UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Outside the State, Inside the Agenda: Kiai as Non-Governing Policy Advocates in Serang's Alcohol Prohibition
Nafiza Suci Azzahri, Muchtar Habibi, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

References

Alia, N., & Siagian, N. (2022). Respons dan Adaptasi Pesantren Daar El-Qolam Tangerang terhadap Pandemi Covid 19. *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, Dan Tradisi)*, *8*(1), 65–82. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v8i1.1582

Andrews, K. T., & Edwards, B. (2004). Advocacy organizations in the US political process. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, *30*(1), 479–506. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.30.012703.110542

Arif, M. (2016). Multiculturalism of pesantren kyai. *International Journal of Education and Research*, *4*(10), 253–272.

Asmawati Asmawati, T. I. T., Sholih Muadi. (2021). Religion, Political Contestation and Democracy: Kiai's Role as Vote Broker in Madurese Local Political Battle. *Buletin Al-Turas*, *27*(1), 37–54. https://doi.org/10.15408/bat.v27i1.15650

Baumgartner, F. R., & Jones, B. D. (2010). *Agendas and instability in American politics*. University of Chicago Press.

Berry, J. M., & Wilcox, C. (2018). *The interest group society*. Routledge.

Best, H., & Higley, J. (2017). The Palgrave handbook of political elites: Introduction. In *The Palgrave handbook of political elites* (pp. 1–6). Springer.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In. Richardson, JG (ed.) Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education (pp. 241-258). In: New York: Greenwood Press.

Burton, M., Gunther, R., & Higley, J. (1992). Introduction: elite transformations and democratic regimes. *Elites and democratic consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*, 1–37.

Bush, R. (2009). *Nahdlatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and politics in Indonesia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Darain, A. S. d., Anshari, A., & Sa'diyah, H. (2026). The Role of Kiai in Prophetic Education and Cultural Brokerage. *RIGGS: Journal of Artificial Intelligence and*

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Outside the State, Inside the Agenda: Kiai as Non-Governing Policy Advocates in Serang's Alcohol Prohibition
Nafiza Suci Azzahri, Muchtar Habibi, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Digital Business, *4*(4), 5702–5710. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31004/riggs.v4i4.4526

Fox, J. (2018). *An introduction to religion and politics: Theory and practice*. Routledge.

Gen, S., & Wright, A. C. (2013). Policy Advocacy Organizations: A Framework Linking Theory and Practice. *Journal of Policy Practice*, *12*(3), 163–193. https://doi.org/10.1080/15588742.2013.795477

Haynes, J. (2008). *Routledge handbook of religion and politics*. Routledge.

Hefner, R. (2011). *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400823871

Hefner, R. W. (2011). Civil islam: Muslims and democratization in indonesia. In *Civil Islam*. Princeton University Press.

Higley, J., & Burton, M. G. (2006). *Elite foundations of liberal democracy*. Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.

Hikmawan, M. D., Godjali, M. R., & Indriyany, I. A. (2020). Kyai and power in banten, Indonesia. SHS web of conferences,

Humaeni, A., Hadisaputra, S. a., Julaiha, E., & Afif, M. (2025). Magic, Religion, and Authority: Performing Magic of Kyai and Jawara in Banten. *Tsaqofah*, *23*(2), 165–180. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.32678/tsaqofah.v23i2.174

Ihsan, A. B. (2023). One Islamic Culture, One Political System, Two Faces Of Islamic Politics In Madura. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, *17*(2), 300–322. https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2023.17.2.300-322

Jati, W. R. (2021). *Agama, Kiai Tradisional, dan Perubahan Sosial: Sudut Pandang dari Pinggiran Indonesia* (M. F. Mohammad Afifuddin, Ed.). CV. RFM Pramedia.

Jenkins-Smith, H. C., & Sabatier, P. A. (1993). The study of public policy processes. *The Nation's health*, 135–142.

