



Civil Society And Electoral Politics; Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah (NWDI) in the Victory of Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah in the 2018 NTB Election

Muh. Samsul Anwar ¹, Muhammad Fariqh Khatami ²

¹ Institut Agama Islam Hamzanwadi (IAIH) Pancor

² Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta

Corresponding Author: Muh. Samsul Anwar, E-mail; muhsamsulanwar@gmail.com

Received: Oct 02, 2024

Revised: Oct 09, 2024

Accepted: Oct 14, 2024

Online: Oct 28, 2024

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the role of Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah (NWDI) in the victory of the Zulkiflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah (Zul-Rohmi) pair in the 2018 NTB regional election. Zulkiflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah (Zul-Rohmi) in the 2018 NTB regional election. The research This research aims to find out the role of NW in Zul-Rohmi's victory and the reasons why NW placed its cadre as Cawag. NW placed its cadre as Cawagub. This research uses a qualitative method qualitative method with data collection techniques of documentation and interviews. Theories used in this research are used in this research are theories of civil society, political parties, and elections, and elections. Results The results of this study show the significant role of NWDI as a civil society in political contestation (Pilkada) 2018. in the 2018 political contestation (Pilkada). In the election, the pair zul-Rohmi, supported by NWDI, won the contestation. The influence of the leader of the NWDI organization has a big role in attracting votes. The existence of Tuan Guru Bajang (TGB) who is the leader of NWDI has a strong influence in mobilizing his congregation to vote for Zulkul-Rohmi. in mobilizing his congregation to vote for Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah. The influence of TGB was also seen in the contestation of the previous period which also won the NTB Provincial Election. As for the reason NWDI placed its cadre as a candidate for deputy governor, not as a candidate for governor, is due to the socio-cultural conditions of the NTB community. the socio-cultural conditions of the people of NTB who still adhere to a patriarchal culture that does not want women leaders and the experience factor. patriarchal culture that does not favor women leaders and the experience factor of its cadres.

Keywords: Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah, civil society, NTB election, Tuan Guru Bajang.

Journal Homepage <https://journal.ypidathu.or.id/index.php/politicae>

This is an open access article under the CC BY SA license

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>

How to cite: Anwar, S. M., & Khatami, F. M. (2024). *Civil Society and Electoral Politics; Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah (Nwdi) in the Victory Of Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah in the 2018 Ntb Election*, *Cognitionis Civitatis et Politicae*, 1(5), 230-247. <https://doi.org/10.70177/politicae.v1i5.1295>

Published by: Yayasan Pedidikan Islam Daarut Thufulah

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the countries that adheres to the democratic system in running its constitutional system. The democratic system in Indonesia is different from the democratic system in America, which is the mecca of democratic countries in the world. The democracy adopted by Indonesia is a democratic system based on Pancasila which makes it unique. In the book *Democracy and the Political Process*, Amien Rais argues that democracy is the basis that regulates the life of the state, meaning that at the last level the people have the power to make a decision that concerns their lives, including in seeing the policies of the state government because the decision concerns the lives of the people.

The democratic system is intertwined with the leadership relay system in a country. As in Indonesia, the electoral system carried out since Indonesia's independence has developed quite rapidly until the momentum of the collapse of the New Order regime (Al-Amruzi, 2021; Derung et al., 2023; Elvira, 2021; Hannan, 2022; Kharisudin, 2021; Masitoh et al., 2023). A glimmer of hope in the sustainability of democratic life in Indonesia, which was previously confined by the authoritarian style of the New Order government. The centralized government made the power of the central government, in this case the President, quite strong and often intervened in all forms of policy, even elections that were supposed to be free from intervention were full of controversy. Many people say that the elections during the New Order era were regulated by the government and the implementation was undemocratic. After the collapse of the New Order regime, the process of regime transition towards the reform era brought many changes, for example in the electoral system held in 1999 (Cahyani et al., 2019; Lefebvre, 2020; Martínez-Ariño, 2019; Ruohonen & Hjerppe, 2022). The 1999 elections were considered to be the most democratic elections after the New Order regime because at that time President BJ Habibie, who was tasked with stabilizing Indonesia's constitutional system, wanted to apply a relatively free and more democratic concept, although in the end the old systems were not completely removed but elaborated as a form of compromise during the transition period.

The fundamental difference that exists in the post-New Order elections is characterized by the number of parties participating in the elections (Derung et al., 2023; Lestari et al., 2022). There were 48 political parties that contested the election in 1999, which then came out as the top 5 positions in the 1999 election results, namely the first PDI Perjuangan, Golkar, National Awakening Party (PKB), PPP, National Mandate Party (PAN). Basically, the presence of various political parties is an early milestone in the growth of our democratic spirit after the collapse of the New Order regime. Because, political parties are the main actors in the implementation of democratic elections, as well as their role as political vehicles for people who want to participate in election contestation.

