

## Summary

Much research into Islam and politics has been conducted through different perspectives and loci, which results in a variety of findings and theorizations. In Indonesia most studies on Islam and politics are concerned with religious organizations and elite individuals. This present study differs from the previous ones as it focuses on a political party with an emphasis on the elites' power. Along with the demand for democratization since the end of the New Order era, this study is significant for finding out the party elites' varied perceptions of power and their sources of power. The study is then expected to result in the identification of the position of local political elites in the acceleration of democratization.

This research took the Nation Awakening Party (PKB) as the setting since the party announced that Islam becomes the basis of the elites' political actions. Almost all of PKB local elites are the elites of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), and PKB's constituents are mostly *nahdliyin* members. The paternalistic culture *pesantren* seems to have made the PKB local elites' perceptions of political power differ from the concept of power discussed in the existing theories.

To understand the local political elites' perceptions of power is in essence an attempt to interpret their social construction. Therefore, theory of social construction espoused by Berger and Luckmann (1990) is considered adequate to be used as an analysis guide to understand PKB local elites' perceptions of their power. Data were collected through observation and indepth interviews. In this case, observation was predominant as it allowed the researcher to avoid the entrapment of formalistic, non-substantial and superficial statements.

The study found that there are two variances of perception of PKB local elites about political power. They are normative and pragmatic. In the normative perception, power is viewed as the potential of influence inherent in a political position that is used to attract and move the whole society to a social system based on Islamic morality of *ahlusunnah waljama'ah*. In the pragmatic perception, power is seen as the potential of influence inherent in a political position, and it facilitates the achievement of short-term interests of the elite and or their group. In addition, the study also found that from the two variances of perception another variance exists, a perception that is situational and 'yes, please' (*nggih monggo mawon*).

The study also found out sources of power different from the findings of previous studies such as Weber (1949), Bachrach and Baratz (1970), Giddens (1979), Koentjaraningrat (1984), Budiharjo (1986), Burns (1987), Dahl (1991), Surbakti

(1992), Waters (1994), Yukl (1994), as well as Antlov and Cederoth (2001). In this study, six sources of power are identified, which help PKB local elites exercise their power. These include economic, physical, personal, position, cultural and supernatural. Conceptually, the finding rejects Anderson's theorization on *kasekten* as the only source of power. In addition, this present study adds to the findings of previous studies regarding sources of political power.

