

NAHDLATUL ULAMA'S STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL ELITES FIGHT IN 2024 PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT ELECTION

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Abstract. This research examines how the political behaviour of NU citizens in the 2024 Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections. This research uses qualitative research methods, the use of this method will obtain data in the form of literature data, descriptions of speech, writing, and emphasis on subjective aspects that can be observed from the people (subjects) themselves. From the results of the study, it is concluded that the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections have shaped the political behaviour of NU citizens with different preferences. So that when viewed from their political behaviour, NU citizens can be grouped into, first, groups of NU citizens who choose presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs based on the choice of following the direction or choice of the PBNU structural elite because of their loyalty to the organisation. Second, because they follow the preferences of their kyai, ulama, and teacher role models on the grounds that santri must be sami'na wa ato'na to their teacher's orders. Third, choosing for rational reasons based on personal idealism. Fourth, due to the difference in political ijtihad between Gus Muhaimin Iskandar as Chairman of PKB and the structural elites of PBNU, he chose to make cultural movements as a medium for his political struggle. Fifth, for pragmatic reasons for the benefit of themselves and their groups.

Keywords: *political behaviour, NU, president, pragmatic, structural, cultural*

Introduction

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) was initially born as a political movement to respond to international events, namely the elimination of the local wisdom of worship in the style of ahlussunnah waljamaah in Saudi Arabia which has been practiced since the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. The wahabism movement led by King Saud will eliminate the practice of worship of the Ahlussunnah waljamaah community in Makkah, the tomb of the Prophet and his companions will be levelled to the ground. The Hijaz Committee led by KH Wahab Hasbullah was formed as a delegation to negotiate with King Saud to undo his intention to demolish the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions and allow the practice of worship according to the teachings of the four imams of the mazhab. Responding to the international situation, on 31 January 1926 the Nahdlatul Ulama organisation was formed as an umbrella organisation of the Hijaz Committee. Furthermore, in the national context NU has a share and contributes to the development of the nation and state. When some Islamic organisations still want Islam to be the basis of the state, NU actually paves the way for the emergence of views on the national state or national state (Haris and Dardum, 2021). Based on this national role, NU automatically always places its citizens to always remain active in taking part in the development of this nation towards a just and prosperous society according to the purpose for which this country was founded. On the other hand, as a jam'iyyah, organisationally NU is not bound to any political organisation. Every individual NU citizen is a citizen who has political rights protected by law. NU citizens always use political rights properly and responsibly. The political attitude of NU citizens can form a

person who always fosters a democratic, constitutional, law-abiding attitude to life, so as to be able to develop solutions to problems faced by this nation through deliberation and consensus in accordance with the ideology of Pancasila.

The hustle and bustle of national politics has always placed NU not only as the largest religious social organisation, but NU in its historical stage is one of the organisations that are present and participate in determining the national political constellation. Of course, this is inseparable from the long and winding history of NU and the political dynamics in this country. The political reality is interpreted as a political issue that is closely related to religion, nationalism, culture, and so on. So it is not surprising that in every momentum of general election contestation both on a national and regional scale the role, position and 'mecca' of NU over political parties become the main concern by many circles. The reason is based on the fact that NU has abundant and solid mass capital. It is not wrong if this Nahdliyyin base becomes a kind of 'weapon' owned by NU (Haris and Dardum, 2021). In NU's political journey in the last ten decades, Nahdlatul Ulama has become increasingly intimate with the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin government. Seeing how close the PKB and Jokowi are making NU more calm and powerful, the impact can be seen from the many senior NU elites who occupy strategic positions in the bureaucracy, corporations and BUMN (Hidayatullah et al., 2022). If we look at the history of previous political journeys, NU has also been a political party that ran in the 1955 elections. The euphoria of NU when it became a candidate in the 1955 general election inspired NU that it could not be separated from the political constellation in Indonesia. The style and variety when NU cadres occupied political seats at that time is always imagined until now (Hidayatullah et al., 2022). In its journey, NU has often experienced changes in construction and orientation, NU was born as a social religious organisation, but grew and developed actively in the arena of political struggle. Such a situation shows that NU is so adaptive to social and political dynamics, this condition strengthens the public's perception that NU has no stance, is inconsistent, and has dualism in action.