Efforts to win a contestation certainly cannot rely on political party machines alone, because, when political contestation takes place both at the national and regional levels, it is also inseparable from one of the important parts of democracy, namely “*civil society*”. In essence, the concept of democracy is that sovereignty is in the hands of the people, which means that *civil society* has a vital role in the continuity of the democratic ecosystem, which is implemented in the involvement of *civil society* in influencing the outcome of a political contestation (Guess et al., 2020; Malek et al., 2022; Rokhmad & Susilo, 2017; Zubair et al., 2022). *Civil society* refers to organizations outside the government, in general, *civil society* in Indonesia can be seen in the form of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or community organizations (CSOs). In the assumptions of society, *civil society* is often considered to be at odds with political parties. This is not the case, because *civil society* and political parties are the main players in democracy when viewed from the context of election contestation.

The concept of civil society has a close relationship with democracy. The role of *civil society* has a role as a counterweight to state power. This means minimizing the dominance of the state in regulating the life of the nation and state. Indeed, the concept of *vox populi vox dei* is a strong foundation of the democratic system (Al-Jauhari, 2021; Andriyana, 2020; Hannan, 2022; Suryana & Muhtar, 2022; Thesalonika & Arent, 2023). Because of this, democracy is strong and long-lasting in America. So, *civil society* is a key part that is a prerequisite for the consolidation of democracy. Nurcholish Madjid also argues in his book entitled *Islamic Political Ideals of the Reformation Era* that, if democracy has a house then, the house is *civil society* or civil society. Because, in *civil society* there are various kinds of groups, associations, parties etc. that join to become a shield between the state and citizens.

Pilkada is one form of implementation of the people's sovereignty in the region. This is a metamorphose form of organizing the government system in Indonesia. In the development of governance in Indonesia, it is known as the principle of regional autonomy (Dewi, 2023; Itmam, 2021; Widyasmi, 2021) (Elvira, 2021; Suryana & Muhtar, 2022). This means that each local government has the right to regulate and manage its own regional affairs in accordance with the 1945 Constitution Article 18 paragraph 2. Pilkada is a form of means of electing Governors, Regents, Mayors and DPRD's who are directly elected by the people in their regions. In the end, regional heads and DPRD's that are directly elected by the people in the region can be a representation of the people's choice. Because they are directly elected by the people and have strong legitimacy. Pilkada is carried out democratically based on legislation.

The contestation of regional head elections in Indonesia, in addition to political parties that are directly involved in the arena of democratic struggle, there are also interest groups that do have a fairly strong mass base. In the scope of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), which is the focal point of this research, there is a group similar to NU and

Muhammadiyah, namely Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah or abbreviated as NWDI, which was formerly called Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) chaired by Tuan Guru Bajang (TGB) Muhammad Zainul Majdi.

NW was born during the post-independence development period, namely 8 years after Indonesian independence. The founder is a famous cleric in NTB, TGKH Zainuddin Abdul Majid. The direction of this organization that focuses on the field of social religion and preaching education makes this organization grow so rapidly in the *Sasak* earth of NTB. NW's massive da'wah movement throughout NTB through its boarding schools has made NW incarnate as a mass organization that counts in NTB's local political contestation.

The 2008 local election in NTB Province was a process of proving NWDI as one of the local political forces that played an important role in mobilizing the masses. NWDI placed its figures in the 2008 NTB regional elections. Tuan Guru Bajang, the nickname of Tuan Guru. Muhammad Zainul Majdi, he was the elected governor in the 2008 election. His background as the grandson of Maulana Sheikh TGKH Zainuddin Abdul Majid further strengthened his prestige as a newcomer figure. *Bajang* in Sasak language means young not without reason the name was pinned to him because of his age at the time he was 36 years old.

Tuan Guru Bajang Muhammad Zainul Majdi, in the 2008 regional election in NTB paired with H. Badrul Munir, obtained the most votes of 847,976 followed by the *incumbent* governor H. Lalu Serinata-H.M Husni Djibril, with 576,123 votes. Furthermore, the pair H. Zainy Arony, Nurdin Ranggabarani with 387,875 votes and in the last position there is a pair H. Nanang Samodra-Muhammad Jabir, with 370,919 votes.

TGB. Muhammad Zainul Majdi came out as the champion in the contestation of the NTB elections in 2008 with a landslide victory even defeating the incumbent Governor Lalu Serinata. Then this victory was repeated in the 2013 NTB elections, leading Tuan Guru Bajang to lead NTB for two terms of office. It is certainly an interesting thing when a newcomer figure who is still relatively young and certainly has minimal experience is able to silence those who underestimate him. If you rely on experience as a leader of an Islamic community organization, it is not enough (Fernando et al., 2022; Mahfudz & Yuspiani, 2023; Masri & Warsodirejo, 2023; L. A. Putri et al., 2023). Indeed, it cannot be denied that the very thick background of NWDI is one of the factors that greatly determine its success in winning the contestation of the NTB Regional Head Election. Being the chairman of PB NWDI and the grandson of the founder of NW and NWDI has made him a charismatic figure and a figure purely born from the womb of NWDI.

In the last decade, the dynamics of Pilkada in NTB from 2008 to 2018, NWDI played an important role behind TGB's success in seizing and maintaining the NTB leadership baton. Meanwhile, ahead of the 2018 elections, there is a lot of speculation

about where the next NTB leadership baton will go. Will the NWDI put back their figures to continue the reign of power left by the previous Governor in this case Tuan Guru Bajang.

