

POLITICAL CULTURE OF KIAI PATRONAGE AND CHALLENGES IN LOCAL DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES IN WEST NUSA TENGGARA PROVINCE

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POLITICAL CULTURE OF KIAI PATRONAGE AND CHALLENGES IN LOCAL DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES IN WEST NUSA TENGARA PROVINCE

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ABSTRACT

This study aims, (1) To describe the political cultural practices of the kiai's patronage as one of the challenges in the local democratic structure in NTB Province. (2) To explain and analyze the implications of the kiai's patronage political culture in two main aspects namely positive implications and negative implications caused by patronage practices as the political strategy of religious leaders in Lombok Island, NTB Province. The results of this study indicate that the kiai's patronage political culture is a strategy used as an adaptation mechanism of religious leaders in influencing the orientation and preference of voters' behavior to gain political power. Kiai use media such as organizational networks, educational institutions and networks of kiai organizations as a means of political patronage. This research also found that the involvement of the kiai in politics was intended to manifest the prophetic ideas of Islam. So as to create a civil society that is the concept of civilized civil society, upholding humanity, tolerance, multiculturalism, and the appreciation of spiritual values in the practice of state life and democracy. The political culture of kiai patronage in NTB Province shows positive implications because religious leaders who become governors, regents and mayors in formulating policies and political programs include religious ethical orientations such as the concept of halal tourism, sunset recitation, and termination of bureaucratic services when prayer time arrives. However, the patronage political culture has negative implications for the government, namely the high practice of corruption, nepotism and strengthening of dynastic politics.

Keywords: Political Culture, Kiai, Patronage, Implications, and Local Democracy.

INTRODUCTION

The social, political, and cultural history in Indonesia has always been overwhelmed by the practice of feudalism which has inherited since the time of the kingdom. In a structure that creates an unequal social stratification, for example in the aspects of control of the economic base and political access. The indigenous common people constitute the subordinate majority group because they are in the domination and hegemony of the royal elite group who are in an ordinate position. One of the impact² in socio-economic life, is the emergence of a strong patronage culture. Various patterns or forms of relationships (relations) that exist in society. One of these relationships is the patron-client relationship or commonly known as 'patronage' (patronage).

Patronage is a term derived from an expression in Spanish which etymologically means someone who has power, status, authority, and influence. Whereas client means subordinates / followers or people who are ordered and who are ordered. The patron-client relationship pattern is an alliance of two community groups or individual² who are not equal. Both in terms of status, power, and income so that the client is placed in a lower position (inferior), and the patron is in a higher position (superior) or it can also be interpreted that a patron is a person who is in a position to help his client (Scott, 1983).

The patron-client relationship has actually been going on for quite a long time and usually without realizing it, the patron-client relationship has become ingrained and transformed in various forms with various types of exploitation and emphasis on the client, who of course always have no choice. . While the patrons are increasingly rampant, they continue to increase their capital with their capital, network and influence. The patron's hard work and contribution are unfairly enjoyed by the patron. Meanwhile, clients are increasingly trapped in a state of dependency which makes them unable to prosper. Likewise, the practice of patronage in political power becomes a social reality that cannot be separated.

Patronage in a political party, for example, causes the cult of certain individuals who serve as patrons who are placed as the main characters in the highest positions and party members in respectable positions as clients. This political reality can be observed in the context of political parties in Indonesia such as SBY in the Democrat party, Megawati in the PDIP, and Hilmi Aminuddin in PKS, Surya Paloh in Nasdem, Amin Rais in PAN. The names of these figures are in the highest rank of the party leadership as a figure that is cultured and respected by almost all of his words. But patron-client relations, for example, are not merely individual or voter groups with politicians and brokers. Sometimes the practice is institutionalized because the patron of the client is essentially a relationship that is built within the framework of "Quid pro quid", that is, something for something or understood as a contingent exchange.

Literature review

Anthropologists have long paid attention and interest by conducting studies on patron-client culture both in the aspects of agriculture, maritime, and politics, especially about the workings, patterns and exchange strategies that are symbiotic both goods and gifts between patrons and clients, especially in the Mediterranean region. Their conclusions have undermined, or isolated, what is called the classical political theory as proposed by Polanyi (1944: 46) that economic and social factors are factors that can determine and explain the level of welfare of society. Economic behavior actually affects the political relations that take place socially every day.

Patronage is defined as a political system based on personal relationships between unequal parties, between the leader as the patron and his followers who are called clients. Each party has something to offer, the client offers political support and respect to the patron. Generally, what clients display to patrons is certain things in various symbolic forms such as obedience, respectful speech and language, gifts and others.

Barth's (1959) popular paper on the patronage of the Swat-Pathan people. Describes the local leaders called Khan using all their economic resources and influence to serve and entertain clients to win sympathy and show great influence to the public. Patron-client in a political context is a symbiotic relationship between two unequal parties in ownership of assets and economic productive resources. Patrons and clients exchange goods and services and expect returns in dissimilar forms such as loyalty and obedience.

This idea is similar to the concept of exchange proposed by Mauss (1872-1950) that even in the most generous practice society, giving always contains an element of exchange. Mauss (1872) asserts that all gifts always contain a claim for repayment regardless of whether it is explicitly stated or not. All gifts are transactions. This is illustrated in his popular sentence *A man ought to be a friend to his friend and repay gift with the gift. People should meet smiles with smiles and lies with treachery.* The essence of patronage culture is a reciprocal exchange for every gift, whether spoken implicitly or explicitly. Patrons provide various assistance

derived from economic resources, including capital, gifts, jobs and protection to clients. Ethically and culturally the client will return all assistance in a form that is different from that given by the patron, namely political loyalty, support and obedience.

Therefore, in the perspective of anthropology, patron-client is seen as a power that is built from inequality of influence as a result of the social distance that exists between patron and client, especially in ownership and control of economic bases. The patron-client political tradition can be traced historically as a past social and political behavior that is intertwined with the practice of aristocratic power and the feudal social stratification system, where someone from the aristocracy is considered to have a higher social status and degree. Feudalism and aristocracy are the biggest contributors to the formation of patron-client political culture. Anthropologist Wolf in Burke (2003: 110) says that patronage is a broker where someone gives gifts and other material guarantees as a means to achieve political goals. According to him, sometimes patron-client practices are compatible with and complementary to official political institutions. Anthropologist Ahimsa Putra (1988: 20) says that the patronage or patron-client relationship, especially in the context of modern politics, such as in the era of regional autonomy is understood as a form of achieved or achieved relationship. Generally characterized by four criteria, namely; 1) the exchange 2) inequality 3) face to face and 4) expansion of the relationship. Patrons are elite, namely people who get a lot of excess material

The concept of elite according to the term (Laswell 1948: 32) is individuals who succeed in having the most part of the values or values due to their abilities, as well as their personality traits; and because of these advantages, they are involved in the decision-making process. Elite are individuals who occupy top positions in economic and political institutions. Meanwhile, according to Ahimsa (1988) patron is a condition that is owned by a person with all the resource base he has, he controls politically and economically over his client. Pelras (1996: 42) clearly defines the patron-client relationship as an unequal and voluntary relationship. This means that inequality is caused by several variables, such as ownership of material objects, social status, and influence. However, client dependence on patrons is generally more due to economic reasons. Patrons meet client needs by providing economic favors, jobs and gifts. Whereas clients reward patrons who help them with political support and social protection. If a patron manages to gain political power, the patron will provide various facilities, including jobs and gifts in the form of goods to clients for their services and loyalty.

Research Methods

1. The design of this study uses an ethnographic approach so that, methodologically this research belongs to the domain and domain of qualitative research. Apart from being a work procedure, ethnography is also the result of work in the form of in-depth descriptions of the social, religious, cultural, political and local democratic life of a particular social unit, Spradley (1997).

2. Research Location

The research location is in Selong, East Lombok Regency, NTB Province. This location was chosen for several reasons, firstly this area became the basis of TGB, second, the phenomenon of strong patron-client political culture, and third, the center of the organization and network of education for the NW and the Pancor Foundation which was run by TGB in Selong.

3. Sources and Types of Data

This type of research is ethnographic in the qualitative-descriptive domain. The data obtained are presented in narrative form. Types of data consist of primers obtained through observation and interviews. Secondary data is obtained from references such as articles, books and journals.

4. Data collection techniques: observation, interview, and document study

Observations were made by conducting visits and observations at the boarding schools, madrasas, universities and the NW organization belonging to TGB. Interviews were conducted with two informants, structured and non-structured to the kiai and master teachers, the community and politicians.

5. Informant determination technique is done purposively based on involvement, knowledge, experience and adequacy of information about the research issue.

6. Data Analysis

The data analysis process is carried out through three channels, namely reduction, display, and conclusion drawing.

CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation and analysis of the entire series of this research, the conclusions that are found in the study are

1. Political culture of kiai and master teacher patronage in local democracy in NTB is practiced as an effective adaptation mechanism and strategy to gain political power. By using the network media of NW organizations, educational institutions and networks of kiai and master teachers in NTB Province.
2. The culture of Patronage of the kiai has led to the emergence of many prophetic policies based on religious ethical values. However, the kiai's patronage political culture has implications for the high practices of corruption, the low levels of critical public political participation and the strengthening of dynastic politics in NTB.

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