politics because politics is an important part that can determine the fate of a community. The role of Kiai is the most important indicator because it has a large mass base.

Phrase Linton (1936) Status and Role Theory describes kiai's involvement in politics as a necessity. That the role of the kiai in politics is a right and obligation because of the status it holds as a public figure. As for the status that kiai bears, as the expression Soerjono Soekanto (2002) is "the place of a person in general in his society with respect to others, in the sense of his social environment, his prestige, and his rights and duties".

A person who has a status in society undoubtedly has rights and obligations because in the status he bears there is a set of rights and obligations. A person who has status is considered to have carried out his role in society if he has carried out his rights and obligations. Therefore, kiai are involved in various social activities, including in politics. According to Koentjaraningrat (2005), society will place hope on individuals who have a role in carrying out their rights and obligations according to their position. So it can be said that the involvement of kiai in politics is a demand of the community.

As also explained by KH. Moh. Ali Salim (MAS) on the underlying reasons for Kiai's involvement in political activities. MAS explained that in Arabic, politics known as *siyasah* has many forms, namely *siyasatul fuqaha*, *siyasatul harb*, and *siyasatu ad-dawlah/siyasatu al-umara'*. *Siyasatul fuqaha* is the procedure of scholars in administering Islamic law, for example finding lower, lighter or heavier laws. *Siyasatul harb* is a form of *siyasah* used in warfare. While *siyasatu ad-dawlah/siyasatu al-umara'* means power politics or leadership used in managing power and leadership. One example of the praxis of *siyasatu ad-dawlah/siyasatu al-umara'* was when Abu Bakr united the Muhajireen and the Ansars who disagreed on the successor leader of the Prophet of Allah. The emergence of the opinion *minna amirun wa minkum amirah* prompted Abu Bakr to use verses of the Qur'an and sunnah which explain that government and leadership are only one.

Scholars argue that forming or electing legal leaders is mandatory because leaders have a duty to safeguard religion and society. Imam Gazali in the book *Ihya Ulumudin* says that religion and power or government are like twin brothers (*al-diin wa al-mulk tauamani*). The statement indicates the position of the government or power as the guardian of religion, as well as religion instructs the government in using power. Ulema support government as a form of defending religion and Kiai engage in politics as a form of maintaining religion. Kiai's involvement in politics will also determine candidates who meet or at least come close to the qualifications of the ideal leader.

The requirements in question include being physically and spiritually healthy, resourceful, knowledgeable, prioritizing the interests of the people, having enthusiasm in fighting for Islam, and being honest. The difficulty of finding one person who meets these qualifications eventually encourages Kiai to engage in political activities to participate in selecting candidates for leaders who are close to the ideal qualifications. It is considered a jihad in defense of religion carried out in the political field. Not only involved in the Regional Head Election, Kiai also plays a role in the election of village heads, governors, and presidents.

Kiai is present with its influence to enlighten its congregation consisting of various groups ranging from students and guardians, student alumni, families, village heads, farmers and the community in general, including Belater and Juragan (entrepreneurs). His very strong influence formed fanaticism among worshippers because Kiai became a figure who would be asked for opinions regarding all matters concerning public life, including in terms of choosing political leaders. His involvement is aimed at maintaining Islamic muruah in Pamekasan so that it is not infiltrated by cultures and movements that are outside of Islamic values, both those brought by negative currents and bad organizations. The role of Kiai is quite calculated because it has a position in the social structure in Pamekasan. A Kiai does not hesitate to issue fatwas verbally and in writing regarding political choices. Someone who does not follow the fatwa gets consequences, for example in the context of the Islamic boarding school environment, it is considered not to get blessings even to be expelled from the Islamic boarding school. Even so, Kiai does not conduct religious

politicians, in the structure of the campaign team, Kiai plays a role in conveying the vision, mission and program of regional head candidates to the community.

Kiai is able to figure a leader who aims to win the hearts of the community. Not just conveying the vision, mission and program, but the approach taken by the structural approach between Kiai and pilgrims or followers. Especially in Madura, especially in Pamekasan, people have very high respect for Kiai. This is because Kiai is a religious central figure who enlightens all religious issues and automatically influences people's lives, including politics.

Kiai is considered the figure who best represents the truth, therefore Kiai followers will hang their decisions if they feel confused in making choices. Kiai has a position as a figure who does *branding* and directs his congregation to be in line in choosing leaders. Throughout history, until now no one has managed to achieve victory in political contestation without the support of Kiai.

Kiai's strategy in mobilizing the masses is communication built to take a personal approach with his followers or fanatical supporters. In addition to taking heart with the right approach, Kiai is also able to see opportunities in the community. These opportunities are community needs that can be voiced to supported leaders. Kiai takes a position as a bridge to people's aspirations. That way the role of Kiai is very dominant in Pamekasan, so that village heads to regional heads are still sowan to Kiai in terms of political affairs. The power of the Pamekasan Government is among the Kiai.

The position of the kiai as a teacher who has taught religious sciences to his students results in the students' obedience to the kiai, including following his steps in his dealings with politics. As Landé (1983) revealed that the situation is a patron and client relationship that occurs because of the status and position of both as a teacher and student, so that students will give devotion to teachers who have contributed in their lives.

The patron-client relationship between the kiai and the community also occurs because it is an exchange. Peter M. Blau (1964) refer to it as *exchange relationship*. In this context, the kiai asked the village head to provide support to the candidate for the regional head supported by the kiai. A village chief granted the kiai's request because at the time he ran as a candidate for village head he was supported by the kiai. Even without being asked by the kiai, the village chief has the awareness to follow the kiai's political choices and provide assistance as a form of respect and return to the kiai. This is as Kiai MAS admitted when the author conducted an interview session.

Kiai's direction and mandate can mobilize other influential figures in each sub-district. A Kiai is able to move village heads, students who are members of Islamic boarding schools, to the network of Islamic boarding schools owned. By embracing a Kiai, the winning team can gain more votes. During the campaign, Kiai was relied on to gain votes. People who feel confused about making choices (undecided voters) or swing voters, can decide to choose candidates supported by Kiai.

Kiai's involvement and support for one candidate for regional head will affect the policies issued by the relevant regional head if elected. This is Kiai's mission after the election. Kiai is a bridge between people's aspirations to local governments. The problems and needs of the community will be conveyed by Kiai to the regional head to be input in formulating programs and policies. However, based on recognition, this depends on the individual regional head. There are also regional heads who are independent and see the benefit of the people rather than grant intervention from other parties.

2. Belater

Another central actor who is also quite influential in political contestation in Pamekasan is Belater. Although known as a tough figure and synonymous with violence, Belater in Pamekasan does not prioritize ego but can still be controlled and even willing to abandon his freedom with the existence of dawuh Kiai. Nor did he put forward his sectoral

ego in practical politics, Belater became a reinforcement of the political attitude of the Kiai. Actors who structurally do not exist in the Pamekasan social community, but Belater plays a fairly strategic role. Belater's peer network is used by the winning team to ensure the votes on the field are safe. According to one of the winning teams, Belater's role is generally almost the same as Kiai's, only differing in its base and respective segments because Belater's territory is almost as wide as Kiai's.

Belater is an actor who plays on the field live both before and on election day. Before the election, Belater served on the security line as a problem solver, which is related to obstacles in the process of increasing candidate electability. Therefore, Belater becomes an actor who plays an important role because he is tasked with solving problems in the field. Based on the confession of the source who was part of the core team of Baddrut Tamam's victory, Belater did not use violence in the problem-solving process. Meanwhile at the time of voting, Belater was very visible at polling stations to secure votes due to the usual attrition and tug-of-war of support. Although not dominant, Belater has a security role during the implementation of voting.

Motives for Belater's involvement in political contestation is for the benefit of the individual and his group. The interests of individual belater are material rewards that they get, either from candidates for regional heads, successful teams, or other parties who are supporters of one of the candidates for regional heads. According to Khoayrul Umam Syarif, Belater wants to be known as a person who has the ability to deliver the ideal leader figure for his region in this context Pamekasan. This means that his motives for personal gain will have a good image in the eyes of society in general.

In the social structure of society, Belater has its own position in the social class system of Pamekasan society even though it does not have a hierarchy or structure. That image is then used by Belater to gain votes, namely with threats. This is due to a fairly strong network with the community and village authorities in Pamekasan. Belater also has bargaining power in assisting the village chief to ensure security.

The pattern of relations built between belater and the community on the basis of belater's ability to control the security and security of an area. In terms Scott (1993), Belater is a superior group, while society is an inferior group that Belater can use to follow his wishes. People certainly want a sense of security in their area so they need a security guarantor. In this case, Belater becomes a figure who can provide this sense of security. Although in the 2018 regional elections belater was asked not to use violent means in the mass mobilization process to support Baddrut Tamam, the community is aware of the impact that will be received if the wishes of the belater are not fulfilled.

3. Skipper

Juragan has a very strategic position and role in the social structure, including in political contestation. Juragan as the owner of capital who controls the economic realm in a community, in this case, Pamekasan is also part of the composition of the winning team's strategy. The role of Juragan is to support and support candidates for regional heads and the winning team in terms of material. The very expensive political cost becomes Juragan's arable land by investing. This investment term is familiar because almost in every regional head election there is always a role for capital owners who support candidates for regional heads to fund campaign costs.

Similar to Kiai, Juragan also intends to secure his interests related to the future of his business. At least the investment planted at the time of nomination can bear fruit during one period of leadership of the regional head in the form of ease of managing matters related to business development, for example related to the ease of licensing or projects, and so on. Juragan does not technically descend in the process of political *marketing* on the ground. However, Juragan has a mass base that comes from among working workers. Although, for example, Juragan does not have mass base capital in quantity like Kiai, but

the capital owned makes it one of the central actors. With the capital owned, Juragan can access important actors to advance his interests.

Among the features of patron-client relationships put forward James C. Scott (1993) be *inequality of change*. In this case, employers certainly have class differences with farmers and workers, especially in the control of capital money. The workers who have received benefits from the employer have formed a kind of debt bond so that the workers feel obliged to pay the debt of gratitude to the employer. This is in line with the statement Lemarchand and Legg (1972) that among the criterion of the patron-client relationship is unequal mastery over resources.

A client is not always a client, it can also be a broker or middleman, who can connect patrons with real clients (Muhaimin, 1990). In this context, based on the results of interviews in the field, the bosses can provide assistance through prospective regional heads, which are then distributed to successful teams to be used according to the needs of the winning process. In another interview, the Pamekasan community mentioned that aid can also be distributed directly to individuals or community groups. Assistance can be in the form of money, public facilities, or community business support facilities.

The boss is not a single actor. According to RBH, a boss, despite having a lot of wealth, cannot beat Kiai's *power*. This is because Kiai is an actor who has a very strong influence, it is even explained that sowan's political authority on Kiai and often involves Kiai in terms of asking for enlightenment and opinions related to the interests of the community. Generally, the interests of the employer actively involved as a supporter of candidates for regional heads are to secure their assets. Usually, the boss will support a candidate who has the support of many Kiai because of the potential to win. But Kiai's support is not the only consideration Juragan determines his support. Employers may support funds for more than one candidate based on the results of field surveys that show the candidate's electability.

Juragan's presence in the process of political contestation also has the potential to color local government policies. For example, as stated by one of the speakers when interviewed that the thoughts of the Juragan had influenced the program initiated by the local government. The symbiotic relationship of mutualism between the government and entrepreneurs once succeeded in encouraging the birth of thousands of new entrepreneurs.

In political struggle, it certainly requires material. However, in Pamekasan, the money allocated for campaigns in the form of money *politics* is not a guarantee or determinant of a candidate's victory. This is due to the existence of Kiai who is highly respected, so that people are not easily influenced by money. Even if there is, the money is given as a thank you for using the right to vote to vote for the candidate you support.

B. Winning Strategy

Actors who have very obvious roles in the Pamekasan Regency Regional Elections are Kiai, Juragan, and Belater. Motives, roles, social relations, mass base, and strategy have been described and mapped through tables. However, in the context of the Baddrut Tamam and Raja'e Candidate Couple, there are two other actors involved, namely the ruler (sub-district, village head (*klebun*), and people who have access to the ruler), and the success team. The successful team named as BERMINGUR works under the consultants of PUSDEHAM (Center for Democracy and Human Rights).

According to the success team, there is no central figure in BERMINGUR because all actors and parties are considered to have the same role, duty, and opportunity to contribute to supporting candidates for regional heads on their respective mass bases. The political communication built by the team succeeded in building a peaceful situation and did not want a clash between scholars with one another. Therefore, BERMINGUR strives to communicate by establishing friendship and uniting in the same ideals in winning Baddrut Tamam. So what happens to MINGLING at the level of praxis, the winning process runs without the slightest clash and conflict.

The description of the role of actors in the winning team (Kiai, Juragan, Belater) has been explained in the previous sub-chapter. In this case, PUSDEHAM has the task of formulating a map of the winning team. PUSDEHAM is a political consultant who has succeeded in bringing victory to candidates during three regent election periods, namely in 2008, 2013, and 2018. PUSDEHAM understands that Pamekasan has different characteristics and cultures from other regions related to the involvement of community elites such as Kiai, Juragan, and Belater. Before moving to the general public, candidate couples are directed to do *personal branding* or *canvassing* so that they have a good image in the eyes of the public so as not to have so much difficulty during the campaign.

Here are the strategies carried out by PUSDEHAM in winning the pair Baddrut Tamam and Raja'e:

a. Maximizing the role of local elites

Kiai, Juragan, and Belater maximized their roles by giving them the responsibility to conduct operations (approaches as well as campaigns) on a mass basis in their respective regions. The elites are not allowed to conduct operations (campaigns) in other elite areas in order to focus on the mass base in the region. Elite are tasked with campaigning to BLEND into their respective territories in their own ways according to their backgrounds. The elites take a position in approaching society because of their influence which is to create a strong attachment between the elite and its mass base. If trust has been established, then the relationship must be maintained and cared for so that the attachment will be stronger. The next role is at the problem-solving level. The elites are tasked with solving problems encountered in the field, especially in their regions related to the regional election agenda. For example, getting interference in the voter screening process, or declining number of supporters. Elite also acts as a protector, which is a place for the community to express complaints and unrest.

Here are among the Kiai involved in the winning team, namely Kiai AG, AS, RBH, MKH, AM, WH, YB, AH. According to the direction from PUSDEHAM, the Kiai are tasked with focusing on operations in their respective bases consisting of students as well as parents, and alumni from their respective Islamic boarding schools. Meanwhile, Belater became an actor who had a direct role in the field in solving problems. But in accordance with the peaceful and egalitarian values adhered to, Belater who is involved in MINGLING does not use violence in solving every problem. The Belater actors involved are MZ, MH, HW, and RM who are members of several groups including Team Raja and Team Pecot 286. Almost all villages and sub-districts have Belater who are included in the BERCAMPUR Team.

While the Juragan involved include HKM, HF, HM and several tobacco employers. The Masters distribute campaign funds through pairs of candidates which are then distributed to the winning team. Kiai, belater, and juragan are important factors in winning, even anyone will find it difficult to achieve victory, especially in the Pamekasan Regional Election if they do not mobilize and maximize the role of the three. Even the appointment of the leader of the Winning Team must get the approval of various parties who are members of the successful team, including the Kiai.

b. Divide region-based and community-based success teams

PUSDEHAM did a more detailed breakdown by dividing the campaign cluster into 27 successful teams. Teams are formed ranging from large-scale teams to small teams formed to play different roles. There is a team of scholars, Team Fasiru, Team Sakti, Team from alumni of Islamic boarding schools (joint team), Team Raja (Belater), Team Pecot 287 (Blater), Youth Team, Women's Team, and Family Team (from the candidate's family and relatives). All teams have their own main tasks and functions under the direction of political consultants.

PUSDEHAM routinely receives performance reports for each team to be analyzed and evaluated so that it looks like the team with maximum performance and the team is still weak. Evaluations are carried out periodically every three months since the beginning of candidacy, and the intensity increases as election day approaches, which is carried out once a month or even every week. Evaluation meetings are conducted separately according to their respective groups. In addition to directing the performance of the successful team, consultants are also tasked with analyzing the financial flows and needs needed during the winning process.

c. Keep up to date with candidates' electability

During the campaign, the survey team went to the field and visited people's homes to find out the progress of candidates' electability. The survey team can consist of youths or other teams such as belaters from the area. Survey results are reported during joint team meetings so that all can give each other opinions and input in overcoming gaps in successful team performance.

d. Egalitarian

The winning team is not intended to be the central actor, but PUSDEHAM as a consultant provides and considers all actors to have equal roles, tasks, and opportunities. This is done to avoid clashes between elites who are members of the BERMINGUR Team so as not to endanger the stability of the winning team and the relationships that have been built since before the nomination.

4. CONCLUSION

The existence of local strongmen became more visible as reforms rolled out. In the New Order era, the space for movement was limited so that when decentralization policies were implemented in the reform era, they had significant wars at the local level. They have hegemonized the local level and are often identified with oligarchs. In Pamekasan Madura, there are several typologies of local strongmen who have their own roles and capital in society, namely kiai, belater, juragan, and so on. At first the kiai became the most dominant group, no one defeated him in terms of influencing society. But along with the times, groups such as belater and juragan also have a certain mass base and social capital that is the source of their power that can be a bargaining chip for their interests.

Kiai is a figure who has mastery of Islamic religious knowledge, becoming a teacher for the nation's children in the midst of Madurese society, especially Pamekasan which is predominantly Muslim. So it is natural that kiai has a broad and significant influence. While belater is synonymous with a physically strong, brave figure, even believed to have high immune and kanuragan science. Although the influence of belater is not as great as the influence of kiai, they become a group that is taken into account, even needed by kiai to strengthen kiai attitudes when involved in politics. As for the master, it has the advantage of mastering abundant material. With the power of money capital, employers can easily realize their desires, including in political interests, especially political events in Indonesia require large costs.

In the 2018 Pamekasan regional election, the three local strongmen had an important role in winning Baddrut Tamam. Their involvement began long before the election. Kiai is usually the most important figure to be asked for blessings by candidates for regional heads, because the influence and power of kiai in Pamekasan is so great. Kiai has a large mass base, namely students, guardians, alumni networks, relations between Islamic boarding schools, and the general public.

While belater has a mass base in the countryside and has a network of belaters located in other regions. From the beginning, Belater played a role in capturing supporters and securing them from the possibility of being harassed to switch support. The bosses have a smaller mass base than kiai and belater, namely employees and the surrounding community. But the advantage possessed by the employer is capital money. Various needs of candidates for regional heads have the support of the employers, such as campaign funds, funds for survey needs, and so on.

The involvement of kiai, belater, and juragan in the victory of Baddrut Tamam has certain factors and motives. Kiai considered that his involvement in politics was part of his religious duty, namely efforts to realize the benefit of the people shown through support for candidates for regional heads who were considered the most qualified. In addition, kiai with its power can be a mouthpiece for the community to the government to realize people's aspirations.

Unlike the kiai, the belater has an interest in strengthening its existence in society, even more so that the belater is involved on the basis of requests or respect for the supported kiai. Meanwhile, the boss has an interest in maintaining and developing his business empire. However, the difference between kiai support and belater and juragan is that kiai support candidates for regional heads based on observations of their personality and life track record. While the belater reads the huge benefits he can get or by looking at the figures who support him, in this case the belater gives support to the regional head at the request of the kiai. While employers determine support based on survey results, they can even provide support to all candidates.

In building relationships with the community, kiai, belater, and juragan have their own approaches. Kiai has a closeness to the community as a teacher and student. Therefore, kiai do not need to approach the community for the purpose of certain interests because the relationship between kiai and society is a strong emotional connection that has been built for a long time. Therefore, when approaching political momentum, the focus of kiai is to mobilize important figures in each region.

While belater as known as the protector and guarantor of territorial security can use threats or not to achieve its interests, so that belater has community support as a reciprocal relationship. The boss is also known as a figure who has merit because he has empowered the community and has a generous nature, so that the community has a respectful attitude by following the request of the master. This is reinforced by material assistance that is usually given by employers to the public at times of political momentum.

The factor of Baddrut Tamam's victory in the 2018 regional elections was influenced by the involvement of kiai, belater, and juragan. As is known that Baddrut Tamam's opponents are senior politicians, namely Kholilurrahman who has served as a member of the East Java DPRD (1999-2008), former Regent of Pamekasan for the 2008-2013 period, and has served as a member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (2014-2018). Even more than that, Kholilurrahman's supporters consist of political parties and a combination of Islamic boarding schools that have always been winners in the previous Pamekasan regional elections.

The significance of the involvement of kiai, belater, and juragan can also be measured from the difference in Baddrut Tamam's victory which is 6 (six) percent adrift, namely 257,738 votes (52.9%) compared to 228,596 votes (47.03%). If victory can be determined on the material wealth of the candidate pair, Baddrut Tamam-Raja'e should be able to win the contest more than 6 (six) percent because his wealth reaches Rp. 11,806,158,002, - or three times the wealth of Kholilurrahman-Fathor Rohman which is only Rp. 3,760,604,712,-. On the other hand, judging from the track record of the party and supporting Islamic boarding schools, Baddrut Tamam should certainly lose. This is because the Islamic boarding school supporting Kholilurrahman is a combination of Islamic boarding schools that are always involved as the main mover and take turns winning the previous Pamekasan regional election.

The combination of Islamic boarding schools driving the main drivers in the Pamekasan Regional Election in question is the Banyuwanyar Islamic Boarding School and the Bata-Bata Islamic Boarding School. In the previous Pamekasan regional election, the two Islamic boarding schools had different support, but became a coalition in the 2018 Pamekasan regional election. In the 2008 regional elections, Bata-Bata Islamic Boarding School won Kholilurrahman as Regent of Pamekasan from 2008 to 2013. In the 2013 regional election, Banyuwanyar Islamic Boarding School won Achmad Syafii as Regent of Pamekasan 2013-2018.

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