It was interesting when Siti Rohmi Djalillah's name appeared in the NTB one candidacy market. This is an answer to the many speculations regarding who and where NWDI support will go next. It is not without reason considering that Siti Rohmi is a familiar name in the ears of NWDI circles, because she is the older sister of TGB and is also the granddaughter of Sheikh TGHK Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid.

In the 2018 Pilkada, there were four candidates, one of whom was Siti Rohmi, who was partnered by Zulkieflimansyah. This candidate certainly surprised everyone. Zulkieflimansyah's name is not very popular in the people of NTB. It is not without reason that he was born in Sumbawa, one of the regions in NTB. However, his political career was built in the Banten area even when he participated in the contestation in NTB at the same time he was a member of the DPR RI Banten II constituency. Of course, this is something interesting. Many questions arose as to why Zulkieflimansyah should be unpopular and why the NWDI would let the NTB one ring be occupied by someone who was not from their circles that they have controlled for the past decade.

When the vote recapitulation was carried out by the NTB Provincial KPU, the name of candidate number three, Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi, received the highest number of votes with 811,945 votes, followed by candidate number one Suhaili-Amin with 674,602 votes, then in third position was occupied by candidate number two Ahyar Abduh-Mori Hanafi with 637,048 votes and in the last position was occupied by candidate number four Ali BD-Sakti with 430,007 votes.

Figure I.I. Total Vote Acquisition of Candidate Pairs in the 2018 NTB Regional Election



The victory of candidate pair number three is an interesting thing to study for the reasons that the author has described earlier. This research will refer to the background of the political context that occurred to then see the significance of the NWDI's role behind the victory of Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi in the 2018 NTB elections and the basis for

the NWDI to place its cadres as representatives in the 2018 elections. For this reason, this research takes the title “CIVIL SOCETY AND ELECTORAL POLITICS, The Role of Nahdlatul Wathan in the Victory of Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah in the 2018 NTB Regional Election”.

Based on the description of the background of the problem that the author has previously described, to limit the focus of research to be clearer and more measurable, the following research questions will be used in this study, including: 1) How is the role of NWDI in the victory of Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah in the 2018 NTB elections? 2) What underlies the NWDI to place its cadres as representatives in the 2018 NTB elections?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research method used for this research is to use qualitative research methods. Then the type of research used is descriptive research. This type of descriptive research with qualitative methods is used to make it easier for the author to explain the data and phenomena related to how the role of NWDI in the victory of Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah in the 2018 NTB elections in depth and comprehensively. The type of fiber research method was also chosen because it was considered to be able to explain and be able to support all the needs of the author who would answer the research questions. This is done by explaining, analyzing and interpreting the data obtained as it is and comprehensive.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Relasi NW dengan Politik

Since its establishment by TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul as an organization, the NW's success in the development and development of human resources of the people of NTB through religion-based education programs and playing an active role in the journey of Islamization in Lombok has made this organization have a strong mass base to the grassroots. This made it possible for the NW to spread its wings as a community group capable of having bargaining power in politics so that during the New Order period the NW affiliated with Golkar.

But before that, during the Old Order, precisely in the 1955 elections, the NW chose to affiliate with Masyumi. Then this step also brought TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid as a member of the contituent period 1955-159. The NW before carrying out its political maneuvers first implemented a "free politics" policy (Jones & Schreier, 2023; Li et al., 2022; Uwaechia & Mahyuddin, 2020). This means that the NW is not affiliated with political parties so that the NW also supports the establishment of Islamic parties such as the NU Party and the Islamic Tarbiyah Association abbreviated as PERTI. However, this changed during the 1955 elections, two years after this policy was implemented in 1953.

During the New Order period the NW continued to maneuver by shifting its support to Golkar. In 1970 the NW officially mobilized its support for Golkar (Ahmed et al., 2024; Gastinger & Schmidtke, 2022; Rossetti & O'Brien, 2019). This also brought TKGH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid to his seat as a member of the MPR RI from Golkar in the 1971 and 1977 elections as well as a member of the MPR RI from the regional delegation faction in 1982.

In 1997 the NW's political maneuvering changed significantly after the death of TKGH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid. There was dualism within the NW which was caused by a struggle over who would continue the leadership of the organization. When the NW Congress in 1998 was held in Praya Central Lombok approximately a year after the death of the *founding father* TKGH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid in 1997 and was the first congress not attended by the founder. The conflict of interest over the baton of organizational leadership between his two daughters, Siti Raihanun and Siti Rauhun, colored the dynamics of the Congress.

Seeing the interest to fight over who inherited the NW leadership that was increasingly open, Siti Rauhun chose not to be involved in the Mukhtar to elect the general chairman of the NW Executive Board which was held in Praya, Central Lombok. But chose to carry his Uncle Maksum Ahmad. So that in the end open conflict was inevitable when the Siti Raihanun camp continued to nominate themselves to advance in the fight.

There were two candidates fighting for the position of chairman of PB NW, Maksum Ahmad and Siti Raihanun. After voting from 92 votes authorized by the congress committee, Maksum Ahmad obtained 34 votes and Siti Raihanun 54 votes with 1 canceled vote, 1 abstention and 2 delegates chose to abstain. This result was not accepted by Siti Rauhun's camp because it was considered to violate the AD / ART. Because basically women are not allowed to become leaders. There was a *dead lock* between the two camps which caused the Siti Rauhun camp to *walk out of* the Mukhtar arena. Nevertheless, the Congress continued, resulting in Siti Raihanun as the chairman of PB NW elected by acclamation and Abdul Hayyi Nu'man as Secretary General for the 1998-2003 period.