Machmudi, Y. (2014). Preserving kyai authority in modern society. *Wacana*, *15*(2), 336–350. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v15i2.407

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Outside the State, Inside the Agenda: Kiai as Non-Governing Policy Advocates in Serang's Alcohol Prohibition
Nafiza Suci Azzahri, Muchtar Habibi, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Mufti, M. (2023). The Waning of Kiai's Role: Transformation from Cultural Broker to Political Broker in Regional Head Election. *Khazanah Sos*, *5*(2), 206–219. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15575/ks.v5i2.25326

Muwaffiqillah, M. (2023). Analisis Teoritik Atas Tulisan Geertz Tentang Kyai Jawa Sebagai Cultural Broker. *Indonesian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, *4*(1), 17–36. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33367/ijhass.v4i1.3878

Noeh, M. F. (2014). *Kyai di panggung pemilu: dari kyai khos sampai high cost*. Rene Book.

Olsson, J., & Hysing, E. (2012). Theorizing inside activism: Understanding policymaking and policy change from below. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *13*(2), 257–273. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2012.677123

Omelicheva, M. Y. (2016). Islam and power legitimation: instrumentalisation of religion in Central Asian States. *Contemporary Politics*, *22*(2), 144–163. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2016.1153287

Online, N. (2023). *Tercatat Ada 413 Pesantren di Bawah RMI NU Kabupaten Serang*.

Qorib, M. (2025). Socio-cultural transformation within Indonesian academics: cases in Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama universities. *Asian Education and Development Studies*, *14*(4), 856–875. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1108/AEDS-12-2024-0295

Rivaldi, A. (2023). Pondok Pesantren Sebagai Wadah Pembentukan SDM yang Baik di Kota Serang.

Rohman, O. A., Mahir, M., Soleh, Y. M., Ibn Ziyad, M. T., & Sholihuddin, S. (2024). Sociology And Religion: Interaction, Conflict and Social Change In Society From Hadith Perspective. *JISIP (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Pendidikan)*.

Saldaña, J. (2021). The coding manual for qualitative researchers.

Sipil, D. K. d. P. (2024). *Profil Perkembangan Kependudukan Kota Serang Tahun 2024*.

Suresman, E., & Faqihuddin, A. (2026). From traditional religious leader to actor of social change: a comprehensive Systematic literature network analysis the role of a Kyai in Indonesia based on scopus database. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, *13*(1), 2625597. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2026.2625597

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Outside the State, Inside the Agenda: Kiai as Non-Governing Policy Advocates in Serang's Alcohol Prohibition
Nafiza Suci Azzahri, Muchtar Habibi, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Triandafyllidou, A., & Magazzini, T. (2020). The governance of religious diversity: Challenges and responses. In *Routledge Handbook on the Governance of Religious Diversity* (pp. 1–9). Routledge.

Triandafyllidou, A., & Magazzini, T. (2025). Governing religious diversity in Europe. In *The Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics in Europe* (pp. 281–295). Routledge.

Turmudi, E. (2006). *Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java*. ANU Press.

Walden, M. (2016). Islamic Civil Society's Enduring Vitality in Indonesia's Democracy.

Weible, C. M. (2023). *Theories of the policy process*. Taylor & Francis.

Weible, C. M., & Sabatier, P. A. (2007). A guide to the advocacy coalition framework. *Handbook of public policy analysis: theory, politics, and methods*, *123*.

Williamson, S., Yildirim, A. K., Grewal, S., & Kuenkler, M. (2023). Preaching politics: How politicization undermines religious authority in the Middle East. *British Journal of Political Science*, *53*(2), 555–574. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/S000712342200028X

Yenuri, A. A., & Nurseha, I. (2025). Pesantren as Social Capital for Regional Development: A Reflection on Kiai Leadership and Institutional Dynamics. *Journal of Pesantren and Diniyah Studies*, *2*(2), 65–74. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.63245/jpds.v2i2.49

Yusuf, K., & Habibullah, A. F. (2025). Strategi Dakwah NU Berbasis Kultural Dan Muhammadiyah Berbasis Purifikasi: Studi Komparatif. *Kartika: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, *5*(2), 618–634. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59240/kjsk.v5i2.171