

THE ROLE OF KIAI AND BLATER IN THE REGIONAL ELECTION IN MADURA: DISCOURSE ON LEGAL CULTURE

**Ach. Khoiri¹, Avien Zakaria², Ihya Ulumuddin³, Muhammad Ahsin Lana⁴, Ach
Robithul Islam⁵**

¹Universitas Islam Madura, Indonesia

²International Islamic University of Islamabad, Pakistan

³Zhejiang University, China

⁴University of Al-Azhar, Egypt

⁵Al-Ahgaff University, Yemen

¹ach.khoiri@uim.ac.id

²avien.bsud001653@student.iiu.edu.pk

³zhangbing@qq.com

⁴ahsinlana575@gmail.com

⁵ilzamben971@gmail.com

Abstract

This study aims to analyse the implementation of elections in Madura, which should be an arena to elect leaders who are expected to bring change and improvement in Madura but cannot be adequately maximised. There is even an impression that implementing elections only perpetuates the power of informal rulers in Madura, namely kiai and blater. This research contributes to describing the various weaknesses of the election regulation applied in Madura with the hope that all these weaknesses can be anticipated and will help reform the election regulation model in Indonesia. This research uses empirical legal research methods with socio-legal and anthropo-legal approaches. This research found that election regulations cannot overcome the community's need to choose prospective leaders in Madura honestly and according to their conscience. This is supported by the fact that in every election, contestants supported by kiai and blater are almost certain to win the contestation of regional elections in Madura.

Keywords: Regional Election, Legal Cultur, Kiai, Blater, Madura

Introduction

Since the opening of the reform faucet, which carries the theme of liberation and equality, the order in various aspects of Indonesian society has changed.¹ This

¹ Saiful Mujani and R. William Liddle, "Indonesia: Jokowi Sidelines Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 4 (2021): 72–86, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2021.0053>.

reality quickly spread to multiple regions and corners of the country.² Especially when Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Autonomy and Law Number 25 of 1999 concerning Central and Regional Financial Balancing were passed, which were implemented in Indonesia on January 1, 2001.³ This condition created significant opportunities and opened political opportunities for political actors and culture. Local people will appear again on the political stage after being shackled to centralised political life for quite a long time.⁴

The emergence of local political actors and culture is familiar and easy to find in almost all regions of Indonesia.⁵ Several regional research findings even show an increase in ethnocentrism symptoms. This symptom is visible in several important events, such as regional expansion, general elections, regional head elections, filling in DPRD members, recruiting local bureaucracy, and policy making.⁶

Symptoms like those described above apparently also occur in Madura, especially in general elections, regional head elections, presidential elections, and even village head elections, even though there are two determining forces in the victory of one candidate or pair of candidates.⁷ The two figures are Kiai and Blater. Of course, the existence of these two figures in certain aspects can benefit the development of the order of life towards human civilisation.⁸ Vice versa, their presence can also make the situation even more confusing. It depends on your interests and the moment you are working on.

² Michael A. Tumanut, "A Veto Players Analysis of Subnational Territorial Reform in Indonesia," *Asian Politics & Policy* 8, no. 2 (April 27, 2016): 235–61, <https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12248>.

³ Bangkit A. Wiryawan and Christian Otchia, "The Legacy of the Reformasi: The Role of Local Government Spending on Industrial Development in a Decentralized Indonesia," *Journal of Economic Structures* 11, no. 1 (December 19, 2022): 3, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40008-022-00262-y>.

⁴ Vicki Dwi Purnomo and Kelik Endro Suryono, "The Collapse of the New Orde Regime Resulted in Changes in Indonesia's Economic Policy," *Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat Formosa* 1, no. 5 (December 30, 2022): 395–406, <https://doi.org/10.55927/jpmf.v1i5.2230>.

⁵ Anton Lucas, "Elite Capture and Corruption in Two Villages in Bengkulu Province, Sumatra," *Human Ecology* 44, no. 3 (June 16, 2016): 287–300, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-016-9837-6>.

⁶ Yoes C Kenawas, "The Irony of Indonesia's Democracy: The Rise of Dynastic Politics in the Post-Suharto Era," *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 8, no. 3 (September 29, 2023): 748–64, <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231195970>.

⁷ Yanwar Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2018). | Series: Routledge contemporary Southeast Asia series: Routledge, 2018), 97, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315473697>.

⁸ Gilang Ramadhan, "Majority Religious Politics: The Struggle for Religious Rights of Minorities in Sampang, Madura," *Simulacra* 5, no. 1 (2022): 17–28, <https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v5i1.13427>.

In carrying out elections, they have supernatural powers, namely karma and barakah so that they can understand something behind something and give warnings in the form of malate or cause something undesirable.⁹ The role of kiai and blater can be felt and experienced by someone who only believes that society is a blessing that belongs to anyone. This means that each person exercises power or takes blessings from a particular kiai for additional goodness.¹⁰

Holding direct general elections aims to provide equal rights and opportunities for the community to participate by producing potential leaders or screening potential leaders. However, it does not rule out the possibility that the emergence of legal locality in implementing elections will provide maximum results in efforts to organise a democratic and just state. Therefore, an in-depth study is needed about the phenomenon of these two figures and their positive and negative impacts on the development of the democratic system in Indonesia.¹¹

The author realizes that research on the role of kiai and blater in implementing elections in Madura is not a new theme in Indonesia, including in Madura. Many previous studies have discussed this theme. However, the focus of the study in this article, which analyses from the perspective of election law with a legal culture approach, differs from several previous studies. Several previous studies include: First, Research by Mohammad Hidayatullah entitled "Blater's power in local politics, village head election in Madura" was published in the Journal of Innovation in Social and Political Sciences Volume 5 Issue 2 in 2023.¹² This study reveals the vital role of a blater in every village head election (klebun). The author demonstrates that support from the blater is one of the victory determinants for contestants

⁹ Muhammad Anzor, "Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 23, no. 3 (December 30, 2016): 471-515, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v23i3.2412>.

¹⁰ Shohebul Umam, "Politik Ekologi: Respon Kiai Dan Pesantren Terhadap Degradasi Lingkungan Di Madura," *Sustainable Jurnal Kajian Mutu Pendidikan* 5, no. 2 (December 13, 2022): 364-73, <https://doi.org/10.32923/kjmp.v5i2.2773>.

¹¹ Thomas Power and Eve Warburton, "The Decline of Indonesian Democracy," in *Democracy in Indonesia* (ISEAS Publishing, 2020), 1-20, <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814881524-006>.

¹² Mohammad Hidayatullah et al., "Blater's Power in Local Politics, Village Head Election in Madura," *Jurnal Inovasi Ilmu Sosial Dan Politik (JISoP)* 5, no. 2 (January 9, 2024): 163-70, <https://doi.org/10.33474/jisop.v5i2.20562>.

participating in the village head election in Madura, especially in Bangkalan. The strong influence of the blater is due to the existence of the blater who has power in the informal leadership structure in Madura. In addition, blater also has a strong network and capital that can convince prospective voters in every village head election contest in Madura.