There were internal conflicts experienced by this organization after the death of the founder, but the NW's da'wah movement was increasingly massive throughout NTB which made its followers more and more. Until the NW could not avoid its involvement in practical politics. Since the 1955 elections, the NW has been a Masyumi sympathizer. Since its establishment in 1937, the NW has had a significant impact on the enlightenment of Muslims in NTB in general and in Lombok in particular. Sheikh Zainuddin Abdul Majid, who is the *Founding father of NW*, brought NW to social works that made its influence increasingly spread to all corners of NTB (Kamp & Dybbroe, 2023; S. D. A. Putri et al., 2021). The initial purpose of the NW embryo was indeed based on social

da'wah which until the 1980s NW succeeded in becoming the final focus of the NTB Islamic community because it always adhered to the purpose of the movement in the form of social work and there was no special political interest. Indeed, when the influence of the PKI increasingly showed its existence which made Muslims the main enemy, the NW reversed its support for Golkar in 1971.

But in the end when the organization had a strong mass base, practical politics was unavoidable. After 1982, Sheikh Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's disappointment with the military's repressive actions against Muslims led Sheikh Zainuddin to withdraw from Golkar. Until 1987 when it returned to support Golkar, this momentum marked Nahdlatul Wathan's involvement in politics. NW was transformed into an informal political structure that had a strong influence on the dynamics of politics in NTB.

Nadhlatal Wathan's Role in the Zulkieflymansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah Victory

The fall of the Soeharto regime in the New Order era caused the local political map in Indonesia to change drastically. This includes changes in political structure, changes in polarization and political power in society. In fact, it led Zainal Abidin Amir to state that Indonesian politics followed the classic pattern of Indonesian politics as presented by Geertz in the 1950s, namely Islamic santri versus abangan and priayi. At the regional level, political freedom, democracy and political decentralization have become political forces and social movements that have developed in various regions in Indonesia, including Lombok. Likewise, political dynamics have entered a new stage, actors, institutions and cultures have sprung up to play a role at the local level, even local actors who have local cultural symbols are back on the political stage.

The concept of *civil society* has a relationship with the democratic system in Indonesia. The role of *civil society* has a significant role as a counterweight to state power in minimizing state domination to achieve state goals, namely, regulating the life of the nation and state. This is because there is a concept that says that “*vox populi vox dei*” is the basis and the strong foundation of a democratic system when democracy originates and ends for the people. Because that is what will make a strong and long-lasting democratic system, like in America. So *civil society* or the people will be the most important part and a prerequisite for consolidation in a democracy. Cak Nur also argues in his book entitled *Islamic Political Ideals of the Reformation Era*, stating that if a democracy has a house, then the house is *civil society* or the community itself. Because in *civil society* there are various kinds of groups, associations, parties, organizations and so on that join to become a bridge between the state and citizens.

Along with the passage of time, the times, and the ever-growing civilization of mankind which is influenced by technological developments in other words, society is developing due to the influence of modernization which has resulted in a considerable influence also in the field of political development in this modern era. However, the

development that continues to lead to this modern direction is inversely proportional to the development of political flows in Indonesia. The direction of democratization that has recently been launched by political elites has instead targeted community structures that are even considered traditional such as Islamic boarding schools, kiai, religious organizations, and so on that are spiritual in nature. The involvement of kiai or religious leaders in politics actually creates new problems and has a negative impact on a kiai who is considered to be a switch in prophetic functions. This is because every ulama or kiai must be able to carry out the mission of the prophets and at the same time become a role model in people's lives. The life and actions of a kiai will always be obeyed by his congregation because a cleric is considered a prophetic function switcher. That is what causes ulama or kiai to often take on the role of a figure who determines the struggle of Muslims with government, politics, socio-cultural and educational issues.

This socio-political phenomenon if studied through sociological theory is indeed very relevant. It is explained in the theory of *voting* behavior that voting behavior is a natural human trait that distinguishes humans from one another, the behavior of an individual in voting is called the concept of voting behavior. *Voting behavior* itself is influenced by several factors, one of which is trust in someone who is considered a religious or community leader.

The influence of a religious figure in political contestation is very relevant if it is also dissected using the Columbian Mazhab theory, which is the oldest form of the scope of the study of voting behavior because this theory was born at the earliest of the scope of the study of community voting behavior. This theory is referred to as the Columbia Mazhab because this theory was born in the 1950s and originated from research conducted by Paul Lazarsfeld conducted at Columbia University in 1940.

In the last decade, the dynamics of the NTB regional elections began in 2008 until now, the figure of the kiai figure with the designation Tuan Guru with a mass base or congregation with the name Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah or NWDI has a very important role behind the success and success of someone who will become Governor in NTB.

NWDI is closely related to TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid who is a figure who was named a national hero from NTB. Although he is gone, the good name and doctrines embedded in the community about him and his children and grandchildren are role models for people in NTB, especially in Lombok. The influence of NWDI as a *civil society* organization is very influential on the direction of politics in NTB.

