

HEGEMONY DA'WAH OF NAHDLATUL ULAMA KIAI IN THE 2020 REGENT ELECTION: A CASE STUDY IN SEMARANG DISTRICT

Ahmad Shofi Muhyiddin¹
IAIN Kudus, Jawa Tengah, Indonesia
e-mail: ashofi@iainkudus.ac.id

Diterima: 31 Agustus 2023

Disetujui: 5 Desember 2023

Dipublikasikan: 29 Desember 2023

Abstract

Kiai as religious elites have a high "bargaining position" in winning election candidates, including in the 2020 Semarang district regent election. This research aims to investigate the preaching-hegemony of NU kiai in Semarang district in the 2020 Semarang district regent election, so it is included in the field research category with a critical qualitative approach method that is descriptive-analytical using the analysis technique of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. The results of this research show that the motive for the involvement of NU kiai in the 2020 Semarang Regency Regent election was to fight for Islamic values that are rahmatan lil 'ālamīn, upholding the commandments of ma'ruf nahi munkar, and developing Islamic boarding schools. Then, the preaching-hegemony of NU kiai in winning candidates in the 2020 Semarang Regency Regent election was realized in two parts; The first is the lay rural community, the practice of hegemony is carried out through routine recitations or what is usually called Naharul Ijtima' which is held every Kliwon Sunday. "Submission of knowledge" is directed as a form of obedience to the kiai's dawuh in order to obtain blessings. The second part is the educated people and NU administrators. Hegemony in this section is carried out by utilizing learned community discussion forums and coordination meetings by all administrators, both NU institutional administrators and NU autonomous agency administrators at every level. The path of hegemony for educated groups and NU administrators is directed more rationally by showing a good track record that has been carried out by the pair of candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent who are promoted and then linked to the science of jurisprudence which discusses the legal obligation to elect fair and responsible leaders. This legal basis was then used as a theme in routine discussions every Friday Wage and coordination meetings between NU administrators once a month.

Keywords: *Hegemony, NU kiai, Motives and Practices of Hegemony Da'wah.*

Abstrak

Kiai sebagai elit agama mempunyai "bargaining position" yang tinggi dalam pemenangan kandidat pemilu, termasuk pada pemilihan Bupati kabupaten Semarang tahun 2020. Penelitian ini bertujuan tentang dakwah-hegemoni kiai NU di kabupaten Semarang dalam pemilihan Bupati kabupaten Semarang tahun 2020, sehingga masuk kategori penelitian lapangan dengan metode pendekatan kualitatif kritis yang bersifat deskriptif-analisis dengan teknik analisis teori hegemoni Antonio Gramsci. Hasil Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa motif keterlibatan kiai NU dalam pemilihan Bupati kabupaten Semarang tahun 2020 adalah untuk memperjuangkan nilai-nilai Islam yang rahmatan lil 'ālamīn, menegakkan amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, dan mengembangkan pondok pesantren. Kemudian, dakwah-hegemoni kiai NU dalam pemenangan kandidat pada pemilihan Bupati kabupaten

Semarang tahun 2020 diwujudkan melalui dua bagian; Pertama adalah masyarakat pedesaan yang awam, praktik hegemoni dilakukan melalui pengajian rutin atau yang biasa disebut Naharul Ijtima' yang dilaksanakan setiap Minggu Kliwon. "Penundukan pengetahuan" diarahkan sebagai bentuk kepatuhan atas dawuh kiai agar mendapatkan keberkahan. Bagian kedua yakni kaum terpelajar dan pengurus NU. Hegemoni pada bagian ini dilakukan dengan memanfaatkan forum diskusi masyarakat terpelajar dan rapat koordinasi oleh semua pengurus, baik pengurus lembaga NU maupun pengurus badan otonom NU di setiap tingkatan. Lajur hegemoni bagi kelompok terpelajar dan pengurus NU diarahkan secara lebih rasional dengan menunjukkan rekam jejak yang baik yang telah dilakukan oleh pasangan calon Bupati dan Wakil Bupati yang diusung kemudian dikaitkan dengan ilmu fikih yang membahas tentang wajibnya hukum memilih pemimpin yang adil dan bertanggung jawab. Dasar hukum ini kemudian dijadikan tema dalam diskusi rutin setiap Jum'at Wage dan rapat koordinasi antar pengurus NU setiap satu bulan sekali.

Kata-kata kunci: Hegemoni, Kiai NU, Motif dan Praktik Dakwah-Hegemoni.

INTRODUCTION

Today the role of the kiai as an Islamic religious elite determines the selection of constituents in elections, moreover the kiai have power in terms of social and cultural status and patronage of the Islamic community, of course, has a strong influence in various matters in the surrounding community, one of which is political influence.¹ The kiai's political influence can be formed more due to the kiai's progress and role, which apart from being active in preaching Islamic values, religious knowledge, is also committed to the welfare and social interests of the community.² Kiai is a figure who has a central position in building public morality. As an educated elite, the kiai play an important role in providing Islamic insights, even as role models in the application of Islamic values in society. The kiai's actions and roles eventually gave rise to "charisma" that was able to hypnotize the public. People do not hesitate to say "*ndunyo-akhirat nderek kiai*" (in this world and in the hereafter follow the kiai).³ A statement that shows the extraordinary culture of patronage and charisma of the kiai in society. This obedience makes the kiai have

¹ Fathor Rosi, "Gerakan Politik Kiai Dan Dakwah Islam: Membaca Aktifitas Dakwah Dan Politik Kiai Pada Momentum Pemilu," *At-Turost : Journal Of Islamic Studies*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.52491/At.V7i2.34>; Hilmi Ridho, Abdul Wasik, And Sobri Washil, "Kiai Dan Politik: Relasi Ulama Dan Umara Dalam Mewujudkan Perdamaian Umat Beragama Dan Bernegara," *Tarbiya Islamia*, 2021; Abdul Haris And Abdulloh Dardum, "Kiai Nu Dan Politik (Keterlibatan Kiai Nu Jember Dalam Kontestasi Pilpres 2019)," *Fenomena*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.35719/Fenomena.V20i1.51>.

² Samrudi And Abd. Hadi Faishol, "Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Dakwah Dan Politik Kiai," *Da'wa: Jurnal Bimbingan Penyuluhan & Konseling Islam* 1, No. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.36420/Dawa.V1i2.107>; Miftah Faridl, "Perilaku Sosial Politik Kiai Di Tengah Masyarakat Transisi Kasus Di Wilayah Cirebon Dan Bandung," *Mimbar: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan*, 2005.

³ Dewi Masitah And Moch Mubarak Muharam, "Hegemoni Agama (Kyai) Dalam Pemilihan Wali Kota Pasuruan 2020". *Jurnal El-Riyasah*, Vol. 12, No. 2, (2021): 234–51. [Doi: Http://Dx.Doi.Org/10.24014/Jel.V12i2.14065](http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/Jel.V12i2.14065).

a high "bargaining position" in politics.⁴ This is then "used" by politicians to gain votes. In almost every democratic party, the figure of the kiai is used as the foremost "vote getter" in the success of the political goals of politicians.⁵

This reality can be well schemed by the PDI Perjuangan and PKB parties as the parties holding the most "seats" in carrying the pair Ngesti Nugraha and M. Basari as candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent. Departing from this reality, the PDI Perjuangan and PKB parties then looked to the Nahdlatul Ulama kiai (*henceforth in this paper referred to as NU kiai*) to make agreements and cooperate. This reality was discovered directly by researchers in the field. Because the researchers witnessed firsthand the process of agreements and collaboration carried out. The form of this collaboration is that if the NGEBAS pair (Ngesti Nugroho and M. Basari) win the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent, they will participate in "*ngopeni*" (enliven) Islamic religious activities and provide incentive assistance for the teacher council as well as the development of infrastructure for Islamic educational institutions such as Qur'an Educational Parks (*TPQ*), Religious Program Schools (*Madrasah Diniyah*), and NU Islamic Boarding Schools in the Semarang District area.⁶ Therefore, Muzayinul Arif, deputy chairman of the Semarang District PKB Branch Representative Council (DPC), dares to claim that in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent as many as 80% of kiai expressed a commitment to support the pair with serial number 2.⁷

The high socio-religious position of the NU kiai in the eyes of the people of Semarang District has an impact on the strong influence they have. This condition is also a strength that is owned to exercise hegemony over the entire community to choose the NGEBAS pair. *The gap* in this study is that a kiai should act as a neutral individual because he is a role model and a place for society to rely on in matters of religion and social morality. However, the reality is that the kiai becomes part of a political actor who indirectly makes him a support in political matters, even with the high position he has, the

⁴ Rosi, "Gerakan Politik Kiai Dan Dakwah Islam: Membaca Aktifitas Dakwah Dan Politik Kiai Pada Momentum Pemilu"; Samrudi And Abd. Hadi Faishol, "Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Dakwah Dan Politik Kiai."

⁵ Muhammad Amrillah, "Dakwah Dalam Hegemoni Politik Studi Peran Politik Kiai Pada Pemilihan Legislatif 2019 Di Kecamatan Praya Kabupaten Kabupaten Semarang Tengah," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Studi Islam*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (2021): 9–34. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.51806/Al-Hikmah.V2i3.4294>.

⁶ Hal Ini Seperti Diungkapkan Oleh Beberapa Kiai Di Penu Kabupaten Semarang Ketika Bertemu Berbicara Dengan Peneliti Saat Observasi Ke Kantor Penu Kabupaten Semarang.

⁷ <https://jateng.tribunnews.com/2020/10/11/dpc-pkb-klaim-80-persen-kiai-dukung-pasangan-ngebas-di-pilkada-kabupaten-semarang-2020>

kiai becomes a political magnet.⁸

This kind of condition has more or less influenced the kiai da'wah activities.⁹ What is most visible from this influence is the shift in the content of the kiai's lectures at recitation events which should have emphasized more on the aspects of worship, morals, Islamic religious topics and the condition of social morality in society, turning into political orations. Da'wah material is more or less co-opted by the political interests of certain groups. The recitation is no longer purely Islamic studies but rather becomes a vessel for political socialization.¹⁰ So why did the Semarang district NU kiai get involved as political actors in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent? In fact, to win the candidates they support, the Semarang district NU kiai in their da'wah often dominate the community. Then how about the hegemony da'wah of the Semarang district NU kiai in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent? Some of these questions become the formulation of the problem in this simple research.

The kiai's involvement in practical politics has become quite a controversial topic. According to several previous studies, the participation of kiai in practical politics is a must as a form of da'wah and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar in the political environment. This is because the kiai have qualified religious knowledge so that they are expected to be able to have a major influence in fighting for the interests of Muslims through politics,¹¹ fighting for social justice, overcoming various socio-political problems faced by society,¹² as well as bringing Islamic moral and ethical values into practical politics, so as to help build a cleaner and more honest politics.¹³

In contrast to the results of the research above, Syarif and Prastiwi in their research stated that the kiai should remain neutral in politics, because the role of the kiai is more to teach Islamic teachings and provide advice to the people, not engage in practical politics.¹⁴

⁸ Zuly Qodir, "Muhammadiyah Dan Aksi Damai Bela Islam : Rejuvenasi Politik Umat Islam?," *Maarif* 11 (2016): 135–55.

⁹ Ulin Nuha, "Peran Politik Kiai Dalam Proses Politik Di Partai Politik (Studi Kasus Peran Kh. A. Haris Shodaqoh Di Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)," *Politika : Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 3, No. 2 (2013): 29–37.

¹⁰ Amrillah, "Dakwah Dalam Hegemoni Politik Studi Peran Politik Kiai Pada Pemilihan Legislatif 2019 Di Kecamatan Praya Kabupaten Kabupaten Semarang Tengah."

¹¹ Ridho, Wasik, And Washil, "Kiai Dan Politik: Relasi Ulama Dan Umara Dalam Mewujudkan Perdamaian Umat Beragama Dan Bernegara."

¹² Haris And Dardum, "Kiai Nu Dan Politik (Keterlibatan Kiai Nu Jember Dalam Kontestasi Pilpres 2019)."

¹³ Syamsul Rijal, "Peran Politik Kiai Dalam Dalam Pendidikan Pesantren," *Tadrīs Volume*, 2014.

¹⁴ Zainuddin Syarif, "Pergeseran Perilaku Politik Kiai Dan Santri Di Pamekasan Madura," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.21154/Al-Tahrir.V16i2.500>.

The kiai's involvement in practical politics can lead to the politicization of religion, which can divide society and undermine the values of tolerance and unity, and can also divert focus from their main duties as teachers and mentors of religion.¹⁵

Other research was conducted by Sadi with a focus on the motives for the involvement of NU kiai in the Glenmore sub-district, Banyuwangi District in the 2009 election. The kiai's involvement in the election was based on their motives for carrying out religious doctrine, motives for social status, economy, and pragmatic power.¹⁶ Not much different, Nurhadi's research¹⁷ shows that Islamic boarding school kiai in Madura also have domination of power over society in all aspects, whether religious, social or political. More than that, the kiai of the Islamic boarding school is the determinant starting from the management of the party to who is eligible to become a candidate for the people's representatives. This also happened in Pasuruan City where the power and leadership of the kiai, supported by the condition of the santri community, succeeded in making the pair Saifullah Yusuf and Adi Wibowo win the 2020 Pasuruan City Election contestation.¹⁸

This is of course different from the socio-cultural conditions of the north coast of Java, where the kiai's hegemony cannot be applied as a whole to the community. The kiai only has power and authority before the santri and their guardians. Even so, the power of the kiai's hegemony over the santri and their guardians can overpower the voice of the community outside the pesantren. Anugrah and Fauzi show that the hegemony of the kiai on the north coast of East Java, especially the kiai of the Sunan Drajat Islamic Boarding School, through lectures directed at students and their guardians to follow him, became a successful force for hegemony in winning the pair carried by the kiai in the Lamongan Regent election in 2015.¹⁹

The kiai's relationship with various political polemics does not always work on the basis of the benefits of each party. There are times when the two are synergized in a positive

¹⁵ Merlia Indah Prastiwi, "Politisasi Pesantren Dan Pergeseran Fungsi Pesantren Di Madura," *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.19105/Karsa.V23i2.719>.

¹⁶ H Sadi, "Kiai Dan Politik: Mengintip Motif Kiai Nu (Nahdlatul Ulama) Dalam Pemilu 2009 Di Glenmore Kabupaten Banyuwangi," *Khazanah Pendidikan Jurnal Ilmiah Kependidikan*, 2016.

¹⁷ Nurhadi & Sunarso, "Peran Kiai Dalam Membangun Partisipasi Pemilih," *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan* 3, No. 2 (2016): 169–75, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17977/Um019v3i2p169-175>.

¹⁸ Masitah And Muharam, "Hegemoni Agama (Kyai) Dalam Pemilihan Wali Kota Pasuruan 2020."

¹⁹ Yeshinta Veradella Anugrah And Agus Machfud Fauzi, "Hegemoni Kyai Terhadap Santri" 7, No. 4 (2019), <https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/Paradigma/Article/View/31068>.

activity where both are mutually beneficial. Both from the da'wah side which is helped by the acceleration of goals and reach as well as from the political side during the election period.²⁰ At certain times the neutrality of a kiai is also found in dealing with political times. As is the case with the Ngalah Pasuruan Islamic Boarding School. Kiai Sholeh, as the leader of the pesantren, admits that he is neutral and does not belong to any particular political party. This was done as an effort to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. Kiai Sholeh supports the democratic system in Indonesia and chooses to be neutral in order to maintain peace with Islamic boarding schools students, religious teachers, lecturers, students guardians, and graduates.²¹

The novelty of this research lies in the motives and impact of the involvement of NU clerics in the 2020 Semarang Regency Regent election where it is well known that Semarang Regency is a "*bull stable*"²² where in general the people are *abangans*.²³ Not only that, the practice of hegemony da'wah by the NU kiai among the *abangans* is also an interesting novelty, considering that most previous studies focused on the hegemony of the kiai towards the *santri* community.

The hegemony of NU preaching by kiai in the context of regent elections is the center of attention because it represents the unique social, political and cultural dynamics of the area. A deeper understanding of this phenomenon is important because it can provide insight into how religious influence and the Islamic values advocated by NU play a key role in shaping public opinion and supporting certain candidates. In view of this background, case analysis in Semarang Regency becomes relevant to explain how the hegemony of NU preaching by kiai can shape people's political choices and influence the results of the regent election. Thus, an in-depth understanding of the relationship between NU's da'wah hegemony and local political processes in Semarang Regency in 2020 can provide a valuable contribution to further understanding of political dynamics and diversity at the local level in Indonesia.

²⁰ Nurpita Sari, "Kiyai Dan Politik: Analisis Peran Kiyai Dalam Pilkada Oki 2018 Kecamatan Sp Padang," *Ampera: A Research Journal On Politics And Islamic Civilization*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.19109/Ampera.V1i3.7428>.

²¹ Ibnu Shofi And Talkah Talkah, "Analisis Teori Otoritas Max Webber Dalam Kepemimpinan Multikultural Kiai Sholeh Bahruddin Ngalah (Studi Kepemimpinan Multikultural Di Pondok Pesantren Ngalah Pasuruan)," *Jurnal Kependidikan Islam*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.15642/Jkpi.2021.11.1.134-156>.

²² The Designation For The Place That Is The Base Of The Pdi Perjuangan Party's Supporters

²³ *Abangan* Is A Designation For A Group Of Muslim Javanese Residents Who Practice A More Syncretic Version Of Islam When Compared To The More Orthodox Santri Group.

METHOD

This research is a type of field research which involves collecting data directly from the location or situation under study.²⁴ This study aims to understand the context and meaning associated with the phenomenon under study, therefore the data is described in detail, systematically and structured,²⁵ then interpreted using several analytical techniques to produce findings about the phenomenon of da'wah in political hegemony carried out by NU kiai who member of the Board of Nahdlatul Ulama Branch (PCNU) Semarang District. Thus, the approach used in this study is a *critical qualitative approach* that is *descriptive-analytic* in nature.²⁶

The research data was obtained through interviews and observation processes. Interviews were conducted with 6 informants from the Semarang district PCNU²⁷ kiai, cultural kiai, NU cadres who are members of the KPU²⁸ and Bawaslu²⁹ Semarang district and the general public who actively participate in NU's routine recitations commonly known as *Naharul Ijtima'*. These six informants were selected through purposive sampling, namely the selection of informants was carried out randomly,³⁰

but aimed at providing appropriate data needs and supporting research. The informants who were selected through purposive sampling carried the aim of answering and knowing the problem points which were the main focus of the research.³¹ This is in

²⁴ C. Richard Skogley And Carl D. Sawyer, "Field Research," In *Turfgrass*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.2134/agronmonogr32.c17>; Nina Nurdiani, "Teknik Sampling Snowball Dalam Penelitian Lapangan," *Comtech: Computer, Mathematics And Engineering Applications*, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.21512/comtech.v5i2.2427>.

²⁵ Suharyo Suharyo, "Paradigma Kritis Dalam Penelitian Wacana," *Nusa: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.14710/nusa.13.3.482-492>.

²⁶ Sugiyono, "Data Primer Dan Sekunder," *Paper Knowledge . Toward A Media History Of Documents*, 2016.

²⁷ Penu Stands For Nahdlatul Ulama Branch Manager. Penu In The Nu Organizational Structure Occupies Or Manages Interests At The District Or City Level.