Second, research by Moh Rofiie, Chusnul Mar'iyah and Ma'mun Murod entitled "Involvement of Local Strong People in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election" has been published in *JISIP: Journal of Social Sciences and Education* Volume 1 Number 1 in 2023. This research reveals facts about the existence of local figures who also play a role in determining victory in the Regional Head Election contest in Madura. The three local figures are Kiai, Blater, and Juragan. The three local figures have informal sources of power and ways of influencing the community to choose regional head candidates according to their political preferences. Religious, existential, and economic factors influenced their involvement in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election. They utilise the power of relationships, economics, and even threats. According to Islamic teachings, Kiai is interested in choosing the most qualified leader, while blater is interested in existence and material gain. The interests of the juragan are to maintain and develop his business.¹³

Third, research by Eni Syafitri and Agus Machfud Fauzi entitled "Blater Power Relation as a Symbol in the Political Seat Battle in Bangkalan" was published in Atlantis Press on December 24, 2021.¹⁴ This research reveals that the success of the blater in becoming one of the determinants of victory in the election in Bangkalan is due to strong relations with other actors who also influence social life in Madura, including their relationship with the kiai. This relationship has been going on for a long time. They seem to be the two most decisive forces in determining victory in

¹³ Moh Rofiie, Chusnul Mar'iyah, and Ma'mun Murod, "Involvement of Local Strong People in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election," *JISIP: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan* 7, no. 351 (2023), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v7i4.5583>.

¹⁴ Eni Syafitri and Agus Machfud Fauzi, "Blater Power Relation as a Symbol in the Political Seat Battle in Bangkalan," in *Proceedings of the International Joint Conference on Arts and Humanities 2021 (IJCAH 2021)* (Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2021), 828–32, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211223.143>.

every election contest in Madura, from general elections with a national scope to local elections at the village level.

Fourth, research by Ahmad Najib Burhani entitled "Lessons from Madura: NU, Conservatism and the 2019 Presidential Election". This research discusses the role of religious institutions in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election process in Madura. Najib explained that the role of kiai and religious figures was very influential in the election process. Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno utilised the kiai and religious figure communities to win the contest. Jokowi received support from kiai affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama. In contrast, Prabowo received much support from kiai affiliated with the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), the Madura Ulama Alliance (Auma) and similar religious organisations.¹⁵

Fifth, research by Mohammad Hidayaturrehman entitled "Political Clientelism in Presidential Elections and Political History in Madura". This study discusses the clientelism politics used by Joko Widodo in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election, especially the clientelism politics carried out in Madura. This clientelism politics is carried out by trying to gain support from voters by providing social assistance in the form of money, basic foodstuffs, and other aid funded by state finances. This campaign model did not get empathy from the community because the community was more influenced by the support of the kiai for certain candidates in the general election.¹⁶

Most of the previous studies above examine one of the roles of blater or kiai in the implementation of the Election in Madura and do not make the two entities into two forces that are very influential in the political contestation in Madura. The space related to the two twin regimes that are very influential in the implementation of local elections is the focus of this study because previous researchers have not done

¹⁵ Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Lessons from Madura: NU, Conservatism and the 2019 Presidential Election," *Perspective*, no. 72 (2019): 1–9, <https://doi.org/www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/>.

¹⁶ Mohammad Hidayaturrehman et al., "Political Clientelism in Presidential Elections and Political History in Madura," in *The First Annual International Conference on Social, Literacy, Art, History, Library, and Information Science (ICOLIS)* (Dubai, United Arab Emirates: KnE Social Sciences, 2024), 42–55, <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v9i12.15814>.

it. The next difference is the legal culture approach, which is the reference for the theory, making this study different from previous studies, which mostly examine from the perspective of political science and religion. Thus, the novelty of this research is the attempt to reveal the existence of a twin regime in the implementation of local general elections in Madura, which is analyzed using the theory of legal culture.

Methods

This study uses empirical legal research or non-doctrinal research.¹⁷ The choice of this method is due to the purpose and direction of the research,¹⁸ namely, to determine the implementation of regulations in General Elections and regional head elections in Madura, especially when the regulations are faced with the role of two twin political regimes in Madura. Therefore, this research uses a socio-legal and anthro-legal approach. The socio-legal approach is used to understand how regulations are implemented in people's lives.¹⁹ In contrast, the anthro-legal approach is used to understand the community's values, traditions, and culture in responding to developing regulations.²⁰ This is especially true of regional head elections in Madura, which are still dominated by two twin regimes, Blater and Kiai, which can influence people's preferences in determining their choices.

This research was conducted for six months, from March to September 2023. It was conducted in four districts of Madura, with the main targets being the general public, such as voters in the election, kiai leaders of pesantren, cultural figures, politicians, and blater. The interviews with the informants above were then

¹⁷ Victor Imanuel W. Nalle, "The Relevance of Socio-Legal Studies in Legal Science," *Mimbar Hukum - Fakultas Hukum Universitas Gadjah Mada* 27, no. 1 (February 15, 2015): 179, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.15905>.

¹⁸ Teddy Asmara, "Penelitian Budaya Hukum: Konsep Dan Metodologi," *Masalah-Masalah Hukum* 43, no. 3 (2014): 445–52, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14710/mmh.43.3.2014.445-452>.

¹⁹ Jonathan H. Choi, "How to Use Large Language Models for Empirical Legal Research," *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 180, no. 2 (2023): 214–43, <https://doi.org/10.1628/jite-2024-0020>.

²⁰ Gareth Davies, "The Relationship between Empirical Legal Studies and Doctrinal Legal Research," *Erasmus Law Review* 13, no. 2 (September 2020): 3–12, <https://doi.org/10.5553/ELR.000141>.

analyzed using analytical-descriptive methods to find answers to the strong influence of kiai and blater in the implementation of regional elections in Madura.

Discussion

The Role of Kiai and Blater in Regional Elections in Madura

General elections are held as nothing more than a manifestation of the democratic system adopted by most countries.²¹ They represent the principle of popular sovereignty, which is the cornerstone of all democratic principles.²² Democracy requires that all decisions regarding state administration be carried out based on the people's will and implemented fully for the people's welfare.²³

In the Indonesian context, the implementation of direct general elections was intended to represent the provisions of Article 1 Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, confirming that "sovereignty was in the hands of the people which is implemented according to the Constitution".²⁴ This article means that people's sovereignty was no longer entirely implemented by the People's Consultative Assembly. Still, it was implemented according to the introductory provisions in which the Constitution stipulated that popular sovereignty is an implementation of the state based on the people's will, which was one form of sovereignty.²⁵

Article 22E paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution. Mandates that general elections in Indonesia be carried out with principles such as honest, fair, direct,

²¹ Tom Gerald Daly, "Understanding Multi-Directional Democratic Decay: Lessons from the Rise of Bolsonaro in Brazil," *The Law & Ethics of Human Rights* 14, no. 2 (November 25, 2020): 199–226, <https://doi.org/10.1515/lehr-2020-2014>.

²² Ainun Najib et al., "Regulation on Freedom of Expression on Social Media in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 46–60, <https://doi.org/https://ejournal.pustakaparawali.com/index.php/jicl/article>.

²³ Jimly Asshiddiqie, "Building A Constitutional Aware Culture to Create A Democratic Law State," *PETITA: JURNAL KAJIAN ILMU HUKUM DAN SYARIAH* 8, no. 1 (April 1, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.22373/petita.v7i2.128>.