The influence of NWDI which has a very large mass base and is obedient in carrying out orders and directions from NWDI figures who are often referred to as Tuan Guru greatly influences people's choices of prospective leaders. This has been proven in the last 15 years by the continued power of the descendants of TGKH Muhammad

Zainuddin Abdul Madjid as the founder of NW and NWDI, proving the power of NWDI's influence in determining the direction of people's choices. Gea Putra Disna Mahardika, Muhammad Fariqh Khatami, "The Influence of Religious Leaders in the Electoral Politics of West Nusa Tenggara Region," *Realism: Law Review*, 2023.

The victory of Zulkieflymansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah in the 2018 NTB elections cannot be separated from the role of NWDI with the figure of TGB. Muhammad Zainul Majdi behind it. This is because in the Sasak community, Lombok, which is still very traditional, depends on what and how the influence of the teachings conveyed by Tuan Guru is used as a model in people's lives. Obedience to every word of the Tuan Guru, which is considered to be a guide for their lives because the Tuan Guru is considered a functional reflection of prophethood so that their congregation is indoctrinated to always be *sami'na wa aṭo'na* or hear orders and obey faithfully the words that come out of the Tuan Guru.

In terms of community characteristics, the Sasak Muslim community, NTB is still dominantly traditional, still has a paternalistic consciousness, and still has a very strong agrarian mentality. Because of this, the figure of Tuan Guru is a very decisive entity for religious, social, governmental, and even political discourse or direction. The prominence attached to the title "Tuan Guru" itself even descends to his lineage and even the quality of his speech is heard by the congregation as well as hearing the speech of the previous lineage or father of the "Tuan Guru".

NWDI is also an organization that has a militant mass base down to the grassroots. However, it cannot be denied that the quantity of the NW congregation according to Ihsan Hamid's statement reached approximately 600-800 thousand congregants, the exact figure is unknown, which had a significant influence on the victory of Zulkieflymansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah, especially considering the militant nature of the NWDI congregation and *the sami'na waato'na* of what their leaders said.

It can be said that the victory of Zulkieflymansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah in the 2018 NTB regional elections further emphasized the share of NWDI's power. Moreover, the candidate pair is a merger between Lombok-Sumbawa.

TGB Effect

TGB and NWDI are ideologically and structurally inseparable. His stature as a leader of religious organizations and government cannot be separated from the big name of his grandfather, Sheikh TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid. Even when he finished serving as Governor of NTB for 2 periods, he did not let go of his influence as a leader. It is undeniable that the victory of the Zulkieflymansyah-Siti Rahmi Djalillah pair cannot be separated from the maneuvers made by the former NTB Governor.

According to TGH Azhari, a NWDI board member as well as the Head of Darul Abidin Islamic Boarding School gave a term to TGB's role in the victory of Zulkieflyamnsyah-Siti Rahmi Djalillah, namely the "*TGB Effect*". Not without reason he explained that even before TGB 'went down the mountain' the Zulkieflymansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah pair was less popular even among the NWDI congregation itself. But after TGB went directly to socialize and invite the congregation to vote for the pair known by the tagline *coblos jilbab ijo* brought significant changes. This pair is indeed from the beginning less calculated because both candidates are less popular in the eyes of the people of NTB. But people forget who is behind the scenes of these two pairs. Even a few months before the election, TGB went *all out* by coming to every NWDI congregation recitation event, a day can be 5-6 points visited. Because of the attractiveness of this charismatic leader, the congregation flocked to come to attend the recitation attended by TGB. Without payment, lure and coercion, it is pure militancy and the influence of TGB's character.

Because of the attractiveness of this charismatic leader, the congregation flocked to come to attend the recitation attended by TGB. Without payment, lure and coercion, it is pure militancy and the influence of TGB's character.

In addition, according to Ihsan Hamid's statement, the influence of TGB as a *role model* for preference choices in the 2018 NTB governor election is still very strong. In short, what TGB chose was followed by the Community. Not to forget also TGB as a former governor of NTB 2 periods certainly has a large influence on the bureaucracy and the people of NTB to win Zulkieflyamnsyah-Siti Rahmi Djalillah.

Factors Underlying NW's Placement of its Cadres in Deputy Governor Positions

As the 2018 succession of NTB governors approaches, the political landscape is heating up. There are many big names that have been rumored and billboards have been scattered along provincial and district roads in NTB. There is the name of Suhaili Fadhil Thohir who at that time served as Regent of Central Lombok is also a champion of the Golkar Party then the name of Tuan Guru Haji Ahyar Abduh who at that time served as Mayor of Mataram then there is the name of senior politician and Regent of East Lombok Ali BD who also claimed the NTB Governor Exchange. Finally, a national politician who is also a son of NTB, Dr. Zulkieflimansyah, also enlivened the Pilgub contestation.

Meanwhile, what became interesting in the constellation of NTB politics in 2018 was that the public was looking forward to who was the figure from the NWDI who would continue the relay of TGB's leadership. Then the name Siti Rohmi Djalillah was widely discussed by all circles of society, even in various circles of discussion related to the advancement of Siti Rohmi, many *underestimated* the figure of TGB's sibling. Not only her capacity and experience but also she is just a woman who will fight big names and experienced executive leaders.