²⁸ The General Election Commission (Kpu) Is A State Institution That Organizes General Elections (Elections) In Indonesia, Which Include General Elections For Members Of The Dpr, Dpd, Dprd, General Elections For The President And Vice President, As Well As Elections For Regional Heads And Deputy Regional Heads In Provinces/Districts/City.

²⁹ The General Election Supervisory Body (Abbreviated As Bawaslu) Is An Election Management Body Whose Job Is To Oversee The Holding Of Elections Throughout The Territory Of The Unitary State Of The Republic Of Indonesia.

³⁰ Masri Singarimbun and Sofian Effendi, *Metode Penelitian Survei* (Jakarta: Lp3es, 1995).

³¹ Abdullah, "Observasi Pengumpulan Data," *Romney Dan Steinbart*, 2015; Hasyim Hasanah, "Teknik-Teknik Observasi (Sebuah Alternatif Metode Pengumpulan Data Kualitatif Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial)," *At-Taqaddum*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.21580/at.v8i1.1163>.

line with the research *gap*, namely the phenomenon that should and actually does not run in sync.

This research was conducted in the Semarang district environment, especially in the Semarang district PCNU office, in the Bandungan sub-district to be precise around the residence of the Semarang district PCNU chairman and in West Ungaran sub-district to be precise around the residence of the Semarang district RMI NU³² chairman who was also used as a place for recitation of *Naharul Ijtima'*. This research was conducted over a period of 3 months, from May to July 2023. The results of the interviews were recorded, then transcribed. From the results of the transcript, the right data was selected to be used as the main data source.³³

The data that has been collected is analyzed using the hegemony theory analysis technique from Antonio Gramsci by taking into account the historical and cultural contexts that influence the dynamics of political hegemony,³⁴ through 4 stages; stages of ideological analysis, stages of narrative analysis, stages of analysis of social roles and positions, and stages of discourse analysis.³⁵ The final step in this study was the triangulation process carried out by the researcher. This process was carried out in an effort to cross check between data from interviews with the literature studies obtained and other opinions.³⁶

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

SOCIAL HEGEMONY

Social hegemony is a term in sociology that refers to the domination and influence of certain groups or classes throughout society through the control of socially accepted norms, values and culture.³⁷ This concept was introduced by Max Weber, a prominent

³² Rmi Nu Is An Institution That Coordinates Islamic Boarding Schools In Nu

³³ Albi Dan Johan Setaiwan Anggito, "Metodologi Pnelitian Kualitatif," *Cv Jejak*, 2018.

³⁴ Umaimah Wahid, "Otonomi Daerah Dan Komunikasi Politik Perempuan: (Analisis Gramscian Kandidat Perempuan Parlemen Provinsi Dki Jakarta Tahun 2009)," *Sosiohumaniora*, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.24198/Sosiohumaniora.V16i1.5682>.

³⁵ Heny Anggreini, "Formasi Dan Negosiasi Ideologi: Kajian Hegemoni Gramsci Dalam Cerpen 'Sarman' Karya Seno Gumira Ajidarma," *Totobuang*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.26499/Ttbn.V7i1.139>; Endah Siswati, "Anatomi Teori Hegemoni Antonio Gramsci," *Translitera : Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi Dan Studi Media*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.35457/Translitera.V5i1.355>. Kuswatun Khasanah, "Hegemoni Kekuasaan Dan Ideologi Dalam Novel Pulang Karya Tere Liye (Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Sastra)," *Diskursus: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Indonesia*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.30998/Diskursus.V2i01.6661>.

³⁶ Moh. Zamili, "Menghindar Dari Bias: Praktik Triangulasi Dan Kesahihan Riset Kualitatif," *Lisan Al-Hal: Jurnal Pengembangan Pemikiran Dan Kebudayaan*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.35316/Lisanalhal.V9i2.97>; Bachtiar S Bachri, "Meyakinkan Validitas Data Melalui Triangulasi Pada Penelitian Kualitatif," *Teknologi Pendidikan*, 2010.

³⁷ Bahrul Ulum, St. Raudhatul Jannah, And Mohd. Arifullah, "Hegemoni Sosial Dan Politik Identitas Putra Daerah Jambi," *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2017): 223–249. <https://doi.org/10.15642/Ad.2017.7.1.223-249>.

sociologist who studied many aspects of social and political life. According to Weber, social hegemony can be achieved in three basic ways: power, violence, and authority.³⁸ Power is defined as the ability to make other people do what you want them to do. Violence refers to the use of force to impose one's will. At the same time, authority is the ability to influence other people to do what they want.³⁹

Weber emphasized that authority is the most effective form of social hegemony, because it involves voluntary acceptance of the norms and values proposed by the ruling group or class.⁴⁰ In this case, domination is considered more stable and sustainable than through force or power alone.⁴¹

Unlike his predecessor, Antonio Gramsci, a philosopher, social theorist, and political activist from Italy, developed Weber's theory of social hegemony. For Gramsci, social hegemony involves power that is more complex and inclusive than simply the use of physical force or authority. According to Gramsci, social hegemony consists of two main elements: political domination and cultural domination.⁴² Political domination involves control over state political and security institutions, while cultural domination involves the influence that certain groups or classes have on the norms, values, and culture adopted by society as a whole.⁴³ Gramsci argues that social hegemony can be maintained by the ruling class by obtaining support from other classes through mastery over culture and ideology. By controlling the mass media, educational institutions and other cultural institutions, the ruling class can influence people's views and values to suit their own interests.⁴⁴

The main difference between Weber and Gramsci regarding social hegemony lies in their understanding of the nature and manner in which social hegemony is formed. Weber saw social hegemony as a concept related to mastery over the norms, values and culture

³⁸ David Fone Et Al., "Using Local Authority Data For Action On Health Inequalities: The Caerphilly Health And Social Needs Study," *British Journal Of General Practice*, 2002.

³⁹ András Körösenyi, "The Theory And Practice Of Plebiscitary Leadership: Weber And The Orbán Regime," *East European Politics And Societies*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325418796929>.

⁴⁰ Jay A. Conger, "Max Weber's Conceptualization Of Charismatic Authority: Its Influence On Organizational Research," *The Leadership Quarterly*, 1993, [https://doi.org/10.1016/1048-9843\(93\)90035-R](https://doi.org/10.1016/1048-9843(93)90035-R).

⁴¹ François Gauthier, "Authenticity, Consumer Culture And Charismatic Authority1," *Studies In Religion-Sciences Religieuses*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429820920885>.

⁴² Susan Flynn, "Revisiting Hegemony: A Gramscian Analysis For Contemporary Social Work," *Irish Journal Of Sociology*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0791603519884201>.

⁴³ Matthew Rachar, "Power, Hegemony, And Social Reality In Gramsci And Searle," *Journal Of Political Power*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379x.2016.1191222>.

⁴⁴ Cecilia Jaques, Mine Islar, And Gavin Lord, "Post-Truth: Hegemony On Social Media And Implications For Sustainability Communication," *Sustainability*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.3390/Su11072120>.

adopted by society, while Gramsci developed a more complex view of social hegemony as a concept involving political and cultural power.⁴⁵ Weber emphasized that authority is the most effective form of social hegemony because it involves voluntary acceptance of the norms and values proposed by the ruling group or class. However, Weber does not specifically consider how political and cultural power can affect the formation of social hegemony.⁴⁶

On the other hand, Gramsci developed a broader concept of social hegemony, which involves political and cultural domination. According to Gramsci's view, political and cultural power is used to influence the norms, values, and culture adopted by society as a whole, thereby influencing the way people think and act. Therefore, social hegemony is not only formed through the authority proposed by the ruling group or class, but also through the wider and more complex influences involved in political and cultural domination.⁴⁷

DA'WAH; BETWEEN COMMUNICATION AND POLITICAL HEGEMONY

Da'wah can be interpreted as a process of communication carried out by a preacher or kiai to the community with the aim of conveying Islamic religious teachings and strengthening faith and piety.⁴⁸ Da'wah methods include various ways, including the delivery of messages orally or in writing, as well as techniques carried out to achieve these goals.⁴⁹ Da'wah activities are an integral part of Islamic teachings, which aim to ensure the realization of mercy for all nature.⁵⁰

Da'wah can also be considered as a form of political communication, because in preaching, a preacher (da'i) or kiai uses Islamic religious teachings to communicate with the public regarding political issues that occur in the surrounding environment.⁵¹ Political

⁴⁵ Rachar, "Power, Hegemony, And Social Reality In Gramsci And Searle."

⁴⁶ José Francisco Jiménez-Díaz, "The Political Ethic In Max Weber: Context, Analysis And Interpretation," *Perseitas*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.21501/23461780.2684>.

⁴⁷ Rachar, "Power, Hegemony, And Social Reality In Gramsci And Searle."

⁴⁸ Ahmad Shofi Muhyiddin, "Dakwah Transformatif Kiai (Studi Terhadap Gerakan Transformasi Sosial Kh. Abdurrahman Wahid)," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.21580/Jid.V39.1.3934>.

⁴⁹ Mahfudx, "Konsep Komunikasi Dakwah Persuasif Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an," *At-Tabsyir: Jurnal Komunikasi Penyiaran Islam*, 2015.

⁵⁰ Burhanuddin Burhanuddin, "Membangun Pola Komunikasi Dakwah Sebagai Alternatif Mencegah Sikap Intoleransi Beragama," *Dakwah: Jurnal Kajian Dakwah Dan Kemasyarakatan*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.15408/Dakwah.V21i1.11796>.

⁵¹ Cucu, "Da'wah Dan Politik: Tinjauan Komunikasi Politik Propaganda Dalam Perspektif Gerakan Dakwah Nabi Saw," *Ichrd*, 2020.

communication in da'wah can also be interpreted as a way for a preacher (da'i) or kiai to influence society in a political view that is in accordance with the teachings of Islam.⁵²

In da'wah, a preacher (da'i) or kiai can use various political communication strategies such as using language that is easily understood by the public, using examples of everyday life related to politics, and using mass or social media to disseminate political messages that are considered important.⁵³ In addition, in political da'wah, a preacher (da'i) or kiai can also utilize political communication techniques such as rhetoric, persuasion, and social influence to influence society in political views that are considered in accordance with Islamic teachings.⁵⁴

However, a preacher (da'i) or kiai must pay attention to ethics and limitations in using da'wah as political communication. A preacher or kiai must maintain a policy of neutrality and not take sides with a particular political party or group. In addition, political da'wah must also pay attention to security aspects and not cause riots or conflicts in society.⁵⁵

The problem, which often occurs in the field is the existence of political hegemony in da'wah. Political hegemony in da'wah can occur when a preacher (da'i) or kiai is involved in practical political activities such as being a member of a political party, supporting or siding with a particular political candidate, or even being a member of the people's representative assembly.⁵⁶ In this context, da'wah is used to strengthen the position of certain individuals or political groups, with the aim of influencing, controlling, or manipulating the political and social views of society.⁵⁷

This can happen because a preacher or kiai has a great influence on society, so that certain political parties or candidates can take advantage of the popularity and charisma

⁵² Ujang Mahadi, "Komunikasi Politik Kiai Pada Kampanye Pemilu," *Addin*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.21043/Addin.V9i2.614>.

⁵³ Andi Rosa, "Politik Dakwah Dan Dakwah Politik Di Era Reformasi Indonesia," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.21580/Ws.2014.22.1.259>.

⁵⁴ Muhyiddin, "Dakwah Transformatif Kiai (Studi Terhadap Gerakan Transformasi Sosial Kh. Abdurrahman Wahid)."

⁵⁵ Rosa, "Politik Dakwah Dan Dakwah Politik Di Era Reformasi Indonesia."

⁵⁶ Jafar Ahmad And Gesit Yudha, "Strategi Politik Devide Et Impera Belanda Dan Relevansinya Dengan Polarisasi Agama Pasca Pilpres 2019 Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Tapis: Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 18, No. 2 (2022): 34, <http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/tapis/article/view/14288/5816>. 34

⁵⁷ Lufaei Lufaei, "Ambivalensi Dakwah Dan Ambisi Politik (Membaca Sisi Tak Terbaca Pada Gerakan Dakwah Mahasiswa Pembebasan)," *Hayula: Indonesian Journal Of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.21009/Hayula.002.2.01>.

of a preacher (da'i) or kiai to gain public support.⁵⁸ In practice, the kiai can maintain political hegemony through da'wah, which utilizes religious influence to influence people's political views.⁵⁹ Da'wah is then used to influence public opinion by emphasizing certain values or issues that are consistent with the political goals of certain groups. By influencing people's perceptions, preachers (da'i) or kiai try to create support and legitimacy for their political policies.⁶⁰

The description above is what the researcher then calls the term "dakwah-hegemony". For researchers, "dakwah-hegemony" is a term that combines the concept of da'wah with the concept of hegemony. This refers to efforts to influence and dominate the way of thinking, views and behavior of others through da'wah efforts. In this context, da'wah is directed to achieve the goal of hegemony in which certain ideas, values, and principles of the da'wah group become dominant and have a strong influence on others. Thus, hegemony da'wah can form the political identity of a group by linking their political views with certain religious values. This can strengthen political allegiance and affiliation in a society based on religious identity.⁶¹ It can even dominate certain educational, political or social institutions, such as educational institutions, the media, or social organizations, to support the political agenda of certain groups.⁶²

MOTIVES FOR NU KIAI'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE 2020 ELECTION FOR THE SEMARANG DISTRICT REGENT

Disclosure of the motives for the involvement of NU kiai in the political scene is a space that must be uncovered in order to gain a complete understanding of the hegemony da'wah of NU kiai in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent. This is because the typology of kiai based on their motives for involvement in politics is different. There are

⁵⁸ Lufaefi.

⁵⁹ Siti Asiyah And Arif Chasanudin, "Pondok Pesantren Dan Dakwah Politik: Kajian Histori Pondok Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari Bangsri Jepara," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 40, No. 1 (2020): 27–39, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v40.1.5296>.

⁶⁰ Suharto Suharto And Mahmuddin Mahmuddin, "Komunikasi Dakwah Dan Fenomena Demonstrasi Anarkis Di Makassar," *Idarotuna*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.24014/idarotuna.v3i2.12163>; Budi Kurniawan, "Politisasi Agama Di Tahun Politik: Politik Pasca-Kebenaran Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* -, 2018.

⁶¹ Nurma Yuwita, Ahmad Aminuddin, And Mahatva Yoga Adi Pradana, "Relasi Sosial Elit Politik Dan Sesepuh Desa Melalui Langgar Di Kabupaten Malang," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2019.131-07>. Gatut Setiadi, "Netralitas Politik Kiai Dalam Perspektif Teori Interaksi Simbolik," *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2019): 123-135. <https://doi.org/10.24014/jdr.v30i2.8047>.

⁶² Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "Sejarah Politik Politisasi Agama Dan Dampaknya Di Indonesia," *Maarif*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v13i2.21>.

at least four differences in the kiai's political attitudes based on their motives; *First*, the kiai whose political stance tends to be pragmatic and integrates himself in power and abandons his ideological label. *Second*, the accommodative kiai whose political thoughts and attitudes are receptive and compromising. *Third*, kiai who are transformative or have a commitment to fundamental changes but reject radical ways. And *fourth*, the principalist kiai who want to uphold the basic principles of Islam radically.⁶³

Understanding the political motives of the NU kiai in Semarang district is not easy. Kiai as a religious elite usually in carrying out an action and decision always consider many aspects. These considerations are sometimes dogmatic in nature, namely values originating from religious understanding, are sociological in nature and even are pragmatic in nature.⁶⁴

The choice to engage in politics or not for a kiai is an individual choice of kiai based on the internalization of his religious values as well as being contextualized in the social life that exists in his community. There are no prohibitions or recommendations from the NU organization that state explicitly the conditions under which a kiai should engage in politics or not. However, the political stance of a kiai in history has a tendency for them to follow the political stance of the NU organization. This means that although the political attitude or their choice to engage in politics or not is the preference of the individual kiai, the political attitude of the NU organization is used as a reference base for the NU kiai at each level.⁶⁵ Therefore, as an individual who has many roles in society and is also an elite within the NU organization, when choosing to engage in politics or not, it is difficult to distinguish between his own political stance and the political stance of the organization.

In relation to the context of political NU kiai, there are several motives that researchers found in the field why NU kiai should be involved in politics, even though in the case of the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent the kiai's involvement in

⁶³ Sadi, "Kiai Dan Politik: Mengintip Motif Kiai Nu (Nahdlatul Ulama) Dalam Pemilu 2009 Di Glenmore Kabupaten Banyuwangi"; Hisnuddin Lubis And Nelly Rohmatillah, "Komodifikasi Otoritas Kiai Dalam Kontestasi Politik (Studi Komodifikasi Otoritas Kiai Di Kecamatan Pasean Kabupaten Pamekasan)," *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Humanis*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.17977/Um021v3i2p57-64>; Haris And Dardum, "Kiai Nu Dan Politik (Keterlibatan Kiai Nu Jember Dalam Kontestasi Pilpres 2019)."

⁶⁴ Rizky Amalia Aziz, "Kiai Dan Politik Elektoral: Peran Kiai Yusuf Chudlori Dalam Pemenangan Kandidat Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin Pada Pilpres 2019 Di Kecamatan Tegalrejo," *Jurnal Polgov*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.22146/Polgov.V2i2.1678>.

⁶⁵ Sadi, "Kiai Dan Politik: Mengintip Motif Kiai Nu (Nahdlatul Ulama) Dalam Pemilu 2009 Di Glenmore Kabupaten Banyuwangi."

politics was not directly involved as a candidate but raised and supported certain candidate. These motives include:

1. Fighting for Islamic Values that are *Rahmatan lil 'ālamīn*

Islam is a religion that has solutions to human problems. Islam does not only deal with matters of the afterlife, but provides directions and procedures for humans to carry out their lives so that they are in accordance with the rules of the Creator as provisions for their hereafter. Because Islam is a way of life, it takes care of all aspects of life, including political affairs. Islam can never be far from politics. The main cause of the closeness of religion and state is that both are twin brothers. Religion and the state were both born from human efforts to organize themselves based on beliefs that originally worked in the individual realm. Because individual beliefs are formed together, have the same nuances, then humans then group into collective beliefs. It is this collective belief that produces religious authority and state authority. The two often work together against an individual. Because of this, most individuals are tied to both the state structure and the religious structure.⁶⁶

Many NU kiai believe in this kind of understanding, making politics a tool for worship. The involvement of NU kiai in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent can be understood as their attempt to use political tools as a means to carry out worship and fight for Islamic values that are *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn* in a political context. NU clerics believe that their involvement in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent can become a vehicle for fighting for Islamic values that are *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn* in the political system.⁶⁷ By supporting and supporting the candidates for the Regent and Deputy Regent in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent, they are trying to influence public policy and realize Islamic aspirations that are *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn* in the Semarang district government system, such as social justice, Islamic values of community empowerment, and the interests of all Muslim.⁶⁸

Through his involvement in supporting the NGEBAS pair in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent, the NU kiai intend to be able to fight for and protect the people's rights to freedom of religion, including the rights of the Muslim minority. They

⁶⁶ Abdul Gaffar Karim, "Mengapa Agama Dan Politik Tidak Bisa Dipisahkan?". Sumber: <https://Gusdurian.Net/Mengapa-Agama-Dan-Politik-Tidak-Bisa-Dipisahkan/>

⁶⁷ Kh. Ibnu Dzakwan Ambara, "Chairman Of The Dpc Pkb Shura Council In Semarang District," 2023.

⁶⁸ Kh. Nur Cholis Tohir, Chairman Of The Shuro (Rois Syuriah) Pcnu Semarang District, *Interview*, 14 Juni 2023

seek to push for policies that respect and protect religious rights, such as freedom of worship, religious education, and freedom of religious organization. For most of the Semarang district NU kiai, local government can become a platform for enhancing the role and empowerment of Muslims in political and social life.⁶⁹ NU cadres who are involved as representatives of the people, both as the DPRD and the Regent and Deputy Regent can play a role in formulating policies that are in favor of the interests of Muslims, fighting for people's welfare, and paying attention to the voice of the people in making political decisions.⁷⁰

2. Upholding Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar

The motive of the NU kiai in joining politics is to enforce amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. The concept of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar is placed in a broad sense, namely monitoring and evaluation. In the view of the Semarang district NU kiai, this concept has a significant role, because in reality many existing socio-political arrangements are not in line with religious teachings. That's why NU kiai feel the need to get involved in promoting the candidate pair for Regent and deputy Regent in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent to control arbitrary power and deviate from moral, legal and religious rules.⁷¹

In addition, the concept of amar ma'ruf is also understood in a broad scope and understanding, namely realizing improvements in the education system, upholding the rule of law, improving people's welfare, and prioritizing development for the people.⁷² A member of the Regional People's Legislative Council (DPRD) of the Semarang district, the PKB faction, from among the sos of the cleriscs said:

“Dalam konteks amar ma’ruf nahi mungkar, menjadi politisi bagi seorang Kiai ataupun Gus (putra kiai) sesungguhnya bukan prilaku yang tabu, justru sesungguhnya dengan menjadi politisi dapat menjadi wadah untuk merealisasikan perannya dalam menegakkan amar ma’ruf nahi munkar. Kiai dapat terlibat dalam penyusunan regulasi yang mengarah pada misi amar

⁶⁹ Kh. Ahmad Fauzan, Chairman Of Tanfidhiyah Penu Semarang District, *Interview*, 15 Juni 2023

⁷⁰ Kh. Zaenal Muttaqin, Chairman Of The Nu Islamic Boarding School Association (Rmi-Nu) Semarang District, *Interview*, 13 Juni 2023

⁷¹ Kh. Zaenal Muttaqin, Chairman Of The Nu Islamic Boarding School Association (Rmi-Nu) Semarang District, *Interview*, 13 Juni 2023

⁷² Lukman Hakiem, *Politik Amar Ma’ruf Nahi Munkar : Perjuangan Dan Sikap Politik Fraksi Partai Persatuan Pembangunan Pada Sidang Tahunan Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia Tahun 2000*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Fraksi Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, Republik Indonesia, 2000).

ma'ruf nahi munkar dalam perspektif yang lebih luas, jadi bukan hanya ceramah agama yang tidak mempunyai legitimasi hukum yang kuat".⁷³

(In the context of amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar, being a politician for a kiai or Gus (a cleric's son) is actually not a taboo behavior, in fact being a politician can become a vehicle for realizing his role in enforcing amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. Kiai can be involved in drafting regulations that lead to the mission of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar in a broader perspective, so it's not just religious lectures that don't have strong legal legitimacy.)

3. Develop Islamic Boarding Schools

Islamic boarding schools as a base for NU kiai in Semarang district have a strategic role in shaping the figure of a kiai. In general, the larger the Islamic boarding school, the greater the capacity of a kiai. The benchmark for the size of a pesantren is the large number of students from various regions. It will be even bigger if they come from outside the Semarang district area, let alone outside Central Java and so on.

To support large Islamic boarding schools, Islamic boarding schools require adequate infrastructure and this cannot be achieved with the tuition fees charged to the students. Islamic boarding schools generally receive donations from the government through political relations. Therefore, for an NU kiai who manages an Islamic boarding school, his involvement in practical politics seems to be a necessity in order to be able to access social assistance funds for the development of Islamic boarding schools. A young NU kiai who heads a pesantren in Tuntang said:

“Sepertinya kita harus terlibat dalam hal ini (pemilihan Bupati Kabupaten Semarang tahun 2020), atau paling tidak berafiliasi pada politik, karena banyak sekali manfaat-manfaat yang bisa kita manfaatkan melalui jaringan-jaringan politik, salah satunya adalah akses mendapatkan bantuan untuk pengembangan pondok pesantren. Kemajuan pondok pesantren berimplikasi terhadap kemajuan pondok pesantren.”⁷⁴

⁷³ H. Badaruddin, S.Ag., The Regional People's Representative Council (Dprd) From The Semarang District Pkb Party, *Interview*, 25 Juni 2023

⁷⁴ Dr. Kh. Muhammad Hanif, M.Hum., Leader Of The Edi Mancoro Tuntang Islamic Boarding School, Semarang District, *Interview*, 25 Juni 2023

(It looks like we have to be involved in this (Semarang District Regent election), or at least affiliated with politics, because there are lots of benefits that we can take advantage of through political networks, one of which is access to assistance for the development of Islamic boarding schools. The progress of Islamic boarding schools has implications for the progress of Islamic boarding schools.)

By supporting the candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent of Semarang district who are committed to developing Islamic boarding schools, NU kiai hope to improve religious education, strengthen religious roots in society, increase the empowerment and welfare of students, create a supportive environment and facilitate the important role of Islamic boarding schools in advancing society.

HEGEMONY DA'WAH OF NAHDLATUL ULAMA KIAI IN THE 2020 ELECTION FOR THE SEMARANG DISTRICT REGENT

Culturally, the participation of the NU kiai in Semarang district in the political sphere is influenced by the cultural order of the Semarang district community which positions the NU kiai as community leaders with various advantages. The NU kiai is a figure who is respected and obeyed and even often becomes a cult. This fact causes the leadership of the NU kiai to not be limited to the religious sphere, but also to penetrate all aspects of life, including the political sphere. The participation of NU kiai in the political field is marked by their participation in the political field.

Conger stated that participation in politics consists of passive and active forms, ranging from the function of political organizations to providing financial support through payment of membership dues. In carrying out political leadership, the NU kiai use their authority based on their charismatic authority, which according to Max Weber is a special ability of the people which is a gift from God.⁷⁵

It is because of this charismatic authority that the NU kiai are recognized as someone who has the ability to lead beyond the people they lead. This charisma is manifested by the community in the form of trust, obedience and even cult towards NU kiai. The basis of this charismatic authority is not rules (laws). However, it comes from the person of the NU kiai involved. This charisma grows when the NU kiai can show

⁷⁵ Conger, "Max Weber's Conceptualization Of Charismatic Authority: Its Influence On Organizational Research."

their usefulness to society. This charismatic authority can be weakened or completely lost if it turns out that the individual concerned has made a mistake that is detrimental to society, so that people's trust in him is reduced.⁷⁶

In addition to charismatic authority, NU kiai also have traditional authority.⁷⁷ Weber called this authority the authority of a person or group of people who have long held power in society. That authority does not come from one's strengths and special qualities, but from the fact that he has been in power for a long time, so that people trust him deeply and take root in his life.⁷⁸ This traditional authority can be seen in young NU kiai who take strategic positions in leadership of Islamic-based parties without the proper cadre process at the outset of their involvement in practical politics.⁷⁹

The emergence of the NU kiai as top leaders in the above way was taken for granted by the community because it was seen as a norm. It is understandable that because of the great respect and charisma of the NU kiai figures as well as the presence of social traditions and political actors in the district of Semarang, the NU kiai are figures with acceptable capabilities and leadership. This was proven by the victory of the Semarang district district head and deputy district head candidates in 2020 which were carried by NU kiai, with the Semarang district KPU Decree Number 8/PL.02.7-Kpt/3322/KPU-Kab/I/2021 concerning Determination of Candidate Pairs for Regent and Deputy Regent of Semarang Elected in the Election of Regent and Deputy Regent of Semarang in 2020 determine the pair with serial number 2, H. Ngesti Nugraha, S.H., M.H. and H.M. Basari, ST., M.Sc., with a vote of 386,222 was elected as Regent and Deputy Regent of Semarang.⁸⁰

The victory of NGEBAS (Ngesti Nugraha and M. Basari) was not immediately easy to obtain because Ngesti was a well-known person in the world of politics, experience from being a Deputy Regent before, or because Basari had previously held a seat in the Regional People's Legislative Council (DPRD) Semarang district, or not because both of them are party cadres and even the Chairperson of the PDI Perjuangan Branch Representative Council (DPC) and PKB Semarang district. But the victory that

⁷⁶ Max Weber, "The Sociology Of Charismatic Authority [1922]," In *Readings For A History Of Anthropological Theory, Sixth Edition*, 2021.

⁷⁷ Ahmad Faisal Et Al., "Strengthening Religious Moderatism Through The Traditional Authority Of Kiai In Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2150450>.

⁷⁸ Weber, "The Sociology Of Charismatic Authority [1922]."

⁷⁹ Faisal Et Al., "Strengthening Religious Moderatism Through The Traditional Authority Of Kiai In Indonesia."