²⁴ Muhammad Zhafran Shobirin et al., "A Comparison of Presidential Threshold Systems in Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections in Indonesia and Brazil," *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 1–14, <https://doi.org/https://ejournal.pustakaparawali.com/index.php/jicl/article/view/7/1>.

²⁵ Yoes C Kenawas, "The Irony of Indonesia's Democracy: The Rise of Dynastic Politics in the Post-Suharto Era," *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 8, no. 3 (September 29, 2023): 748–64, <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231195970>.

general, free and secret, or what is known as the whole principle that the authority to choose is absolutely in the hands of the voter by their conscience choice without any coercion from anyone. In this way, it is hoped that an ideal public leader will be created to the vision and mission needed by society. Not a leader who only cares about his interests, his family, or his group.²⁶

Starting from the provisions above, the phenomenon that occurred in Madura was the strong influence of kiai and blater figures. The general election arena seems to have created a pattern for the Madurese people's response to general elections. This was typical social control in Madurese society.²⁷ In his book *The Behavior of Law*, Donald Black states that the factors influencing law implementation are social stratification, morphology, organisation, social control, and culture.²⁸ Specifically regarding social control, Black noted that if in an area there is robust social control, it was certain that law enforcement would be weak.²⁹ If Black's findings had applied to the phenomenon of the two figures above, the conclusion was that social control in the form of the strong influence of kiai and blater could defeat applicable legal provisions, especially those relating to general elections.³⁰

Several facts confirm that Kiai led four districts in Madura during the last period.³¹ Starting from Bangkalan, in Bangkalan, Abdul Latif Amin Imron (Ra Latif) was a figure from the Kiai group who appeared as a candidate for Regent.³² He is the

²⁶ Muhammad Syafei and Muhammad Rafi Darajati, "Design of General Election in Indonesia," *LAW REFORM* 16, no. 1 (March 27, 2020): 97–111, <https://doi.org/10.14710/lr.v16i1.30308>.

²⁷ Eugenia Brandao Da Silva and Lin Asyiqoh, "The Idea of Legal Pluralism in Dispute Resolution of Village Head Election in Madura," *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 61–83, <https://doi.org/ejournal.pustakaparawali.com>.

²⁸ Donald Black, *The Behavior of Law* (New York: Akademic Press, 1976), 7.

²⁹ Mukhlis Mukhlis et al., "The Legal Culture to Prevent Radical Islamism by a Pesantren in Madura," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar'iah* 16, no. 1 (June 24, 2024): 58–87, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v16i1.26216>.

³⁰ Eugenia Brandao Da Silva et al., "A Model of Election Supervision Based on Village Judicial Institutions; A Review of Legal Anthropology in Madura," *Trunojoyo Law Review* 6, no. 1 (February 28, 2024): 96–119, <https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v6i1.23230>.

³¹ Arina Rohmatul Hidayah, "Political Marketing of Stream by Candidates through Facebook in the 2018 Regional Election of East Java," *Politicon : Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 3, no. 1 (March 31, 2021): 1–33, <https://doi.org/10.15575/politicon.v3i1.9456>.

³² Agus Sukristyanto, "Governor Election And Political Participation In East Java," in *Proceedings of the 2018 Annual Conference of Asian Association for Public Administration: "Reinventing Public Administration in a Globalized World: A Non-Western Perspective" (AAPA 2018)* (Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.2991/aapa-18.2018.52>.

great-grandson of the famous Madurese ulama, Syaichona Kholil;³³ With the capital of this kiai breed, Ra Latif could outperform his opponents, including candidates who were still related to him. Besides using the Kiai lineage, Makmun Ibnu Fuad teamed up with Mohammad Mohni, who also had strong relations with blasters throughout Bangkalan.³⁴ Unsurprisingly, in the second Bangkalan Regent Candidate election in 2018, he still had a landslide lead over his opponents.³⁵

The election of Ra Latif as the regent of Bangkalan made the political dominance originating from the Bani Kholil extended family even stronger in Bangkalan. Ra Latif succeeded in continuing the leadership of the Syaichona Kholil family, namely the leadership of Fuad Amin Imron, who led Bangkalan from 2003 to 2012.³⁶ After the Fuad Amin Imron Era, Bangkalan was again led by the Bani Kholil, with Makmun Ibnu Fuad elected as the Bangkalan Regency Regional Head Election candidate in 2012. At almost the same time, the Bani Kholil family also succeeded in leading the Bangkalan Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) with Fuad Amin elected as its Chairman.³⁷

The 2013 Sampang Regency Regional Head Election was won by Fannan Hasib, who was paired with Fadillah Budiono and had a vote share of 31.44%. Previously, Fannan Hasib was the Regent of Sampang for the 2008-2012 period. Fannan has the Kiai breed because he is a descendant of the Sampang Prajjan Islamic Boarding School; this Islamic boarding school is the oldest Islamic boarding school in Sampang Regency. Apart from being a kiai, he also received support from kiai in

³³ Abdul A'la, "Kiprah Dan Warisan Syaikhona Kholil Untuk Bangsa Dan Negara," in *Syaikhona Kholil Guru Para Pahlawan* (Surabaya, 2021), 23.

³⁴ Sami an Sami an and Satria Unggul Wicaksana Prakasa, "Analisis Politik Hukum Pengaruh Oligarki Dan Budaya Korupsi Di Kabupaten Bangkalan," *Media of Law and Sharia* 2, no. 4 (October 4, 2021): 329–45, <https://doi.org/10.18196/mls.v2i4.11737>.

³⁵ Yudi Widagdo Harimurti et al., "Democratic Education on the Village Consultative Body Election in Bangkalan," *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 11, no. 2 (2020): 84–110, <https://doi.org/jsser.org/index.php/jsser/article/view/2020>.

³⁶ Ahmad Luthfi, Syaiful Rohman, and Margaretha Hanita, "The Influence of Youth Leadership in Strengthening Local Wisdom in The Millennial Generation : Case Study of Bangkalan District, Jawa Timur," in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Strategic and Global Studies (ICSGS 2018)* (Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.2991/icsgs-18.2019.1>.

³⁷ Nadir Nadir and Win Yuli Wardani, "The Corruption Behavior in The Behind of Fatsun Leadership of Kiai in The Region of Madura, Indonesia," *Rechtsidee* 5, no. 2 (June 3, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.21070/jihr.v5i2.67>.