Some NWDI circles are still confident because they still believe that TGB's influence is still strong. This was inversely proportional to the situation on the ground at the time. According to Samsul Anwar, who is a living witness and success team directly involved in the process of winning the candidate pair familiarly known as Zul-Rohmi, said that at that time the NWDI internal organization conducted a survey to measure the extent of Siti Rohmi's strength at that time, it turned out that most NTB people did not want a female leader. It must be a man who becomes a leader, in short, most of the people of NTB are still Patriarchal. Seeing the survey results and the characteristics of the patriarchal NTB community made Siti Rohmi legowo to become a candidate for deputy governor.

After knowing the results of the survey, the NWDI strategy changed so that it continued to advance its candidate but filled the position of deputy governor candidate. Siti Rohmi, who at that time advanced through the Democratic Party, initially according to Anwar's statement that coalition exploration was intensively carried out with Suhaili Fadhil Thohir. The Suhaili-Rohmi pair was considered a potential match. But political dramas occurred, intense communication did not guarantee the realization of the coalition. Siti Rohmi and the Democratic Party were abandoned by Suhaili who preferred Muhammad Amin from the Nasdem Party, who is also the former Deputy Governor of NTB who was TGB's partner in the 2013 regional election to be his deputy. But communication continued to be carried out by Rohmi's side so that in the end the match between PKS and the Democrats took place. Not without reason because at that time only PKS was still opening communication compared to other parties that already had their respective champion preferences. So that on January 1, 2018 the pair Zulkieflimansyah and Siti Rohmi Djalillah were officially declared by PKS and the Democrats. Zul-Rohmi is considered a complete combination of experience and competence owned by both.

1. Patriarchal Culture

When looking at the historical track record of the Indonesian nation, it is indeed famous for its deep-rooted patriarchal culture. Since Indonesia was still a kingdom, patriarchal culture has been preserved in the Indonesian socio-culture. Men always dominate every public or government space. Women usually only wait at home, become concubines of kings and even some are used as slaves.

In essence, the paradigm built about patriarchal culture is built on the basis of a paternalist perception that considers men in a social system to be the determining part of the formation of functional family hierarchy. In the paternalist concept, men are depicted as a symbol of leadership in the family relationship between mothers and their children, which creates a complex social dynamic.

This principle states that in a society that adheres to a certain social structure, men are always considered to have a central role in improving the status of women. This

patriarchal view states that women must accompany men to maintain sustainability, excellence, respect, authority, fulfill responsibilities, and express emotions in order to create balance and harmony within the social framework.

Patriarchy is a concept used in the social sciences, particularly anthropology and feminist studies, to refer to the distribution of power between men and women. In this context, men are considered superior in one or more different aspects or job assignments determined by gender differences. Alternatively, patriarchy is defined as a system of gender relations in society that exhibits gender inequality, with men dominating all roles.

The idea of patriarchy is sometimes debated due to misunderstandings. In particular, the concept of patriarchy is often misunderstood due to the assumption that analyses using this concept must be universal and essentialist, reducing social differences between men and women to mere biological differences, and ignoring differences in the temporal context in which patterns of gender relations change. For example, the concept of women's freedom and independence in Islam is often misinterpreted. This freedom is often equated with freedom to interact with the opposite sex and freedom to use the body for sexual purposes. The result is the phenomenon of women displaying their physical beauty for commercial purposes and becoming objects of capitalism.

Even today, patriarchal culture has become so ingrained that it has carried over into the political sphere, which makes the perspective on gender orientation in poetry and politics more important. Tentunya ini sebuah ironi ketika pandangan pemimpin itu harus laki-laki terus lestari dan berkembang di tengah masyarakat kita.

The impact of all this is that in the realm of government, be it the legislative, executive or even the judiciary, the role of men is still very dominant. Although the Indonesian government itself has implemented *affirmative action* regulations, namely 30% women's representation in parliament or the requirements for the establishment of political organizations. However, the reality is that often this is only a formality of fulfilling quotas, substantially far from effective.

In this case, when talking about the context of the people of NTB and why Siti Rohmi Djalillah as a NWDI cadre paired with Zulkieflymansyah has the potential to become a candidate for governor but with a long political drama so that in the end she was paired as a deputy to accompany Zul in the contestation of the NTB Pilgub. The main reason is because the people of NTB when an internal survey was conducted, most of the results did not want a female leader. So Rohmi was reluctant to contest even though she only had bargaining power as a deputy.

According to Anwar as the winning team at the time, the socio-cultural conditions of the NTB people who were still confined to a patriarchal culture were seen as a weakness and if forced, it was likely to experience defeat. Even in terms of experience, Siti Rohmi

has never held an executive position compared to her opponents who have been regional heads such as Suhaili who has served as Regent of Central Lombok, Ahyar Abduh has served as Mayor of Mataram and Ali BD has served as Regent of East Lombok. This certainly affects the perception of the people of NTB, especially since all three competitors are men.

1. Experience Factor

Continuing from the above statement from the opponent's point of view. Meanwhile, from his own perspective, Zulkieflimansyah may have sounded unfamiliar to the people of NTB at that time. But in the national political scene he is one of the politicians from the Prosperous Justice Party whose name is quite calculated. He even dared to fight against Ratu Atut, who was known as the ruler of Banten. At that time he was still 34 years old who was paired with Marisa Haque. Although the results were not as expected, his courage deserves thumbs up.