⁸⁰ <https://jdih.kpu.go.id/Jateng/Semarang/Detailkepkpu-4e4d5458704535455253557a5241253344253344>

was obtained was more due to strategy, namely involving kiai from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a force to help him produce votes. This is as stated by Drs. Muslih, Deputy Chairman of Tanfidziyah PCNU Semarang district:

“Walaupun pak Ngesti telah berpengalaman sebagai Wabup, dan pak Basari juga telah berpengalaman menjadi anggota dewan, hal itu bukan jaminan ia dapat suara yang banyak pada pilbup kabupaten Semarang. Kemenangan keduanya pada Pilbup kabupaten Semarang 2020 ini karena mereka berdua aktif mendekati kiai-kiai NU dan tokoh-tokoh agama. Para tokoh agama menyakini bahwa, kalau NGEBAS terpilih, mereka dapat menerima masukan dari para kiai NU”.⁸¹

(Even though Mr. Ngesti has experience as a Deputy Regent, and Mr. Basari also has experience as a member of the council, this is not a guarantee that he will get a lot of votes in the Semarang district election. The victory of both of them in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent was because they were both active in approaching NU kiai and religious figures. The religious leaders believed that, if NGEBAS was elected, they could receive input from the NU kiai).

NGEBAS (Ngesti Nugraha and M. Basari) makes the religious elite (kiai) their main supporters, because they realize that groups with religious knowledge can exercise hegemony over society. As an elite in society and because of the knowledge and religious authority they possess, the kiai can influence society in social and political matters.

NU kiai as Islamic elites have individual influence in creating a positive response in society. Elites have more value than other people, and have power and beyond formal power. Informal power is able to reach people to comply with advice, and appeals conveyed.⁸²

The influence of the religious elite (kiai) is getting bigger, if the pesantren, the social organization they lead is getting bigger, thus socially this gets recognition from the community. The ability and power possessed by the Islamic elite in the realm of religion, social, and politics is the social capital of the Islamic elite in influencing

⁸¹ Drs. Muslih, Deputy Chairman Of Tanfidhiyah Penu Semarang District, *Interview*, 17 Juli 2023

⁸² Kurniawan, “Politikasi Agama Di Tahun Politik : Politik Pasca-Kebenaran Di Indonesia.”

society. Therefore NGEBAS (Ngesti Nugraha and M. Basari) took advantage of the popularity of the Islamic elite to get people's voices. Candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent number 2, NGEBAS (Ngesti Nugraha and M. Basari) won because they received support from several Islamic elites, especially Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) kiai.

Support from influential elites or kiai was obtained from among the NU kiai in Semarang district, including KH. Ahmad Faozan (Chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama Branch of Semarang district), KH. Nur Kholis (Rois Syuriyah of the Nahdlatul Ulama Branch of Semarang district), KH. Faturohman (Deputy Rois Syuriyah of the Nahdlatul Ulama Branch of Semarang district), KH. Miftahudin (Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Semarang district), KH. Zaenal Abidin (Chairman of the Semarang district Indonesian Mosque Council), KH. Abdul Ghofar (Deputy Chairperson of the Nahdlatul Ulama Branch of Semarang district and also Head of the Talijagad Troops), KH. Rohadi (elder Ulama), KH Amin Abror from Jambu, Drs. Muslih (Deputy Chairperson of the Nahdlatul Ulama Branch of Semarang district), and young Nahdlatul Ulama clerics throughout Semarang district. All of these kiai stated that NGEBAS (Ngesti Nugraha and M. Basari) were representatives of the *ahlusunnah wal jama'ah*. In addition, they also made an agreement signed by NGEBAS (Ngesti Nugraha and M. Basari) if elected, which contained their willingness to fight for Islamic values that are *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn* and *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar* based on *ahlusunnah wal jama'ah*.⁸³

Then, the hegemony carried out by the kiai to the community so that they choose NGEBAS pair in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent is carried out through outreach and a da'wah approach to the community. More precisely, the form of hegemony is carried out through "*subjecting knowledge*" to the community when religious ritual practices occur. This hegemonic practice is well schemed. Hegemony is not carried out directly by the kiai to the whole community. However, it is divided into two parts. The first part is the process of hegemony over ordinary rural communities which is carried out through a spiritual approach. In its real form, the practice of hegemony is carried out through routine recitations or what is commonly called *Naharul*

⁸³ Drs. Muslih, Vice Chairman Of Tanfidhiyah Penu Semarang District, *Interview*, 17 Juli 2023

*Ijtima*⁸⁴ which is held every *Kliwon*⁸⁵ *Sunday*.⁸⁶

"*Subjecting knowledge*" is directed as a form of obedience to the preaching of the kiai in order to get blessings. The intensity of the community towards the kyai is then high because there are "*frills*" of blessings, the impact of which is that the community's adherence to the kiai becomes very high. Because for the people in this group, the kiai is a cleric or a person with religious knowledge, so all actions and utterances that come out of the kiai are a must to do. The public does not need to question what the intention and purpose of the kiai is to order something. However, community obedience is a form of *tawadhu'* to the kiai with the hope of blessings for the convenience of the next life. This term is commonly known as *sam'an wa ta'atan*.

The kiai's steps in hegemonizing the recitation congregation are carried out by reciting a hadith about the leader and then explaining its meaning based on the opinions of the scholars in detail while inserting a study about the importance of choosing the best leader in Islam. Because leaders determine the future of society. So the community must participate by using voting rights to elect leaders who are able to carry out their responsibilities and the model of leadership goes according to the Shari'a taught by religion.⁸⁷ After explaining the importance of selecting leaders according to Islamic law, the kiai then directed the congregation to support the pair of candidates for regent and deputy regent who were carried and supported by the NU kiai on the grounds that they were both from NU, or because they both had experience as people's representatives who are proven to carry out their duties with full responsibility, or because they both have promised and are willing to help community religious education. These reasons are often used as tools to hegemony the community, including in Semarang district.⁸⁸

Thus, recitation is a very effective media of hegemony. Public trust in the kiai is the basis for the ease of implementing this hegemony.⁸⁹ Hegemony is carried out without coercion, because society is unconsciously subdued, controlled and directed by the kiai through *mauizhah hasanah*. Due to the unconsciousness of hegemonic practices, the practice becomes easier and brings affirmation that every sentence that comes out of

⁸⁴ Naharul Ijtima' Is A Friendly Forum, Coordination And Consolidation Between The Management And Members Of Nahdlatul Ulama Which Is Held Once A Month During The Day.

⁸⁵ Kliwon Is The Name Of The 5th Day In Sepasar Or Also Known As Pancawara, A Week Which Consists Of Five Days And Is Used In Javanese And Balinese Culture.

⁸⁶ Observation, 18 Juni 2023

⁸⁷ M Amrillah, "Dakwah Dalam Hegemoni Politik," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 2021.

⁸⁸ Observation, 18 Juni 2023

⁸⁹ Ferri Wicaksono, "Kiai Kharismatik Dan Hegemoninya (Telaah Fenomena Habib Syech Bin Abdul Qadir Assegaf)," *Jurnal Pemerintahan Dan Politik Global*, 2018.

the kiai is a truth that must be followed. So that in the end, hegemony influences the actions or at least the thoughts of others through unconscious intellectual subjecting.⁹⁰

The second part of the hegemonic process is aimed at educated groups from society and NU board members. Hegemony in the second part is carried out by utilizing discussion forums with the general public or coordination meetings by all members of the board, both some of the officials of the NU institution or several officials of the autonomous NU body, in each branch. The path of hegemony for educated groups is directed more rationally. In reality, "*subjecting knowledge*" is carried out by showing a good track record that has been carried out by the pair of candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent being promoted. This good track record is then relevant to several scientific fields in Islam, for example fiqh scholarship which discusses the law of selecting fair and responsible leaders in Islamic fiqh, to become a theme in routine discussions every *Wage*⁹¹ *Friday*. Or the dissemination of the good track record of the proposed pair of candidates is carried out through a coordination meeting of the NU officials once a month, starting from the district level down to the village level.⁹²

The difference between hegemony in these two parts lies in the continuity of hegemony. In the first part hegemony is carried out without any knowledge of the concept of hegemony. That is, the concept of hegemony is not understood in real terms. "*Subjecting knowledge*" only ends in society without any continuity. Or it means that hegemony is done only to give influence. Whereas hegemony in the second part has more responsibility, even though in fact in this second part, the concept of hegemony as "*subjecting knowledge*" is equally unknown and unconscious. However, the hegemony of the educated is directed to become a facilitator.⁹³ So the NU officials and educated people who are hegemony by the kiai are used as facilitators to win the candidate that is promoted. Thus there is a chain hegemony.

The practice of hegemony in this field is in line with Gramsci's theory in which according to Gramsci if power is to be eternal, lasting and able to spread to affect many people at least two sets of work are required. *First*, work tools that are capable of carrying out acts of force that are coercive (law enforcement). This first device is usually carried out by the state through legal institutions. *Second*, through hegemony, namely

⁹⁰ Ulum, Jannah, And Arifullah, "Hegemoni Sosial Dan Politik Identitas Putra Daerah Jambi."

⁹¹ Wage Is The Name Of The 3rd Day In Sepasar Or Also Known As Pancawara, A Week Which Consists Of Five Days And Is Used In Javanese And Balinese Culture.

⁹² Observation, 25 Juni 2023

⁹³ Siswati, "Anatomi Teori Hegemoni Antonio Gramsci."

influencing society through thoughts and ideology in the fields of religion, politics, education, the arts and so on.⁹⁴

NU kiai also have ideas (thoughts) and ideology. It is through this ideology that individuals can carry out their actions in various forms as a manifestation of the struggle for influence and ideological power in public space or hegemony can be carried out by intellectuals.⁹⁵ Based on Gramsci's thinking, NU kiai are part of the Islamic intellectuals who have the function of being organizers in all levels of society, in the area of production as well as in the area of politics and culture.⁹⁶

The ideological and intellectual strength of the kiai in Semarang district is the force that makes the santri and the general public believe in their kiai. This community trust is more due to the charisma of the kiai and the cult culture of the Semarang district community towards the kiai in the hope of receiving blessings. With this charisma, the kiai can hegemony the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent with the aim of being able to condition government policies to carry out the above motives and prevent the influence of teachings that are inconsistent with the principles of moderation and inclusiveness developed by the Nahdlatul Ulama organization.⁹⁷

CONCLUSION

This research has shown that the motives for the involvement of the Nahdlatul Ulama kiai in the 2020 election for the Semarang district regent are to fight for Islamic values that are *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn*, uphold *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, and develop Islamic boarding schools. Then the kiai as a religious elite have a large influence in the 2020 election for the Semarang district. This influence is proven by the election of the NGEBAS pair (Ngesti Nugraha and M. Basari) as the winners of the 2020 election for the Semarang district. This success is inseparable from the ability of the clerics to carry out hegemony *da'wah* to the community and students so that they choose the partner which is manifested through two parts; The first part is the process of hegemony over ordinary rural communities which is carried out through a spiritual approach. In its real

⁹⁴ Gramsci, "Selections From The Prison Notebooks," *The Civil Society Reader*, 2003, 190–202.

⁹⁵ Ahyar, *Teori Sosial Sastra* (Yayasan Ombak, 2010).

⁹⁶ Abd. Hannan And Kudrat Abdillah, "Hegemoni Religio-Kekuasaan Dan Transformasi Sosial Mobilisasi Jaringan Kekuasaan Dan Keagamaan Kyai Dalam Dinamika Sosio-Kultural Masyarakat," *Sosial Budaya* 16, No. 1 (2019): 9, <https://doi.org/10.24014/Sb.V16i1.7037>.

⁹⁷ Camilla Yssam Madani And Kacung Marijan, "Pengaruh Kiai Terhadap Perilaku Memilih Alumni Santri Pondok Pesantren Mbi Amanatul Ummah Pacet Angkatan 2017 Pada Pemilu Presiden Dan Wakil Presiden Tahun 2019," *Jurnal Politik Indonesia (Indonesian Journal Of Politics)*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.20473/Pi.V7i1.30877>.

form, the practice of hegemony is carried out through routine recitations or what is commonly called Naharul Ijtima' which is held every Kliwon Sunday. "Subjecting knowledge" is directed as a form of obedience to the preaching of the kiai in order to get blessings. The second part of the hegemonic process is aimed at educated groups from society and NU board members. Hegemony in the second part is carried out by utilizing discussion forums with the general public or coordination meetings by all members of the board, both some of the officials of the NU institution or several officials of the autonomous NU body, in each branch. The path of hegemony for educated groups is directed more rationally. In its real form, "subjecting knowledge" is carried out by showing a good track record that has been carried out by the pair of candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent being promoted. This good track record is then relevant to several scientific fields in Islam, for example fiqh scholarship which discusses the law of selecting fair and responsible leaders in Islamic fiqh, to become a theme in routine discussions. Or the dissemination of the good track record of the proposed pair of candidates is carried out through a coordination meeting of the NU officials, starting from the district level down to the village level.

REFERENCES

- Abd. Hannan, and Kudrat Abdillah. "Hegemoni Religio-Kekuasaan Dan Transformasi Sosial Mobilisasi Jaringan Kekuasaan Dan Keagamaan Kyai Dalam Dinamika Sosio-Kultural Masyarakat." *Sosial Budaya* 16, no. 1 (2019): 9. <https://doi.org/10.24014/Sb.V16i1.7037>.
- Abdullah. "Observasi Pengumpulan Data. Abdullah, (TAHUN 2016), 7-25." *Romney Dan Steinbart*, 2014.
- Ahmad, Jafar, and Gesit Yudha. "STRATEGI POLITIK DEVIDE ET IMPERA BELANDA DAN RELEVANSINYA DENGAN POLARISASI AGAMA PASCA PILPRES 2019 DI INDONESIA." *Jurnal Tapis: Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 18, no. 2 (2022): 34. <https://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/TAPIS/article/view/14288/5816>.
- Ahyar. *Teori Sosial Sastra*. Yayasan Ombak, 2010.
- Amalia Aziz, Rizky. "Kiai Dan Politik Elektoral: Peran Kiai Yusuf Chudlori Dalam Pemenangan Kandidat Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin Pada Pilpres 2019 Di Kecamatan Tegalrejo." *Jurnal PolGov* 2, no. 2 (2021): 223–76.

- <https://doi.org/10.22146/polgov.v2i2.1678>.
- Ambara, Kh. Ibnu Dzakwan. "Chairman Of The Dpc Pkb Shura Council In Semarang District," 2023.
- Amrillah, M. "Dakwah Dalam Hegemoni Politik." *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 2021.
- Amrillah, Muhammad. "DAKWAH DALAM HEGEMONI POLITIK Studi Peran Politik Tuan Guru Pada Pemilihan Legislatif 2019 Di Kecamatan Praya Kabupaten Lombok Tengah." *Al Hikmah* 2, no. 3 (2021): 9–34.
- Anggito, Albi dan Johan Setaiwan. "Metodologi Pnelitian Kualitatif." *CV Jejak*, 2018.
- ANGGREINI, HENY. "FORMASI DAN NEGOSIASI IDEOLOGI: KAJIAN HEGEMONI GRAMSCI DALAM CERPEN 'SARMAN' KARYA SENO GUMIRA AJIDARMA." *TOTOBUANG*, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.26499/ttbng.v7i1.139>.
- Asiyah, Siti, and Arif Chasanudin. "Pondok Pesantren Dan Dakwah Politik: Kajian Histori Pondok Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari Bangsri Jepara." *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 40, no. 1 (2020): 27–39. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v40.1.5296>.
- Bachri, Bachtiar S. "Meyakinkan Validitas Data Melalui Triangulasi Pada Penelitian Kualitatif." *Teknologi Pendidikan*, 2010.
- Burhanuddin, Burhanuddin. "MEMBANGUN POLA KOMUNIKASI DAKWAH SEBAGAI ALTERNATIF MENCEGAH SIKAP INTOLERANSI BERAGAMA." *Dakwah: Jurnal Kajian Dakwah Dan Kemasyarakatan*, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.15408/dakwah.v21i1.11796>.
- Conger, Jay A. "Max Weber's Conceptualization of Charismatic Authority: Its Influence on Organizational Research." *The Leadership Quarterly*, 1993. [https://doi.org/10.1016/1048-9843\(93\)90035-R](https://doi.org/10.1016/1048-9843(93)90035-R).
- Cucu. "Da'wah Dan Politik: Tinjauan Komunikasi Politik Propaganda Dalam Perspektif Gerakan Dakwah Nabi Saw." *ICHRD*, 2020.
- Faisal, Ahmad, Mustaqim Pabbajah, Irwan Abdullah, Nova Effenty Muhammad, and Muh Rusli. "Strengthening Religious Moderatism through the Traditional Authority of Kiai in Indonesia." *Cogent Social Sciences*, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2150450>.
- Faridl, Miftah. "Perilaku Sosial Politik Kiai Di Tengah Masyarakat Transisi Kasus Di Wilayah Cirebon Dan Bandung." *Mimbar: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan*, 2005.
- Flynn, Susan. "Revisiting Hegemony: A Gramscian Analysis for Contemporary Social Work." *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0791603519884201>.
- Fone, David, Andrew Jones, John Watkins, Nathan Lester, Jane Cole, Gary Thomas,

- Margaret Webber, and Edward Coyle. "Using Local Authority Data for Action on Health Inequalities: The Caerphilly Health and Social Needs Study." *British Journal of General Practice*, 2002.
- Gauthier, François. "Authenticity, Consumer Culture and Charismatic Authority1." *Studies in Religion-Sciences Religieuses* 50, no. 1 (2021): 27–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429820920885>.
- Gracia, Verònica Gisbert, Joaquim Rius-Ulldemolins, and Gil Manuel Hernández i Martí. "Festive Culture, Local Politics and Social Hegemony: Comparative Cases of Moors and Christians (Alcoi), the Fallas (Valencia) and the Patum (Berga)." *Revista Espanola de Sociologia*, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.22325/fes/res.2018.58>.
- Gramsci. "Selections From The Prison Notebooks." *The Civil Society Reader*, 2003, 190–202.
- Hakim, Lukman. *Politik Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar : Perjuangan Dan Sikap Politik Fraksi Partai Persatuan Pembangunan Pada Sidang Tahunan Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia Tahun 2000*. 1st ed. Jakarta: Fraksi Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, Republik Indonesia, 2000.
- Haris, Abdul, and Abdulloh Dardum. "KIAI NU DAN POLITIK (KETERLIBATAN KIAI NU JEMBER DALAM KONTESTASI PILPRES 2019)." *Fenomena*, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.35719/fenomena.v20i1.51>.
- Hasanah, Hasyim. "TEKNIK-TEKNIK OBSERVASI (Sebuah Alternatif Metode Pengumpulan Data Kualitatif Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial)." *At-Taqaddum*, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.21580/at.v8i1.1163>.
- Jaques, Cecilia, Mine Islar, and Gavin Lord. "Post-Truth: Hegemony on Social Media and Implications for Sustainability Communication." *Sustainability*, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11072120>.
- Jiménez-Díaz, José Francisco. "The Political Ethic in Max Weber: Context, Analysis and Interpretation." *Perseitas*, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.21501/23461780.2684>.
- Khasanah, Kuswatun. "Hegemoni Kekuasaan Dan Ideologi Dalam Novel Pulang Karya Tere Liye (Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Sastra)." *Diskursus: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Indonesia*, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.30998/diskursus.v2i01.6661>.
- Körösényi, András. "The Theory and Practice of Plebiscitary Leadership: Weber and the Orbán Regime." *East European Politics and Societies*, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325418796929>.

- Kurniawan, Budi. "Politisasi Agama Di Tahun Politik : Politik Pasca-Kebenaran Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* -, 2018.
- Lubis, Hisnuddin, and Nelly Rohmatillah. "KOMODIFIKASI OTORITAS KIAI DALAM KONTESTASI POLITIK (STUDI KOMODIFIKASI OTORITAS KIAI DI KECAMATAN PASEAN KABUPATEN PAMEKASAN)." *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Humanis*, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.17977/um021v3i2p57-64>.
- Lufaei, Lufaei. "Ambivalensi Dakwah Dan Ambisi Politik (Membaca Sisi Tak Terbaca Pada Gerakan Dakwah Mahasiswa Pembebasan)." *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2018): 103–16. <https://doi.org/10.21009/hayula.002.2.01>.
- Madani, Camilla Yssam, and Kacung Marijan. "PENGARUH KIAI TERHADAP PERILAKU MEMILIH ALUMNI SANTRI PONDOK PESANTREN MBI AMANATUL UMMAH PACET ANGKATAN 2017 PADA PEMILU PRESIDEN DAN WAKIL PRESIDEN TAHUN 2019." *Jurnal Politik Indonesia (Indonesian Journal of Politics)*, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.20473/pi.v7i1.30877>.
- Mahadi, Ujang. "KOMUNIKASI POLITIK KIAI PADA KAMPANYE PEMILU." *ADDIN*, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v9i2.614>.
- Mahfudx. "Konsep Komunikasi Dakwah Persuasif Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an." *AT-TABSYIR: Jurnal Komunikasi Penyiaran Islam*, 2015.
- Masitah, Dewi, and Moch Mubarak Muharam. "HEGEMONI AGAMA (KYAI) DALAM PEMILIHAN WALI KOTA PASURUAN 2020" 12 (2021): 234–51.
- Muhyiddin, Ahmad Shofi. "DAKWAH TRANSFORMATIF KIAI (Studi Terhadap Gerakan Transformasi Sosial KH. Abdurrahman Wahid)." *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v39.1.3934>.
- Nuha, Ulin. "Peran Politik Kiai Dalam Proses Politik Di Partai Politik (Studi Kasus Peran KH. A. Haris Shodaqoh Di Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)." *POLITIKA : Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 3, no. 2 (2013): 29–37.
- Nurdiani, Nina. "Teknik Sampling Snowball Dalam Penelitian Lapangan." *ComTech: Computer, Mathematics and Engineering Applications*, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.21512/comtech.v5i2.2427>.
- Nurhadi & Sunarso. "Peran Kiai Dalam Membangun Partisipasi Pemilih." *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan* 3, no. 2 (2016): 169–75. <http://dx.doi.org/10.17977/um019v3i2p169-175>.
- Pradana, Mahatva Yoga Adi. "RELASI SOSIAL ELIT POLITIK DAN SESEPUH DESA

- MELALUI LANGGAR DI KABUPATEN MALANG.” *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 13, no. 1 (2019): 181. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2019.131-07>.
- Prastiwi, Merlia Indah. “POLITISASI PESANTREN DAN PERGESERAN FUNGSI PESANTREN DI MADURA.” *KARSA: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman* 23, no. 2 (2016): 208. <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i2.719>.
- Qodir, Zuly. “Muhammadiyah Dan Aksi Damai Bela Islam : Rejuvenasi Politik Umat Islam?” *Maarif* 11 (2016): 135–55.
- Qurtuby, Sumanto Al. “Sejarah Politik Politisasi Agama Dan Dampaknya Di Indonesia.” *MAARIF* 13, no. 2 (2018): 43–54. <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v13i2.21>.
- Rachar, Matthew. “Power, Hegemony, and Social Reality in Gramsci and Searle.” *Journal of Political Power* 9, no. 2 (2016): 227–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2016.1191222>.
- Ridho, Hilmi, Abdul Wasik, and Sobri Washil. “Kiai Dan Politik: Relasi Ulama Dan Umara Dalam Mewujudkan Perdamaian Umat Beragama Dan Bernegara.” *Tarbiya Islamia*, 2021.
- Rijal, Syamsul. “Peran Politik Kiai Dalam Dalam Pendidikan Pesantren.” *Tadrîs Volume*, 2014.
- Rosa, Andi. “POLITIK DAKWAH DAN DAKWAH POLITIK DI ERA REFORMASI INDONESIA.” *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 22, no. 1 (2014): 57. <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.2014.22.1.259>.
- Rosi, Fathor. “Gerakan Politik Kiai Dan Dakwah Islam: Membaca Aktifitas Dakwah Dan Politik Kiai Pada Momentum Pemilu.” *At-Turost : Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (2020): 233–55. <https://doi.org/10.52491/at.v7i2.34>.
- Sadi, H. “Kiai Dan Politik: Mengintip Motif Kiai NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) Dalam Pemilu 2009 Di Glenmore Kabupaten Banyuwangi.” *KHAZANAH PENDIDIKAN Jurnal Ilmiah Kependidikan*, 2016.
- Samrudi, and Abd. Hadi Faishol. “Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Dakwah Dan Politik Kiai.” *DA’WA: Jurnal Bimbingan Penyuluhan & Konseling Islam* 1, no. 2 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.36420/dawa.v1i2.107>.
- Sari, Nurpita. “Kiyai Dan Politik: Analisis Peran Kiyai Dalam Pilkada OKI 2018 Kecamatan SP Padang.” *Ampera: A Research Journal on Politics and Islamic Civilization*, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.19109/ampera.v1i3.7428>.
- Shofi, Ibnu, and Talkah Talkah. “ANALISIS TEORI OTORITAS MAX WEBBER DALAM KEPEMIMPINAN MULTIKULTURAL KIAI SHOLEH BAHRUDDIN

- NGALAH (Studi Kepemimpinan Multikultural Di Pondok Pesantren Ngalah Pasuruan).” *Jurnal Kependidikan Islam*, 2021.
<https://doi.org/10.15642/jkpi.2021.11.1.134-156>.
- Singarimbun, Masri, and Sofian Effendi. *Metode Penelitian Survei*. Jakarta: Lp3es, 1995.
- Siswati, Endah. “ANATOMI TEORI HEGEMONI ANTONIO GRAMSCI.” *Translitera : Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi Dan Studi Media* 5, no. 1 (2018): 11–33.
<https://doi.org/10.35457/translitera.v5i1.355>.
- Skogley, C. Richard, and Carl D. Sawyer. “Field Research.” In *Turfgrass*, 2015.
<https://doi.org/10.2134/agronmonogr32.c17>.
- Sugiyono. “Data Primer Dan Sekunder.” *Paper Knowledge . Toward a Media History of Documents*, 2016, 26–35.
- Suharto, Suharto, and Mahmuddin Mahmuddin. “Komunikasi Dakwah Dan Fenomena Demonstrasi Anarkis Di Makassar.” *Idarotuna*, 2021.
<https://doi.org/10.24014/idarotuna.v3i2.12163>.
- Suharyo, Suharyo. “Paradigma Kritis Dalam Penelitian Wacana.” *Nusa: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.14710/nusa.13.3.482-492>.
- Syarif, Zainuddin. “Pergeseran Perilaku Politik Kiai Dan Santri Di Pamekasan Madura.” *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.21154/al-tahrir.v16i2.500>.
- Ulum, Bahrul, St. Raudhatul Jannah, and Mohd. Arifullah. “Hegemoni Sosial Dan Politik Identitas Putra Daerah Jambi.” *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam*, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2017.7.1.223-249>.
- Wahid, Umaimah. “Otonomi Daerah Dan Komunikasi Politik Perempuan: (Analisis Gramscian Kandidat Perempuan Parlemen Provinsi DKI Jakarta Tahun 2009).” *Sosiohumaniora*, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v16i1.5682>.
- Weber, Max. “The Sociology of Charismatic Authority [1922].” In *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory, Sixth Edition*, 2021.
- Wicaksono, Ferri. “Kiai Kharismatik Dan Hegemoninya (Telaah Fenomena Habib Syech Bin Abdul Qadir Assegaf).” *Jurnal Pemerintahan Dan Politik Global*, 2018.
- Yeshinta Veradella Anugrah, and Agus Machfud Fauzi. “Hegemoni Kyai Terhadap Santri” 7, no. 4 (2019).
<https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id/Index.Php/Paradigma/Article/View/31068>.
- Yuwita, Nurma, Ahmad Aminuddin, and Gatut Setiadi. “Netralitas Politik Kiai Dalam Perspektif Teori Interaksi Simbolik.” *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah* 30, no. 2 (2019): 123.

<https://doi.org/10.24014/jdr.v30i2.8047>.

Zamili, Moh. “MENGHINDAR DARI BIAS: Praktik Triangulasi Dan Kesahihan Riset Kualitatif.” *LISAN AL-HAL: Jurnal Pengembangan Pemikiran Dan Kebudayaan*, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.35316/lisanalhal.v9i2.97>.

Sumber Lisan

Dr. Kh. Muhammad Hanif, M.Hum., Leader Of The Edi Mancoro Tuntang Islamic Boarding School, Semarang District, *Interview*, 25 Juni 2023

Drs. Muslih, Deputy Chairman Of Tanfidhiyah Pcnu Semarang District, Interview, 17 Juli 2023

H. Badaruddin, S.Ag., The Regional People's Representative Council (Dprd) From The Semarang District Pkb Party, *Interview*, 25 Juni 2023

Hal Ini Seperti Diungkapkan Oleh Beberapa Kiai Di Pcnu Kabupaten Semarang Ketika Bertemu Berbicara Dengan Peneliti Saat Observasi Ke Kantor Pcnu Kabupaten Semarang.

Kh. Ahmad Fauzan, Chairman of Tanfidhiyah Pcnu Semarang District, Interview, 15 Juni 2023

Kh. Zaenal Muttaqin, Chairman Of The Nu Islamic Boarding School Association (Rmi-Nu) Semarang District, *Interview*, 13 Juni 2023