Sampang Regency, including Kiai Alawi Muhammad. This shows that the position of kiai still dominates political power in Sampang Regency society.³⁸

In the 2018 Sampang Regency Regional Head Election, the election of Slamed Junaidi and Abdullah Hidayat as Regent and Deputy Regent slightly changed the political power of the kiai in Bangkalan where the elected candidates did not have elements from the kiai community, but from the blater community. This shows that the power of the blater has succeeded in shifting the power of the kiai community, which, since the reformation, the dynamics of local politics in Sampang have been dominated by the political power of the kiai and santri. However, the emergence of the blater figure did not change the political culture in Madura, which was indeed dominated by two forces, namely the power of the kiai and the blater.³⁹

In Pamekasan district, Kholilurrahman and his deputy Dadang emerged as winners in the 2008 Regional Head Election. Kholilurrahman was a relative of the kiai at the Banyuanyar and Bata-bata Islamic Boarding Schools, the oldest Islamic boarding school in Pamekasan with a fanatical mass.⁴⁰ He is also the caretaker of the Matsaratul Huda Islamic Boarding School in Panempan Village. Apart from that, he also has support from the elderly kiai in Pamekasan. Kholilurrahman continued as a candidate as a member of the DPR-RI and also emerged as the winner and was even the candidate who received the most votes in Madura. It was alleged that support also came from blasters in Pamekasan. The merging of these two forces allows society to make choices according to what these two figures want.⁴¹

In the 2018 Regent Election, the election of Badrut Tamam, who still has family ties with Kholilurrahman, further strengthened the political dominance of the kiai

³⁸ Yanwar Pribadi, "The Klebun, the Kiai and the Blater: Notes from Western Madura, Indonesia," *South East Asia Research* 23, no. 3 (September 18, 2015): 303–17, <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2015.0267>.

³⁹ Ach Apriyanto Romadhan and Iradhad Taqwa Sihidi, "Comparative Study of Money Politics in Batu City and Sampang Regency in Village Head Elections," *Journal of Local Government Issues* 6, no. 1 (March 30, 2023): 63–74, <https://doi.org/10.22219/logos.v6i1.24527>.

⁴⁰ Yanwar Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture," *Al-Jami'ah* 51, no. 1 (2013): 3.

⁴¹ Abd Rohman, "Religious Leadership and Political Triumph: A Case Study of Kiai and Santri Strategies in the 2018 Pamekasan Local Elections," *Jurnal Mengkaji Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (December 15, 2023): 407–27, <https://doi.org/10.59066/jmi.v2i2.560>.

in this district. In addition, Badrut Tamam's courage to pair up with Raja'ie, who comes from the blater community, proves that in addition to the political dominance of the kiai community, the power of the blater also still dominates the political system in Pamekasan. This condition further strengthens the position of the blater and kiai as the parties that most determine the election of one of the candidates competing in the regional head election in Pamekasan. This fact shows that the twin political regime in Pamekasan is still strong and influential in every election contest in Pamekasan.⁴²

The regional elections in Sumenep Regency had an opportunity to prove that the strong dominance of kiai as a determinant of victory in general elections in Madura still has a place in the hearts of the Madurese people. This can be proven by the election of Kiai Ramdhan Siradj in the regional head elections in 2000, which also continued in the direct regional head elections in 2005.⁴³ He received the support of most kiai in Sumenep, including support from the oldest Islamic boarding school in Sumenep, Annuqayah Guluk-Guluk. This factor led him to be elected for two terms. In the 2010 regional elections, kiai figures once again regained power in Sumenep district with the election of Abuya Busyro Karim and Sungkono Siddik as elected Regent and Deputy Regent. Busyro Karim is the kiai caretaker of the Al-Karimiah Islamic boarding school in Sumenep. Thanks to the kiai's breed, it was easier for him to gain the support of the people of Sumenep. This was also the factor that led him to be elected for two terms.⁴⁴

The dominance of kiai and blater in Sumenep also occurred in implementing the regional head election in Sumenep in 2018 where the elected candidates were Achmad Fauzi and Dewi Khalifah. Fauzi is the nephew of MH. Said Abdullah is a senior politician in Indonesia who comes from Sumenep and has connections with

⁴² Rofiie, Mar'iyah, and Murod, "Involvement of Local Strong People in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election."

⁴³ Rojabi Azharghany, "Jejak Dakwah Kiai Sebagai Creator Dalam Dinamika Perubahan Sosial," *Dakwatuna: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi Islam* 9, no. 2 (2023): 127-42, <https://doi.org/10.54471/dakwatuna.v9i2.2349>.

⁴⁴ Ahlur Roiyan, "Perspektif Patronase Edward Aspinall Dalam Proses Pemangan Busyro Karim Sebagai Bupati Dua Periode Di Kabupaten Sumenep," *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)* 13, no. 2 (December 31, 2023): 318-240, <https://doi.org/10.15642/jrp.2023.13.2.318-240>.

kiai and blater circles. Meanwhile, his deputy, Dewi Khalifah, is the daughter of one of the most respected clerics in Sumenep and has kinship ties with several kiai in Sumenep.⁴⁵ Support from blater and kiai circles in the nomination process for Fauzi and Dewi is believed to be the primary determinant of the election of these contestants in the regional head election in Sumenep. Fauzi and Dewi's victory also further strengthened the political patronage of Sumenep, which is indeed dominated by kiai and blater circles.

Legal Culture and the Domination of Twin Political Regimes in Regional Election in Madura

In Madura, apart from kiai who are successful in their candidacy for public office, the role of kiai also has quite a strong influence in terms of support for one of the candidates or pairs of candidates they choose. It is common in Madura for many kiai to leave the barracks to campaign for their preferred candidates, as happened in the Pamekasan district elections in 2012, where each candidate claimed that he was the one who received the blessing of the majority of the kiai in Pamekasan.

Regarding the strength of the kiai figures, this phenomenon was due to cultural characteristics that appear in their hierarchical obedience, submission and submission to the four central figures in life, especially in religious practice. The four figures were “*buppa, babu’, ghuru, ban rato*” (Father, Mother, Teacher and Government Leader).⁴⁶ The Madurese people's hierarchical obedience to these main figures manifests itself in their social and cultural life. Specifically, for obedience to kiai, the use and mention of the term teacher refers to and emphasises the meaning of kiai—boarding school administrators or at least *ustadz* in religious institutions.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Nurul Azizah, “Sacralization Religion, Power Elite and Leadership: Female Regents in East Java,” *Majalah Ilmu Pengetahuan Dan Pemikiran Keagamaan Tajdid* 25, no. 1 (June 29, 2022): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.15548/tajdid.v25i1.4052>.

⁴⁶ Muwaffiq Jufri, Agung Ali Fahmi, and Saiful Abdullah, “Peran Strategis Kiai Pesantren Dalam Diseminasi Gaya Hidup Halal Di Madura,” *Al-Huquq: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Economic Law* 5, no. 1 (2023): 1–19, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/alhuquq.v5i1.7872>.

⁴⁷ Safi’ et al., *Bhag-Rembhag Sabhala’an as a Method of Resolving Religious Conflicts in the Madura Legal Tradition, El-Mashlahah*, vol. 14, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i1.7819>.

Madurese society considers that the role and function of teachers were more emphasised in the context of morality, which is linked to eschatological life – especially in the aspect of peace and saving oneself from burdens or suffering in the afterlife (morality and sacred world).⁴⁸ Therefore, Madurese people's devotion to teacher figures has become a distinctive marker of their culture whose validity – perhaps – cannot be doubted. Teachers were instrumental in enlightening students' communal thought patterns and behaviour to achieve prosperity in this world and safety in living in the land of the afterlife. Their contribution was seen as meaningful and of great service because it provided provisions for the survival of life in the natural world and the safety of the afterlife after this world. This shows that the Islamic traditions of the Madurese people have integrated with the culture, which has been a guide to life.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, obedience to the figure of Blater was due to nothing other than the fact that Blater is a strong person whose existence controls the security of certain areas in Madura.⁵⁰ Blater was a vital figure in Madura, both physically and magically and is usually known for having invulnerability, pencak silat or martial arts. A champion/blater can quickly gather a relatively large number of followers and subordinates. However, the number of followers depends on the superiority of the knowledge (violence) they master.⁵¹ He is a champion or blater figure who has been involved in the world of violence, and his name is very famous because his magical knowledge will add to his charisma and strength to influence many people. This condition means that hero figures always have a significant role in society.⁵²

⁴⁸ Totok Agus Suryanto Aini, Huldiya Syamsiar, and Muhammad Usamah Rasyidi, "The Central Role of The Village Kiai as Significant Other in Rural Madura," *Penamas* 36, no. 1 (June 26, 2023): 104–21, <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v36i1.658>.

⁴⁹ Mukhlis et al., "Rejection of Former Shia Community in Sampang Perspective on Human Rights Law: Discourse of Religious Rights and Freedom in Indonesia," *Lex Scientia Law Review* 7, no. 2 (2023): 237, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v7i2.72156>.

⁵⁰ Abdur Rohman, "Maskulinitas Blater Madura: Studi Kasus Di Desa Jangkar, Bangkalan," *Jurnal Budaya Nusantara* 5, no. 2 (March 1, 2022): 109–15, <https://doi.org/10.36456/JBN.vol5.no2.4920>.

⁵¹ Melina Nur Hafida et al., "Kajian Historis Carok Di Madura Pada Masa Kolonialisme Belanda," *AGASTYA: JURNAL SEJARAH DAN PEMBELAJARANNYA* 14, no. 1 (January 31, 2024): 29, <https://doi.org/10.25273/ajsp.v14i1.18568>.

⁵² Noviana Dwi Rahmadhani, Moh. Ibnu Fajar, and Saiful Abdullah, "Regional Government Strategies to Preserve the Keris Industry in Sumenep," *Trunojoyo Law Review* 6, no. 1 (February 27, 2024): 51–77, <https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v6i1.23289>.

Apart from that, Blater also controls certain areas in Madura, and many Blater have even become Village Heads, especially in inland areas where the pace of development has not touched.⁵³ Their presence in society is quite significant. This was because it concerned personal safety and property. Suppose the existence of a blater is disturbed or opposed by the community.⁵⁴ In that case, creating regional security conditions that are not conducive, thieves roaming around, and many other related problems are very likely to happen. Therefore, the Madurese people prioritise welfare rather than choosing the truth while their social conditions are in disarray. This factor caused the blater to have a dominant position in the lives of the Madurese people, and it did not rule out the possibility that its existence would be able to direct voters to choose one of the candidates they support.⁵⁵

It becomes a massive political force when a cultural relationship is established between the kiai and the blater to win a particular candidate or pair of candidates. The union of the two makes it a huge power that is difficult for other powers to match. It also indicates the weakness of implementing the statutory mandate, which mandates the implementation of general elections to vote honestly, fairly, and confidentially and not be influenced by pressure from any party. In this condition, dominant social control, as evidenced by the strong influence of kiai and blater, has significantly weakened the position of the applicable legal rules regarding election issues.⁵⁶

The strong dominance of blater and kiai in every election in Madura shows that the two figures are worthy of being called two twin political regimes in Madura, especially when examined from the perspective of the Legal Culture theory. The

⁵³ Asma Wati, Sholih Muadi, and George Towar Ikbal Tawakkal, "Hidup Dalam Stigma: Kekerasan Dan Religiuitas Bejingan," *Al-Mada: Jurnal Agama, Sosial, Dan Budaya* 3, no. 2 (July 2, 2020): 109–202, <https://doi.org/10.31538/almada.v3i2.694>.

⁵⁴ Zulfatul Laily, "Eksistensi Blater Bagi Masyarakat Desa Katol, Kecamatan Gegger, Kabupaten Bangkalan," *Jurnal PUBLIQUE* 1, no. 1 (January 17, 2021): 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.15642/publique.2020.1.1.1-20>.

⁵⁵ Yanwar Pribadi, "An Abangan-like Group in a Santri Island: The Religious Identity of the Blater," in *Religious Diversity in Muslim-Majority States in Southeast Asia* (ISEAS Publishing, 2014), 214–34, <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814519656-014>.

⁵⁶ Usman Usman, "Blater, Pesantren Dan Pendidikan Formal," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 4, no. 2 (December 31, 2017): 262–75, <https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v4i2.1658>.

Legal Culture theory believes in the existence of society's customs and culture that society obeys as the law that applies in that community. The condition of society that obeys these values and culture is what influences the creation of customary law norms in Indonesia, whose binding power and validity can be stronger than state law. In the legal culture theory, the actions taken by kiai and blater in the election contest in Madura are categorised as efforts to influence public awareness of election law.

The legal culture theory mentions four factors that can change the legal behaviour of society, namely social stratification, morphology, organisation, social control, and culture.⁵⁷ These elements can easily change the legal behaviour of society even though their existence is not simultaneous between the four components. Each element has a power base to change the legal behaviour of society, including the blater and kiai elements that can influence society's views in every implementation of regional head elections.⁵⁸

The strong dominance of Kiai and Blater in every general election in Madura from the perspective of legal culture theory is at least caused by factors such as: First. In this organisational aspect, the power that changes is the influence of the masses. The existence of kiai with educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, langgar, madrasah, and surau in Madura has a strategic role in mobilizing the masses to support a particular candidate in every general election momentum. Organizationally, the existence of kiai and pesantren caretakers can be vital because every religious, educational institution in Madura has direct relations with the community through several forums that are formed, both internal and external.⁵⁹ External forums or organisations of pesantren are usually in the form of alumni associations found in several pesantren in Madura. External forums/organisations

⁵⁷ Berlian Three et al., "A Comparison of Religious Freedom Guarantees for Adherents of Local Religions Between Indonesia and Japan," *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 15–28, <https://doi.org/https://ejournal.pustakaparawali.com/index.php/jicl/article>.

⁵⁸ Ali Topan, "Respons Aliansi Ulama Madura (AUMA) Terhadap Dinamika Politik Keagamaan Di Pamekasan Madura," *ENTITA: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial Dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 4, no. 1 (June 16, 2022): 92–106, <https://doi.org/10.19105/ejpis.v4i1.5576>.

⁵⁹ Abu Aman, Achmad As'ad Abd. Aziz, and Atiyatus Syarifah, "Figur Kiai Di Madura Perspektif Teori Pemikiran Kekuasaan (Politik) Al-Ghazali," *NUANSA: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial Dan Keagamaan Islam* 20, no. 2 (October 4, 2023): 143–62, <https://doi.org/10.19105/nuansa.v20i2.8658>.

include pesantren caretaker communities, village kiai communities, and other communities based on the pesantren movement.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, blater can also have a strong influence due to the relations between fellow blater in Madura. Blater also has relations with each other, and usually, they will have one command in responding to various problems that occur in Madura, including determining which candidate will be supported in the implementation of the general election in Madura.⁶¹

Second, social control makes norms and social institutions a transformative force. In this aspect, the position of the kiai who leads the pesantren has a strategic role because the social norms that develop among the Muslim community of Madura strongly influence the informal leadership of the kiai in the social structure in Madura. The figure of the kiai is the personification of the figure of 'ghuru', one of the figures most obeyed by the Madurese community.⁶² The Madurese community highly respects the figures of "bhuppa, babu, ghuru, and rato" in everyday life. The strategic figure of the kiai then makes it easier for the kiai to influence the political preferences of the community in Madura.⁶³ Because of this factor, candidates from Kiai families or those supported by most Kiai can often win general election contests in Madura. Meanwhile, submission to the blater is caused by a blater with strong masses and networks in the social structure in Madura. Blater with strong networks tend to appeal in every general election momentum.⁶⁴ Blater is also a force other than the Kiai, who can become a vote-getter to win a particular candidate.

⁶⁰ Nurul Azizah, "Hegemoni Elit Agama Pada Perempuan Pesantren: Ejawantah Jabatan Kepala Daerah Jawa Timur," *Musawa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam* 21, no. 2 (January 19, 2023): 145–55, <https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2022.2102.145-155>.

⁶¹ Muwaffiq Jufri, "Nilai Keadilan Dalam Budaya Carok," *Jurnal Yustitia* 18, no. 1 (2017): 21.

⁶² Moh. Naya and Agung Ali Fahmi, "Efforts to Realize a Halal Lifestyle in Madura Through The Synergy of Islamic Boarding Schools and The Halal Center of University Trunojoyo of Madura," *Trunojoyo Law Review* 4, no. 2 (2022): 98–111, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v4i2.18616>.

⁶³ Agung Ali Fahmi: Muwaffiq Jufri; Ansori, "Bentuk Penerapan Dan/Atau Penyerapan Hukum Islam Dalam Produk Hukum Daerah Di Madura," *Simposium Hukum Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (2019): 57.

⁶⁴ Dinara Maya Julijanti, Yayan Sakti Suryandaru, and Myrtati Dyah Artaria, "Remo Celebration in Blater Community: Traditional Ritual Communication in Madura Cultural Transformation," *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi (Indonesian Journal of Communications Studies)* 4, no. 2 (July 1, 2020): 296, <https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v4i2.2445>.

Third, the cultural aspect places custom as the main capital in mobilising the community to choose a specific candidate. Culturally, the position of kiai and blater, who have influence and are seen as informal leaders in Madurese culture, will be very useful in efforts to win one of the candidates in the general election. The coalition between Kiai and Blater in supporting a particular candidate in the general election is the main capital to be elected in the political contest in Madura.⁶⁵ Historical facts have proven the role of the two twin regimes in the general election contest in Madura, mainly since the general election regime was carried out directly by the people. The era of general elections carried out directly by the community seems to further strengthen the central position of kiai and blater in the cultural structure in Madura.

Conclusion

The existence of kiai and blater figures has created a powerful political system that has a significant influence on the implementation of general elections (both regional, DPR and Presidential elections) in Madura. Both can determine which candidate or pair of candidates will win in the five-year Democratic Party. Even though several laws and regulations state that the implementation of elections must be based on the principles of fairness, honesty, generality and confidentiality, this provision becomes ineffective (weakened) when there is a dominant influence that creates a social control force from the kiai and blater as twin rulers of power—politics in Madura.

References

- Abdul A'la. "Kiprah Dan Warisan Syaikhona Kholil Untuk Bangsa Dan Negara." In *Syaikhona Kholil Guru Para Pahlawan*, 23. Surabaya, 2021.
- Abu Aman, Achmad As'ad Abd. Aziz, and Atiyatus Syarifah. "Figur Kiai Di Madura Perspektif Teori Pemikiran Kekuasaan (Politik) Al-Ghazali." *NUANSA: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial Dan Keagamaan Islam* 20, no. 2 (October 4, 2023): 143–

⁶⁵ Abd Hannan and Zainuddin Syarif, "Agama Dan Politik: Konstelasi Pemikiran Antara Kelompok Kultural Dan Struktural Pada Kalangan Kiai Pesantren Di Madura," *MAWA'IZH: JURNAL DAKWAH DAN PENGEMBANGAN SOSIAL KEMANUSIAAN* 11, no. 1 (June 4, 2020): 47–73, <https://doi.org/10.32923/maw.v11i1.1174>.

62. <https://doi.org/10.19105/nuansa.v20i2.8658>.
- Agung Ali Fahmi; Muwaffiq Jufri; Ansori. "Bentuk Penerapan Dan/Atau Penyerapan Hukum Islam Dalam Produk Hukum Daerah Di Madura." *Simposium Hukum Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (2019): 57.
- Aini, Totok Agus Suryanto, Huldiya Syamsiar, and Muhammad Usamah Rasyidi. "The Central Role of The Village Kiai as Significant Other in Rural Madura." *Penamas* 36, no. 1 (June 26, 2023): 104–21. <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v36i1.658>.
- Ansor, Muhammad. "Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia." *Studia Islamika* 23, no. 3 (December 30, 2016): 471–515. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v23i3.2412>.
- Asmara, Teddy. "Penelitian Budaya Hukum: Konsep Dan Metodologi." *Masalah-Masalah Hukum* 43, no. 3 (2014): 445–52. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14710/mmh.43.3.2014.445-452>.
- Asshiddiqie, Jimly. "Building A Constitutional Aware Culture to Create A Democratic Law State." *PETITA: JURNAL KAJIAN ILMU HUKUM DAN SYARIAH* 8, no. 1 (April 1, 2023). <https://doi.org/10.22373/petita.v7i2.128>.
- Azharghany, Rojabi. "Jejak Dakwah Kiai Sebagai Creator Dalam Dinamika Perubahan Sosial." *Dakwatuna: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi Islam* 9, no. 2 (2023): 127–42. <https://doi.org/10.54471/dakwatuna.v9i2.2349>.
- Azizah, Nurul. "Hegemoni Elit Agama Pada Perempuan Pesantren: Ejawantah Jabatan Kepala Daerah Jawa Timur." *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam* 21, no. 2 (January 19, 2023): 145–55. <https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2022.2102.145-155>.
- . "Sacralization Religion, Power Elite and Leadership: Female Regents in East Java." *Majalah Ilmu Pengetahuan Dan Pemikiran Keagamaan Tajdid* 25, no. 1 (June 29, 2022): 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.15548/tajdid.v25i1.4052>.
- Black, Donald. *The Behavior of Law*. New York: Akademic Press, 1976.
- Burhani, Ahmad Najib. "Lessons from Madura: NU, Conservatism and the 2019 Presidential Election." *Perspective*, no. 72 (2019): 1–9. <https://doi.org/www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/>.
- Choi, Jonathan H. "How to Use Large Language Models for Empirical Legal Research." *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 180, no. 2 (2023): 214–43. <https://doi.org/10.1628/jite-2024-0020>.
- Daly, Tom Gerald. "Understanding Multi-Directional Democratic Decay: Lessons from the Rise of Bolsonaro in Brazil." *The Law & Ethics of Human Rights* 14, no. 2 (November 25, 2020): 199–226. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lehr-2020-2014>.
- Davies, Gareth. "The Relationship between Empirical Legal Studies and Doctrinal Legal Research." *Erasmus Law Review* 13, no. 2 (September 2020): 3–12. <https://doi.org/10.5553/ELR.000141>.

- Hafida, Melina Nur, Daya Negri Wijaya, Dewa Agung Gede Agung, and Aditya Nugroho Widiadi. "Kajian Historis Carok Di Madura Pada Masa Kolonialisme Belanda." *AGASTYA: JURNAL SEJARAH DAN PEMBELAJARANNYA* 14, no. 1 (January 31, 2024): 29. <https://doi.org/10.25273/ajsp.v14i1.18568>.
- Hannan, Abd, and Zainuddin Syarif. "Agama Dan Politik: Konstelasi Pemikiran Antara Kelompok Kultural Dan Struktural Pada Kalangan Kiai Pesantren Di Madura." *MAWA'IZH: JURNAL DAKWAH DAN PENGEMBANGAN SOSIAL KEMANUSIAAN* 11, no. 1 (June 4, 2020): 47-73. <https://doi.org/10.32923/maw.v11i1.1174>.
- Harimurti, Yudi Widagdo, Encik Muhammad Fauzan, Indah Purbasari, and Indra Yulianingsih. "Democratic Education on the Village Consultative Body Election in Bangkalan." *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 11, no. 2 (2020): 84-110. <https://doi.org/jsser.org/index.php/jsser/article/view/2020>.
- Hidayah, Arina Rohmatul. "Political Marketing of Stream by Candidates through Facebook in the 2018 Regional Election of East Java." *Politicon : Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 3, no. 1 (March 31, 2021): 1-33. <https://doi.org/10.15575/politicon.v3i1.9456>.
- Hidayaturrahman, Mohammad, Nur Inna Alfiyah, Ahmad Hasan Ubaid, Astriana Baiti Sinaga, Anak Agung Putu Sugiantiningsih, Elazhari, and Widya Desary Setia Wardhani. "Political Clientelism in Presidential Elections and Political History in Madura." In *The First Annual International Conference on Social, Literacy, Art, History, Library, and Information Science (ICOLIS)*, 42-55. Dubai, United Arab Emirates: KnE Social Sciences, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v9i12.15814>.
- Hidayaturrahman, Mohammad, Nur Shidqi Muhammad, Dwi Listia Rika Tini, and Ahmad Hasan Ubaid. "Blater's Power in Local Politics, Village Head Election in Madura." *Jurnal Inovasi Ilmu Sosial Dan Politik (JISoP)* 5, no. 2 (January 9, 2024): 163-70. <https://doi.org/10.33474/jisop.v5i2.20562>.
- Jufri, Muwaffiq. "Nilai Keadilan Dalam Budaya Carok." *Jurnal Yustitia* 18, no. 1 (2017): 21.
- Jufri, Muwaffiq, Agung Ali Fahmi, and Saiful Abdullah. "Peran Strategis Kiai Pesantren Dalam Diseminasi Gaya Hidup Halal Di Madura." *Al-Huquq: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Economic Law* 5, no. 1 (2023): 1-19. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/alhuquq.v5i1.7872>.
- Julijanti, Dinara Maya, Yayan Sakti Suryandaru, and Myrtati Dyah Artaria. "Remo Celebration in Blater Community: Traditional Ritual Communication in Madura Cultural Transformation." *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi (Indonesian Journal of Communications Studies)* 4, no. 2 (July 1, 2020): 296. <https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v4i2.2445>.
- Kenawas, Yoes C. "The Irony of Indonesia's Democracy: The Rise of Dynastic Politics in the Post-Suharto Era." *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 8, no. 3 (September 29, 2023): 748-64.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231195970>.

- . “The Irony of Indonesia’s Democracy: The Rise of Dynastic Politics in the Post-Suharto Era.” *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 8, no. 3 (September 29, 2023): 748–64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231195970>.
- Laily, Zulfatul. “Eksistensi Blater Bagi Masyarakat Desa Katol, Kecamatan Gegger, Kabupaten Bangkalan.” *Jurnal PUBLIQUE* 1, no. 1 (January 17, 2021): 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.15642/publique.2020.1.1.1-20>.
- Lucas, Anton. “Elite Capture and Corruption in Two Villages in Bengkulu Province, Sumatra.” *Human Ecology* 44, no. 3 (June 16, 2016): 287–300. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-016-9837-6>.
- Luthfi, Ahmad, Syaiful Rohman, and Margaretha Hanita. “The Influence of Youth Leadership in Strengthening Local Wisdom in The Millennial Generation : Case Study of Bangkalan District, Jawa Timur.” In *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Strategic and Global Studies (ICSGS 2018)*. Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.2991/icsgs-18.2019.1>.
- Mujani, Saiful, and R. William Liddle. “Indonesia: Jokowi Sidelines Democracy.” *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 4 (2021): 72–86. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2021.0053>.
- Mukhlis, Raphael D. Jackson-Ortiz, Muwaffiq Jufri, Evis Garunja, and Paul Atagamen Aidonojie. “Rejection of Former Shia Community in Sampang Perspective on Human Rights Law: Discourse of Religious Rights and Freedom in Indonesia.” *Lex Scientia Law Review* 7, no. 2 (2023): 237. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v7i2.72156>.
- Mukhlis, Mukhlis, Muwaffiq Jufri, Yusuf Ibrahim Arowosaiye, Evis Garunja, and Helmy Boemiya. “The Legal Culture to Prevent Radical Islamism by a Pesantren in Madura.” *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar’iah* 16, no. 1 (June 24, 2024): 58–87. <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v16i1.26216>.
- Nadir, Nadir, and Win Yuli Wardani. “The Corruption Behavior in The Behind of Fatsun Leadership of Kiai in The Region of Madura, Indonesia.” *Rechtsidee* 5, no. 2 (June 3, 2019). <https://doi.org/10.21070/jihr.v5i2.67>.
- Najib, Ainun, Umar, Abim Bhakti, Prika Fatikasari, and Aminah Nur Kauthar Binti Zawawi. “Regulation on Freedom of Expression on Social Media in Indonesia and Malaysia.” *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 46–60. <https://doi.org/https://ejournal.pustakaparawali.com/index.php/jicl/article>.
- Nalle, Victor Imanuel W. “The Relevance of Socio-Legal Studies in Legal Science.” *Mimbar Hukum - Fakultas Hukum Universitas Gadjah Mada* 27, no. 1 (February 15, 2015): 179. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.15905>.
- Nayu, Moh., and Agung Ali Fahmi. “Efforts to Realize a Halal Lifestyle in Madura Through The Synergy of Islamic Boarding Schools and The Halal Center of University Trunojoyo of Madura.” *Trunojoyo Law Review* 4, no. 2 (2022): 98–111. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v4i2.18616>.