In addition, his experience as a member of the House of Representatives for 3 periods in the Banten 2 electoral district. So in terms of experience and flight hours as a politician who has been poor across the national arena in reading the political escalation in NTB is no doubt. Even since he was still in college, he has held the position of student senator at the University of Indonesia.

This is evident through his campaign method, which is to go directly to the community with 7-8 points per day. According to Ihsan Hamid, this is effective considering Zulkieflimansyah is less popular among the people of NTB, especially Lombok, but this is also according to Ihsan Hamid as a political instinct of Zulkieflimansyah as an experienced politician. So he said this pair was a complete package of experience, competence and representation of Sumbawa-Lombok.

CONCLUSION

In every political contestation, there are many variables involved in the process of winning one of the candidate pairs, one of which is *civil society*. This variable is transformed into a political force that is taken into account. One of the two largest *civil societies* in Indonesia that has always been the target of politicians to approach are NU and Muhammadiyah.

In the case study of the 2018 NTB elections, it was colored by various elements of the strength of each candidate to win the battle. One of them is the NW which played an important role in the victory of Zulkieflimansyah-Siti Rohmi Djalillah. The main reason is because this organization has the largest mass base and is known to be militant towards organizational orders. Siti Rohmi, who is an ideological cadre because she is the granddaughter of NW's founding grandfather, Sheikh Zainuddin Abdul Majid, certainly

has the full support of all NW circles. Without exception, TGB, who is a former Governor of NTB for 2 periods, has released all his abilities in political terms to go down the mountain. The condition of NTB society which is mostly a traditional society makes the character of the organization's leader very influential. TGB, who became the ideal leader preference figure, was eventually followed by the NW congregation and some NTB people who saw the character of a TGB. So the term down the mountain becomes appropriate to analogize what is done by TGB to win Zul-Rohmi or other terms, namely the TGB effect.

Then to answer the second research question, there are two important points, namely patriarchal society and lack of experience. So it can be concluded that the main reason why in the end Siti Rohmi Djalillah became Cawagub accompanying Zulkieflimansyah is because the NTB community still adheres to a patriarchal culture and does not want a female leader to occupy the NTB 1 seat. Then experience and flying hours become one of the factors because when compared to the experience possessed by Zulkeflimansyah it becomes its own bargaining power and the core of all of that is the ingrained patriarchal culture which is the main factor.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, S., Jazwińska, K., Ahlawat, A., Winecoff, A., & Wang, M. (2024). Field-building and the epistemic culture of AI safety. *First Monday*, 29(4). <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v29i4.13626>
- Al-Amruzi, M. F. (2021). Pencatatan Perkawinan Dan Problematika Kawin Siri. *Ulumul Syar'i : Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Hukum Dan Syariah*, 9(2), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.52051/ulumulsyari.v9i2.79>
- Al-Jauhari, A. (2021). Kata Pengantar. *Dialog*, 44(1), i–Vi. <https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v44i1.470>
- Andriyana, D. (2020). Konsep Utang Dalam Syariat Islam. *Jurnal Al-Fatih Global Mulia*, 2(2), 49–64. <https://doi.org/10.59729/alfatih.v2i2.22>
- Ayu, F., Suryani, D., Muhammad, M., & Maria, S. (2022). Pemanfaatan Augmented Reality Sebagai Media Pembelajaran Di Masa Pandemi Pada Mata Kuliah Desain Grafis. *INTECOMS: Journal of Information Technology and Computer Science*, 5(1), 123–131. <https://doi.org/10.31539/intecom.v5i1.3865>
- Cahyani, B. H., Alsa, A., Ramdhani, N., & Khalili, F. N. (2019). The Role of Classroom Management and Mastery Goal Orientation Towards Student's Self-Regulation in Learning Mathematics. *Psikohumaniora: Jurnal Penelitian Psikologi*, 4(2), 117. <https://doi.org/10.21580/pjpp.v4i2.3576>
- Derung, T. N., Sampelan, A. B., Lubur, H. S., & Tukan, N. S. J. (2023). Membangun Toleransi Umat Beragama dalam Masyarakat yang Majemuk. *In Theos : Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Theologi*, 2(8), 257–263. <https://doi.org/10.56393/intheos.v2i8.1275>
-