The 2024 Presidential General Election in Indonesia has become a political momentum that attracts the attention of many parties. One of the most discussed issues in the celebration of the democratic party in this country is where the votes of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) citizens will be anchored. NU has always experienced tension between its role as a religious civil organisation and its potential as a base for political movements, a tension that is evident in debates about NU's relationship with political parties, especially parties that claim to have links with NU. As the largest Islamic organisation in Indonesia, the political behaviour of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) citizens has played an important role in the dynamics of national politics in the 2024 presidential election. Analyses by political experts and observers about NU in the vortex of the 2024 presidential election are scattered in various media. For example, among the news, mentioning the 2024 presidential election seems to be strong enough to encourage NU to enter the vortex of practical politics, so that the 2024 election is similar to the NU election, even though NU is a religious organisation. This has led to political claims from NU cadres and cadres who 'feel' NU in all pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates. Prof Mas'ud Said, chairman of the East Java ISNU PW, said that the position of the vice president from the NU element is very decisive for victory because it can be a magnet for nahdliyin citizens. Meanwhile, Prof Nadirsyah Hosen, an academic at Monash University Australia and former Rois Syuriah of PCINU Australia, suspected PBNU structural support for the Prabowo-Gibran pair, in the form of a

directive from Rois Am to the structural ranks to support candidate pair 02 in a meeting in Surabaya. although the chairman of PBNU stated that NU is organisationally neutral. However, the appearance of key cadres such as Habib Lutfi bin Yahya, chairman of Jatman, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, chairwoman of Muslimat, Nusron Wahid and Ali Maskur Musa, who are in the PBNU structure, as campaigners for the Prabowo-Gibran presidential candidate, implies NU structural support for the candidate pair.

The experts' opinions are analyses of their readings of the political dynamics within Nahdlatul Ulama that were happening before the voting process. Therefore, their opinions still need to be substantiated in the field as to why NU is always pulled into the practical political arena, how NU citizens will make their choices, and why they choose presidential and vice presidential candidate pair number one Anis Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar, or number two Prabowo-Gibran, or number three Ganjar Pranowo-Gibran. It is hoped that the political behaviour of NU citizens can be obtained in determining the direction, support and political choices in the 2024 presidential election. As we know, NU is a religious organisation that has elites or role models, namely clerics and Muslim scholars. In a broader context, Islamic mobilisation such as the NU mass organisation will help understand the emergence of better democracy in Muslim-majority democracies (Makhasin, 2017). Based on a survey by the Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) released in 2023, NU as a religious organisation has the majority followers in this country, which is around 56.9% of the total population of Indonesia. This certainly has a significant influence for political parties and presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs to win the presidential and vice presidential candidate contestation pairs in the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections. To understand the political dynamics of NU citizens in the 2024 presidential election, it is necessary to conduct in-depth research on the political behaviour of NU citizens in the 2024 presidential election. So as to obtain an understanding of how NU citizens are involved in the political process, including the 2024 presidential campaign and election. For this reason, it is important to analyse the factors that influence the political behaviour of NU citizens such as religious values, political preferences, and the internal dynamics of NU organisations that can influence the way NU citizens participate in politics.

As the results of the 2024 presidential and vice-presidential elections were won by the Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka pair, it shows that there has been a change in the political behaviour of NU citizens because the candidate pairs whose vice presidents come from pure NU cadres have actually experienced defeat, namely the Anis Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar and Ganjar Pranowo-Moh. Mahfud MD pairs. As is known, Muhaimin Iskandar is the grandson of NU founder KH. Bisri Syansuri, was once the Chairman of PB PMII and until recently served as Chairman of PKB, while Mahfud MD is an NU cadre from Madura as well as Gus Dur's best friend and served as Minister of Defence in the era of President Abdurrahman Wahid.

Literatyre review and theory

In this section, researchers conducted a search for previous studies on the theme of political behaviour of NU citizens. The previous research consists of various scientific works including theses, dissertations and scientific articles and reference books that have been widely circulated. In this study of the political behaviour of NU citizens, researchers conducted a search to ensure that this research problem is research that has novelty value, is unique, actual and no one else has researched it. The researchers have found several research themes in the form of theses, dissertations and several articles on

NU political behaviour. A number of research and studies are classified into five themes, namely: (1) NU Mass Organization and Political Position, (2) Political participation of NU citizens, (3) Political behaviour of NU citizens in regional elections. The classification between the first and last theme is connected through global context. First, Mutrofin, 2020, research and study on Women's Community Organisation and Local Politics (Analysis of Political Experimentation of Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama Trenggalek in the 2018 East Java Governor Election). The research focuses on the political behaviour of Muslimat NU actors and organisations in the East Java governor election in Trenggalek Regency. Where actors and organisations have a dialectical relationship and duality in social practice. Second, Arravi, 2021, research and study on political participation and voting behaviour of santri in the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) region of Lasem, Rembang Regency in the 2019 presidential and vice presidential elections. The direction factor from the family and kyai/ulama is a factor that influences the political behaviour of santri. However, the results of the study showed that 80.67% of santri voted based on rational considerations. Third, Mufarikhin, 2022, Research on the Political Behaviour of Nahdlatul Ulama Residents of Panggung Village in the 2017 Jepara Regency Regional Head Election. This research focuses on the political behaviour of NU residents in the Pilkada, especially towards regent candidates from among NU and what factors encourage NU residents to make choices.

Political behaviour

Political behaviour according to Ramlan Surbakti can be interpreted as an action, activity or activity related to the process of making and political decisions. In the process, the interaction between government and society together for the process of making, implementing, and enforcing political decisions. government and society work together in the process of determining policy (Surbakti, 1992). Although Ramlan Surbakti does not explain specifically about political action. However, according to Michael Walzer, political action is one form of behaviour. However, according to Michael Walzer, political action is a form of political behaviour carried out by political actors with great risk, which is related to moral and political risk. According to Harold D. Lasswell, cited by Muslih Mufti, political behaviour has two perceptions. First, that political behaviour is always oriented towards a value. This value has the intent and purpose of achieving the desired results. Second, political behaviour is oriented towards the future (in order to motive), related to the past (because motive), because discussing political issues is the same as giving new hope to society to do better (Mufti, 2012). The two political behaviours above can be summarised that political behaviour has several aspects, namely the orientation aspect, the value aspect, and the time aspect. The orientation aspect describes the ideals of each individual or group that will be achieved. The value aspect emphasises a behaviour, something that is carried out and contested. The time aspect shows the correlation of political behaviour between political actors, the background of past, present and future political actors (Sholikhah, 2014).

In the political world, the majority of people have understood that politics is anomic interest group interests, group interests are the most dominant thing (Mutrofin, 2020). There is nothing that is always eternal in the world of politics except the interests themselves. This opinion shows that some people have a big political role in the democratic process both in nation and state. As exemplified by Imam Suprayogo about the role of kyai in politics. He said that there is no reason for a kyai to keep his distance in politics. In fact, politics is part of religious life itself (Suprayogo, 2009). The situation

is further explained by several reasons related to the kyai's involvement in politics. The form of involvement and relationship between kyai and politics can be shown by several indicators, including: First, in the teachings of Islam, a human being (in this case the kyai) is not only required to do things that have ritual and spiritual values but also values that are closely related to all human life, such as science, environment, social, culture and even politics. As the Prophet Muhammad SAW, on the one hand he was sent as an apostle to carry the treatise, namely the teachings of Islam, but on the other hand he also played a role as head of state. Second, in terms of history, the involvement and role of kyai in politics was evident in pre-independence Indonesia. The pesantren institution was one of the places, the media to carry out strategies against the colonisers. Therefore, Islam in Indonesia must be understood as two forces, Islam as a religious and political force. Third, the position and position of kyai as a religious figure or elite has great power to recruit and influence the congregation in the community. Kyai are often considered people who have the strength to help solve the problems of their congregation. Kyai is also a charismatic figure in himself so that he is respected by the community. Borrowing Geertz's language, the kyai's position is called a culture broker (Iswanto, 2013), namely as a catalyst for the transformation of cultural values that develop in society.

In reality, a Kyai and Mrs Nyai have a role as a liaison between entities and cultures with one another. One of the political roles of women in NU is implemented through the autonomous body of the organisation, namely Muslimat NU. In political dynamics, NU women often voice the aspirations of the community through political contestation. Faisal Baasir said that in principle, political power in Islam is not only the pursuit of power, but more than that, namely how politics can create a just and prosperous society based on the principles of equality and freedom (Baasir, 2003). Likewise with behaviour in politics, political behaviour includes the spirit of independence, freedom of opinion and aggressive action. These are often considered as characteristics that are not ideal in a woman. Such political conditions are just an opportunity for NU women's community organisations such as Muslimat NU to take part in politics. Of course, in a political contestation, men and women must have great abilities, capabilities, integrity and commitment so that the results can create and realise a better social life.

Characteristics of political behaviour

Behaviour in psychological terminology is defined as a reaction that can be simple, simple or complex. Every human being has an instinctive form of behaviour that is different from one another. This behaviour is based on the nature to maintain the life of each human being. According to behaviourists, political actors can understand their lives from their behaviour in life. This is because each individual has different tendencies (psychologically) and has different cultural values. This behaviouristic approach also not only emphasises the psychological aspect, but also the orientation aspect in all these political activities. Every human being has a differential nature that becomes one of their characteristics. Differential nature is a trait that a person has to respond to an event or event in different ways. The way to respond to each event from each individual is different. In other words, when someone is given a stimulus by another person, a different response or reaction will appear, even though the stimulus received is the same. Some characteristics of individual behaviour or attitudes in everyday life which can also be seen in a person's behaviour in their political activities and behaviour, can generally be identified by the following indicators (Mutrofin, 2020):

First, Direction, is an attitude or behaviour that must have direction and purpose. Whether the attitude taken approves or rejects it, supports or opposes, takes sides or breaks down against a particular object. If someone chooses to support or approve of a particular object, then that person has a positive attitude towards the object in question. Vice versa, if someone is more likely to have an attitude of rejection, then that person can be said to have a negative nature or opposite to the object in question. As is the case in the NU organisation, for example, if the NU management elite at the lower level is submissive, supporting the policies of the management elite at the top, then their attitude or behaviour automatically shows a positive attitude (loyalty). Conversely, if the NU elites at the lower level do not obey, disobey, and do not support the NU elites at the upper level, then it can be concluded that they show a negative attitude towards the object in question.

Second, Intensity, interpreted as the strength of attitude that exists in a person's personal self. Everyone must have different attitude strengths. If illustrated, for example, there are two people who both have the same strength of attitude, of course one of them has a more prominent attitude tendency. The difference is the level of intensity. Third, the breadth of attitude, is an attitude that points to the breadth or not of the scope of aspects of the attitude object that a person agrees with, or not, supports or not. A person can show the breadth of his attitude with a favourable attitude, something he likes, admires. Fourth, Consistency, is the suitability of an attitude response in a person. This attitude is shown by the absence of vacillation and hesitation in the individual. Consistent people always hold commitments between words and actions. If the words and actions are not the same, then what happens is an attitude of inconsistency. Inconsistent behaviour often occurs in relationships. Fifth, Spontaneity, is an attitude that shows a person's readiness to express characteristics reflexively, spontaneously, without thinking first. This attitude has the characteristic that if the person states something without having to express anything. That is, if the person is in favour, he will say yes, and vice versa. Therefore, this spontaneous attitude is generally difficult to be used as a benchmark in behaviour. Ideally, the characteristics of human behaviour are in accordance with what is mentioned above. However, of course this is not easy to do perfectly. At least a description of the characteristics of human behaviour can be used as a foothold in analysing a person's political behaviour, although not specifically. The political characteristics of NU citizens are also based on the teachings in QS. Ali Imran: 159.

لَهُمْ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ عَنْهُمْ فَاعْفُ ۖ حَوْلَكَ مِنْ لَا نَفْعُ لِقُلُوبِ غَلِيظٍ فَظًا كُنْتَ وَلَوْ ۚ لَهُمْ لِنْتُ اللَّهُ مِنْ رَحْمَةٍ فِيمَا الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ يُحِبُّ اللَّهُ إِنَّ ۚ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَزَمْتَ فَإِذَا ۚ الْأَمْرُ فِي شَأْوَرَهُمْ

Meaning/Definition:

It is by the mercy of Allah that you are gentle with them. If you had been harsh and harsh-hearted, they would have distanced themselves from you. So forgive them, ask forgiveness for them, and consult with them in the matter. Then when you have made up your minds, then put your trust in Allah. Verily, Allah loves those who put their trust in Him.

From this verse, the political behaviour of Muslims must be based on polite or gentle politics. Then in deciding something and solving problems, do it by forgiving and

deliberating and having faith in Allah SWT. On the other hand, religious groups such as NU are often inclusive in accepting new members, many people can finally get democratic benefits from the participation of these religious groups (Djupe and Neiheisel, 2022).

Materials and Methods

To address these issues, this research is narrated qualitatively by collecting data from literature, information and sources from the field. This research uses literature research and purposive sampling techniques, where data is collected from literature, news and interviews with people who have experience, knowledge and skills related to the political behaviour of Nahdlatul Ulama citizens. Data from information and sources in the field were then combined with related literature studies. The main object of this research is structural and cultural Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) citizens who are political actors in the 2024 presidential election. From the data collected, the author categorises, classifies, reduces, analyses, and then interprets it in the context of the research problem. This is done in order to obtain conclusions that are in accordance with the research problems that have been stated.

The emergence of NU vice presidential candidates: The rise of NU cadres' bargaining position

The battle for the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections was marked by the declaration of Anis Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar on 2 September 2023 as the first pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates to declare themselves at the Majapahit Hotel or Yamato Hotel, the historic place where the Jihad Resolution of 22 October 1945 was born and the courage of Surabaya's arek-arek to expel colonialism on 10 November 1945. The appearance of Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar or Gus Imin as a vice-presidential candidate has made the dynamics of national politics even more heated and passionate. All political forces and political observers in the country were surprised, including the structural elites of the PBNU up to the twig were also surprised by the sudden emergence of a coalition of Nasdem, PKB and PKS parties. Previously, PKB had already formed a coalition with Gerindra, which endorsed Prabowo Subianto. Muhaimin Iskandar is the chairman of PKB and is the grandson of KH Bisri Syansuri, an NU figure and national hero, who served as Rois Am PBNU in 1972. He is also Gus Dur's maternal grandfather. The advancement of Gus Imin as a vice president in the 2024 election politically actually increases the bargaining position of NU cadres in the 2024 presidential election constellation. The coalition map suddenly changed quickly, PDIP and PPP, which had already declared Ganjar Pranowo, began to consider a vice president from among the Nahdliyin as well as Prabowo Subianto. Several names of NU cadres began to be eyed and discussed by coalition parties, including Moh Mahfud MD who is still serving as Menkopolhukam and Khofifah Indar Parawansa as Governor of East Java as well as Chairperson of Muslimat NU and Yenny Wahid, daughter of former president Abdurrahman Wahid. With Muhaimin Iskandar or Gus Imin as the vice presidential candidate, the support map of PKB and NU bases such as East Java and Central Java has strengthened towards the Anis Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) candidate. This political condition then made the coalition parties begin to take into account NU cadres to compete for the niche votes of nahdliyin citizens.

PBNU's stance: Affirm neutrality

After the declaration of Muhaimin Iskandar as the vice president of Anies Baswedan, the PBNU elite immediately made a statement 'If there is a claim that the PBNU clerics approved it, it is absolutely not true. Because there has never been any discussion within PBNU regarding candidates, at all', said Gus Yahya at the PBNU Office, Central Jakarta (detikNews, 2/9/2023). Gus Yahya as Chairman of PBNU asserted, 'If there is a presidential candidate who acts on behalf of NU but is not an NU administrator, it is not justified. If there are NU administrators then using NU institutions for political activities, practical politics, we will immediately reprimand'. PBNU's response was also conveyed by PBNU Secretary General Saifullah Yusuf 'But today there are indeed many kiai who are nelongso, or concerned about the declaration which is quite sudden'. The statement was in response to the release of the Political Indicator survey which stated that support for the AMIN pair would strengthen after the declaration. The swiftness of PBNU's political statements after the declaration of the Anies Baswedan - Muhaimin Iskandar presidential and vice presidential pair implies that there are concerns of the PBNU elite about claims or support from kyai and NU administrators in supporting presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2024 elections, while on the other hand PBNU in the era of Gus Yahya has been close to the Jokowi government. As is known, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, son of President Jokowi, is running as a presidential and vice presidential candidate with Prabowo Subianto.

There are at least seven PBNU attitudes conveyed by Gus Yahya after the declaration of Muhaimin Iskandar and Anies Baswedan. First, the claim that the AMIN pair is supported by PBNU clerics is not true. Second, please Gus Imin to convince citizens that NU does not carry out practical politics. Third, the presidential candidate has already kapok approached NU because NU is firmly established on the path of religion and society according to the 1984 Mukhtamar decision to return to Khittah 1926. Fourth, affirm do not consider NU residents as buffaloes poked in the nose, meaning that NU residents are already smart and educated in choosing candidates in the 2024 presidential election competition. Fifth, do not choose political actors who actually damage the integrity of the nation and state, including in the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections. Sixth, Regarding different choices in the 2024 elections, we hope that we will get used to being different and relaxed, we must develop awareness that this democracy is only procedural, not a sabil war or choosing the mahdi imam. Seventh, PBNU deactivated PBNU administrators who entered the success team of presidential and vice presidential pairs.

Dismissal of East Java PWNU chairman Kyai Marzuki Mustamar

The increasingly warming political temperature in the NU universe, especially in East Java, was also marked by the dismissal of the Tanfidziyah Chairman of the East Java PWNU KH. Marzuki Mustamar on the grounds of internal organisational problems. The notice of removal was delivered by KH Yahya Cholil Staquf during the PBNU meeting with the East Java PCNU at the Shangri-la Surabaya hotel on 27 December 2023. The dismissal of Kyai Marzuki Mustamar which is close to the time of the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections is full of political value. Previously, a video of Kyai Marzuki Mustamar's moral support for the Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar pair was circulated, as well as media reports that reported his rejection of the Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka vice-presidential candidate

pair. This dismissal case shows that East Java as the largest electoral barn for Nahdliyin citizens has become an arena for competition for three presidential and vice presidential pairs in the 2024 elections. According to KH Abdussalam Shohib or Gus Salam, former deputy chairman of the East Java PWNU, in a meeting of PBNU and PCNU throughout East Java at the Shangri-la Surabaya hotel PBNU has conveyed two things, firstly the dismissal of Kyai Marzuki Mustamar as chairman of the East Java PWNU. Second, a campaign message for the presidential and vice presidential candidate pair number 2. Gus Salam admitted that he was disappointed with the non-neutrality of the PBNU leadership in the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections. According to him, the inconsistency of the PBNU elite's attitude in the presidential election has betrayed what Rois Aam PBNU 1999-2012 KH. Sahal Mahfudz has said, namely that NU politics is high-level politics (siyasah Aliyah), namely national and populist politics to maintain national unity, not low and cheap politics (siyasah safilah), namely partisan politics and partisanship that ignores ethics and organisational rules as carried out by PBNU today.

The political behaviour of the PBNU structural elites ahead of the 2024 elections has caused polemics and responses from several clerics and cultural NU cadres including Prof. KH. Nadhirsyah Hosen or Gus Nadhir former Rois Syuriah PCINU Australia-New Zealand who protested the aroma of non-neutrality of the PBNU management as carried out in the PBNU meeting with PCNU throughout East Java where the Rois Aam in the forum Rois Aam KH. Miftachul Achyar conveyed a request that the management for once be sam'an wathoo'atan (listening and listening). According to Gus Nadhir, PBNU's political move came about because of its closeness to President Joko Widodo, who supports Prabowo and his eldest son Gibran. Prabowo-Gibran's position is still stagnant at 40 per cent and the fear of losing if the presidential election is two rounds due to the unification of the Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar and Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD pairs. Seeing these conditions, all forces were mobilised including PBNU. The response to the political behaviour of the PBNU elite also received a response from a cultural NU cleric, namely Kyai Imam Jazuli, Lc, MA, the caretaker of Pondok Pesanren Bina Insan Mulia Cirebon, who said that first, the dismissal of Kyai Marzuki Mustamar was a warning to regional administrators and branch administrators when different from the political direction of PBNU would have the same fate, therefore why only Kyai Marzuki Mustamar was removed from his position. Secondly, some regional and branch administrators who came to my place were afraid to be photographed for fear of being spread on social media and reprimanded by PBNU. Kyai Marzuki Mustamar is a symbol of NU figures in East Java who often lectures with the campaign segment of the santri community, he mentioned several names of pesantren that can be a reference in politics, including: Ploso, Lirboyo, Sarang, Tegalorejo, Sidogiri, Gasek Malang, which in fact these Islamic boarding schools support Gus Muhaimin in the 2024 presidential election. Kiai Marzuqi Mustamar's campaign was counterattacked by the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) by removing him from the position of Chairman of the East Java PWNU.

The emergence of a cultural political movement: The United Nahdliyin Movement

The United Nahdliyin Movement or GNB originated from discussions ahead of the 2019 presidential election. It used to be called Forum Nahdliyiin Bersatu or FNB. It began with discussions with many NU activists, both structural and cultural, about the importance of NU's political role. This movement was led by KH Abdurrahman Al Kautsar of Al Falah Ploso Kediri or Gus Kautsar, together with KH Abdussalam Shohib

of Denanyar Jombang or Gus Salam and KH Yusuf Khudori of API Tegalrejo Magelang or Gus Yusuf. FNB has many discussions with the community, ranging from TPQ teachers, hafidz Al-Qur'an, then also NU activists. FNB aims to raise awareness of the importance of NU's political role in the current era. Then after the pandemic around 2021, FNB thought that what we discussed could not just be a discourse. There must be a concrete form at the grassroots. Then FNB travelled around and received a good response. Now it seems that it is not enough if it is only in the form of a 'forum', so we change it to a 'movement'. So then FNB metamorphosed into the United Nahdliyin Movement around the end of 2021. According to Gus Salam, GNB supports AMIN because they want the boarding school community to play a role in determining the course of the nation and not just be spectators. So far, they have only been needed during the contestation, but forgotten after the victory was achieved. Now, GNB can only hope in the figure of Gus Muhaimin Iskandar who is the Chairman of PKB whose main constituents are Nahdliyin citizens. In GNB there is no structure like a mass organisation, let alone a political party. We call the chairman Kornas or the national coordinator. JGNB is mostly driven by Gus-Gus. As is known that Gus and Kyai are sensitive to being organised in a structure. So that all feel the same, that's why the term coordinator is used. In the sense that it is just a coordinator, so that all feel at the same level. The target of GNB is to win AMIN in East Java by 40-50%. Because East Java is the key to winning the presidential election as happened in the 2019 presidential election, Jokowi - Ma'ruf Amin won in East Java with this movement.

The emergence of a cultural political movement: Relawan Aswaja 08

Another emerging cultural political movement is Relawan Aswaja 08, which was declared on 9 October 2023 in Semarang by young NU leaders led by Nusron Wahid and Wahidin Said as its coordinator. They declared their support for presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto on the grounds that 'Prabowo is a figure who is firm and has a sincere heart and soul of devotion to the nation and state and is a figure who is close to nahdliyin', said Wahidin Said. Aswaja 08 volunteers are committed to move for the winning of Prabowo at the base level. Nusron Wahid is a Golkar party politician and former Chairman of GP Ansor 2010-2015. The emergence of the United Nahdliyin Movement and Aswaja 08 Volunteers is a political response to structural and cultural NU administrators and cadres who want to contribute to the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections by moving outside the NU structure at each level by creating tactical movement organs that are not bound by the PBNU structure. This shows that political behaviour according to Harold D Laswel always has an orientation aspect, namely the group interests to be achieved. Group interests are the main goal being fought for. In this case, NU citizens who create cultural groups such as the United Nahdliyin Movement, Aswaja 08 Volunteers can be interpreted as political behaviour oriented towards group interests so that their aspirations regarding NU issues in the future according to their respective group versions can be accommodated by the presidential and vice presidential candidates they support.

Muslimat NU and GP Ansor: Partisanship behind neutrality

As well as Muslimat NU and GP Ansor as autonomous bodies of NU should be neutral, but in practice the consolidation and mobilisation of one of the presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs in the field is still running. As stated openly by Nyai Hj

Masruroh Wahid, in the 78th Muslimat NU harlah event in Surabaya she urged NU Muslimat cadres to follow the political choices of Khofifah Indar Parawansa, who is a national success team for Prabowo-Gibran. The political behaviour of the NU Muslimat, especially in East Java, shows aspects of group orientation represented through structural elites in directing support to presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2024 elections. However, differences in the choice of Muslimat cadres culturally occur, such as the Chairperson of the West Java Muslimat in her statement actually providing political support to the Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar candidate pair. Then Yenny Wahid, who is also the central board of Muslimat NU, became the National Success Team of Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD. Meanwhile, GP Ansor as the youth wing of NU through its new chairman as of 3 February 2024 stated that the direction of GP Ansor's political support follows the direction of its parent organisation, PBNU. However, from the political codes conveyed by Yaqut Cholil Qoumas or Gus Yaqut, Chairman of GP Ansor 2016-2024 at the opening of the XVI GP Ansor congress at KM Kelud in the waters of the Java Sea on 2 February 2024, which always mentions the number 2 and mentions the name of the police chief as LS. Prabowo and TNI Commander as A. Subiyanto, the political direction is clear. The alignment of NU structural elites from PBNU, Muslimat and GP Ansor, although not done through official organisational instructions, has created competition with cultural cadres at the bottom who have different support from the NU structural elites.

Conclusion

The transition of leadership in Indonesia through the presidential and vice presidential elections in 2024 is coloured by political dynamics that drain energy, thoughts, emotions and finances. Nahdlatul Ulama as the largest Islamic organisation in Indonesia, which has a long history in guarding every phase and change of political regime, has not escaped the hustle and bustle of the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections. The political dynamics within Nahdlatul ulama in responding to the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections are coloured by narrative wars and political movements by structural and cultural elites. The political movements carried out by structural elites in the PBNU, autonomous bodies and cultural movements then influenced and shaped the political behaviour of NU citizens in the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections. NU citizens who have strong communal ties and organisational fanaticism in fighting for the principles of *ahlussunnah wal jamaah an-nahdliyah* must be faced with the choice of choosing and fighting for victory for presidential and vice presidential candidates who are expected to be able to improve the fate of the nation in the future and can work together with NU in caring for the ummah. The 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections have shaped the political behaviour of NU citizens with different preferences. So that if seen Thus, in terms of political behaviour, NU citizens can be grouped into, first, NU citizens who choose presidential and vice presidential candidates based on the choice of following the direction or choice of PBNU structural elites because of their loyalty to the organisation. Second, groups of NU citizens who choose presidential and vice presidential candidates because they follow the preferences of their *kyai*, *ulama*, and teacher role models on the grounds that *santri* must be *sami'na wa ato'na* to their teacher's orders. Third, groups of NU citizens who choose presidential candidates and NU citizens who vote for rational reasons based on personal idealism. Fourth, groups of NU citizens who voted for

presidential and vice presidential candidates due to the impact of differences in political *ijtihad* between Gus Muhaimin Iskandar as Chairman of PKB and PBNU structural elites, so they chose to make cultural movements as a medium for their political struggle. Fifth, NU citizens who choose presidential and vice-presidential candidates for pragmatic reasons for the benefit of themselves and their groups.

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Conflict of interest

This research study there is no conflict of interest involve with any parties.

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