- Power, Thomas, and Eve Warburton. "The Decline of Indonesian Democracy." In *Democracy in Indonesia*, 1–20. ISEAS Publishing, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814881524-006>.
- Pribadi, Yanwar. *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*. New York : Routledge, 2018. | Series: Routledge contemporary Southeast Asia series: Routledge, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315473697>.
- . "The Klebun, the Kiai and the Blater: Notes from Western Madura, Indonesia." *South East Asia Research* 23, no. 3 (September 18, 2015): 303–17. <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2015.0267>.
- Rahmadhani, Noviana Dwi, Moh. Ibnu Fajar, and Saiful Abdullah. "Regional Government Strategies to Preserve the Keris Industry in Sumenep." *Trunojoyo Law Review* 6, no. 1 (February 27, 2024): 51–77. <https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v6i1.23289>.
- Ramadhan, Gilang. "Majority Religious Politics: The Struggle for Religious Rights of Minorities in Sampang, Madura." *Simulacra* 5, no. 1 (2022): 17–28. <https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v5i1.13427>.
- Rofie, Moh, Chusnul Mar'iyah, and Ma'mun Murod. "Involvement of Local Strong People in the 2018 Pamekasan Regional Election." *JISIP: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan* 7, no. 351 (2023). <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v7i4.5583>.
- Rohman, Abd. "Religious Leadership and Political Triumph: A Case Study of Kiai and Santri Strategies in the 2018 Pamekasan Local Elections." *Jurnal Mengkaji Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (December 15, 2023): 407–27. <https://doi.org/10.59066/jmi.v2i2.560>.
- Rohman, Abdur. "Maskulinitas Blater Madura: Studi Kasus Di Desa Jangkar, Bangkalan." *Jurnal Budaya Nusantara* 5, no. 2 (March 1, 2022): 109–15. <https://doi.org/10.36456/JBN.vol5.no2.4920>.
- Roiyan, Ahlur. "Perspektif Patronase Edward Aspinal Dalam Proses Pemangan Busyro Karim Sebagai Bupati Dua Periode Di Kabupaten Sumenep." *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)* 13, no. 2 (December 31, 2023): 318–240. <https://doi.org/10.15642/jrp.2023.13.2.318-240>.
- Romadhan, Ach Apriyanto, and Iradhad Taqwa Sihidi. "Comparative Study of Money Politics in Batu City and Sampang Regency in Village Head Elections." *Journal of Local Government Issues* 6, no. 1 (March 30, 2023): 63–74. <https://doi.org/10.22219/logos.v6i1.24527>.
- Safi', Paul Atagamen Aidonojie, Muwaffiq Jufri, and Evis Garunja. *Bhag-Rembhag Sabhala'an as a Method of Resolving Religious Conflicts in the Madura Legal Tradition. El-Mashlahah*. Vol. 14, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i1.7819>.
- Sami an, Sami an, and Satria Unggul Wicaksana Prakasa. "Analisis Politik Hukum Pengaruh Oligarki Dan Budaya Korupsi Di Kabupaten Bangkalan." *Media of Law*

and *Sharia* 2, no. 4 (October 4, 2021): 329–45.
<https://doi.org/10.18196/mls.v2i4.11737>.

- Shobirin, Muhammad Zhafran, Moh Akbar Adhiyanto, Sholeh Hoddin, and Khabib Syaikhu Rohman. "A Comparison of Presidential Threshold Systems in Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections in Indonesia and Brazil." *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 1–14.
<https://doi.org/https://ejournal.pustakaparawali.com/index.php/jicl/article/view/7/1>.
- Silva, Eugenia Brandao Da, Mahrus Ali, Khabib Syaikhu Rohman, and Mashud Mashud. "A Model of Election Supervision Based on Village Judicial Institutions; A Review of Legal Anthropology in Madura." *Trunojoyo Law Review* 6, no. 1 (February 28, 2024): 96–119. <https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v6i1.23230>.
- Silva, Eugenia Brandao Da, and Lin Asyiqoh. "The Idea of Legal Pluralism in Dispute Resolution of Village Head Election in Madura." *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 61–83.
<https://doi.org/ejournal.pustakaparawali.com>.
- Sukristyanto, Agus. "Governor Election And Political Participation In East Java." In *Proceedings of the 2018 Annual Conference of Asian Association for Public Administration: "Reinventing Public Administration in a Globalized World: A Non-Western Perspective" (AAPA 2018)*. Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2018.
<https://doi.org/10.2991/aapa-18.2018.52>.
- Syafei, Muhammad, and Muhammad Rafi Darajati. "Design of General Election in Indonesia." *LAW REFORM* 16, no. 1 (March 27, 2020): 97–111.
<https://doi.org/10.14710/lr.v16i1.30308>.
- Syafitri, Eni, and Agus Machfud Fauzi. "Blater Power Relation as a Symbol in the Political Seat Battle in Bangkalan." In *Proceedings of the International Joint Conference on Arts and Humanities 2021 (IJCAH 2021)*, 828–32. Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211223.143>.
- Three, Berlian, Normayani Aruan, Tiara Amandini Fajriya, Melysa Eka, and Nelly Magdalena Sarumaha. "A Comparison of Religious Freedom Guarantees for Adherents of Local Religions Between Indonesia and Japan." *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law* 1, no. 1 (2024): 15–28.
<https://doi.org/https://ejournal.pustakaparawali.com/index.php/jicl/article>.
- Topan, Ali. "Respon Aliansi Ulama Madura (AUMA) Terhadap Dinamika Politik Keagamaan Di Pamekasan Madura." *ENTITA: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial Dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 4, no. 1 (June 16, 2022): 92–106.
<https://doi.org/10.19105/ejpis.v4i1.5576>.
- Tumanut, Michael A. "A Veto Players Analysis of Subnational Territorial Reform in Indonesia." *Asian Politics & Policy* 8, no. 2 (April 27, 2016): 235–61.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12248>.
- Umam, Shohebul. "Politik Ekologi: Respon Kiai Dan Pesantren Terhadap Degradasi

- Lingkungan Di Madura." *Sustainable Jurnal Kajian Mutu Pendidikan* 5, no. 2 (December 13, 2022): 364–73. <https://doi.org/10.32923/kjmp.v5i2.2773>.
- Usman, Usman. "Blater, Pesantren Dan Pendidikan Formal." *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 4, no. 2 (December 31, 2017): 262–75. <https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v4i2.1658>.
- Vicki Dwi Purnomo, and Kelik Endro Suryono. "The Collapse of the New Orde Regime Resulted in Changes in Indonesia's Economic Policy." *Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat Formosa* 1, no. 5 (December 30, 2022): 395–406. <https://doi.org/10.55927/jpmf.v1i5.2230>.
- Wati, Asma, Sholih Muadi, and George Towar Ikbal Tawakkal. "Hidup Dalam Stigma: Kekerasan Dan Religiuitas Bejingan." *Al-Mada: Jurnal Agama, Sosial, Dan Budaya* 3, no. 2 (July 2, 2020): 109–202. <https://doi.org/10.31538/almada.v3i2.694>.
- Wiryawan, Bangkit A., and Christian Otchia. "The Legacy of the Reformasi: The Role of Local Government Spending on Industrial Development in a Decentralized Indonesia." *Journal of Economic Structures* 11, no. 1 (December 19, 2022): 3. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40008-022-00262-y>.
- Yanwar Pribadi. "An Abangan-like Group in a Santri Island: The Religious Identity of the Blater." In *Religious Diversity in Muslim-Majority States in Southeast Asia*, 214–34. ISEAS Publishing, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814519656-014>.
- . "Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture." *Al-Jami'ah* 51, no. 1 (2013): 3.