-
- Fernando, R., Hasanuddin, T., Ranga, K. K., & Utama, D. D. P. (2022). Professional Mosque Management Model Based on Religious and Academic Activities in the Community. *Khalifa: Journal of Islamic Education*, 6(2), 196. <https://doi.org/10.24036/kjie.v6i2.275>
- Gastinger, M., & Schmidtke, H. (2022). Measuring precision precisely: A dictionary-based measure of imprecision. *Review of International Organizations*, 553–571. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-022-09476-y>
- Guess, A. M., Lerner, M., Lyons, B., Montgomery, J. M., Nyhan, B., Reifler, J., & Sircar, N. (2020). A digital media literacy intervention increases discernment between mainstream and false news in the United States and India. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 117(27), 15536–15545. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1920498117>
- Itmam, S. (2021). Resesi Ekonomi dan Implikasinya dari Perspektif Hukum Bisnis. *Equilibrium: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah*, 9(1), 179. <https://doi.org/10.21043/equilibrium.v9i1.10012>
- Jones, E. J., & Schreier, H. M. C. (2023). First-generation College Students Have Greater Systemic Inflammation than Continuing-Generation College Students Following the Initial College Transition: A Brief Report. *Annals of Behavioral Medicine : A Publication of the Society of Behavioral Medicine*, 57(1), 86–92. <https://doi.org/10.1093/abm/kaac008>
- Kamp, A., & Dybbroe, B. (2023). Training the ageing bodies: New knowledge paradigms and professional practices in elderly care. *Sociology of Health and Illness*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.13675>
- Lefebvre, S. (2020). Space, religious diversity, and negotiation processes. *Social Inclusion*, 8(3), 251–261. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.3260>
- Lestari, A. D. I., Rahmantullah, I., & Rizki, J. (2022). Pengaruh Utang Luar Negri Terhadap Pertumbuhan Ekonomi Indonesia Menurut Perspektif Ekonomi Islam. *SIBATIK JOURNAL: Jurnal Ilmiah Bidang Sosial, Ekonomi, Budaya, Teknologi, Dan Pendidikan*, 1(9). <https://doi.org/10.54443/sibatik.v1i9.224>
- Li, Y., Wang, Y., Fukuda, H., Gao, W., & Qian, F. (2022). Analysis of Energy Sharing Impacts in a Commercial Community: A Case of Battery Energy Storage System Deployment for Load Leveling. *Frontiers in Energy Research*, 10(July), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fenrg.2022.929693>
- Mahfudz, M., & Yuspiani. (2023). Qur’anic Exegesis and Religious Moderation in South Sulawesi: The Law on Blasphemy to Gods of Non-Muslims in Islamic Law Perspective. *Samarah*, 7(3), 1447–1467. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v7i3.19250>
- Malek, J. A., Hasan, A. Z., Rahman, A. Z., Khairuddin, W. H., Muhamad, S. N., Said, S. M., & Tahir, Z. (2022). Significance of mindfulness, Al-Quran recital and prayer factors in coping with COVID 19 symptoms. *International Journal of Health Sciences*, 6(April), 6380–6400. <https://doi.org/10.53730/ijhs.v6ns6.11332>
-

-
- Martínez-Ariño, J. (2019). Governing religious diversity in cities: critical perspectives. *Religion, State and Society*, 47(4–5), 364–373. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2019.1683404>
- Masitoh, D., Ramadhani, S. A., & Sari, F. (2023). Penguatan Peran Perempuan dalam Penanaman Nilai-nilai Moderasi Beragama pada Keluarga di Majelis Taklim Desa Negeri Ulangan, Kabupaten Pesawaran. *DEDIKASI: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 5(1), 41. <https://doi.org/10.32332/d.v5i1.6235>
- Masri, D., & Warsodirejo, P. P. (2023). The Implementation of the Tabayyun Concept in Learning Islam to Enhance Attitudes of Religious Moderation. *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 15(1), 853–862. <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v15i1.2592>
- Putri, L. A., Sabarudin, & Zebua, A. M. (2023). Mainstreaming of Religious Moderation Program in The Department of Islamic Religious Education. *Fikroh: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam*, 16(2), 131–140. <https://doi.org/10.37812/fikroh.v16i2.491>
- Putri, S. D. A., Ibrohim, M. O., & Budi, I. (2021). Abusive language and hate speech detection for Javanese and Sundanese languages in tweets: Dataset and preliminary study. *2021 11th International Workshop on Computer Science and Engineering, WCSE 2021, Wcse*, 461–465. <https://doi.org/10.18178/wcse.2021.02.011>
- Rokhmad, A., & Susilo, S. (2017). Conceptualizing authority of the legalization of Indonesian women's rights in Islamic family law. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 11(2), 489–508. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2017.11.2.489-508>
- Rossetti, A., & O'Brien, S. (2019). Helping the helpers: Evaluating the impact of a controlled language checker on the intralingual and interlingual translation tasks involving volunteer health professionals. *Translation Studies*, 12(2), 253–271. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2019.1689161>
- Ruohonen, J., & Hjerppe, K. (2022). The GDPR enforcement fines at glance. *Information Systems*, 106(August), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.is.2021.101876>
- Suryana, C., & Muhtar, T. (2022). Implementasi Konsep Pendidikan Karakter Ki Hadjar Dewantara di Sekolah Dasar pada Era Digital. *Jurnal Basicedu*, 6(4), 6117–6131. <https://doi.org/10.31004/basicedu.v6i4.3177>
- Uwaechia, A. N., & Mahyuddin, N. M. (2020). A comprehensive survey on millimeter wave communications for fifth-generation wireless networks: Feasibility and challenges. *IEEE Access*, 8, 62367–62414. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ACCESS.2020.2984204>
- Zubair, A., Hamzah, H., & Satriadi, S. (2022). Living Religious Moderation within the Sipakatau, Sipakainge', and Sipakalebbi Cultures of the Bugis Community. *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 30(2), 195–214. <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.30.2.13048>
-

Copyright Holder :

© Muh. Samsul Anwar. (2024).

First Publication Right :

© Cognitionis Civitatis et Politicae

This article is under:

