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## **A Shift of Typology the Nuro'ulama' KE PA PE'SSE'AN: Voter Typology Study of Madura Pandalungan Society in the 2019 Simultaneous Elections in Bondowoso Regency**

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**Abstract:** Democracy which is synonymous with the exercise of power from the people, by the people, and for the people is realized by electing representatives of the people through general elections for members of the DPR, DPD, President and Vice President, and Provincial and Regency/City DPRD. For political purposes, it is known that there are typologies or characteristics of voters and these typologies are important in winning election contests. This study aims to identify the typological characteristics of the Madurese Pandalungan voters in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency as well as to obtain scientific information on the factors that influence them. The method used in this research is descriptive. The results of this study found that (1) The typology of Madurese Pandalungan voters in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency consisted of (a) typology of penter voters, (b) typology of nuro'ulama' voters, (c) typology of focal voters, (d) typology of ta'ro'nuro' voters, and (e) typology of pa pe'sse'an. The domination of the nuro'ulama' typology is greater, but there is a shift in typology from the nuro'ulama' typology to the pa pe'sse'an voter typology. (2) The typology is influenced by factors (a) voter characteristics with variables of socio-cultural conditions and value systems, educational and economic factors, and kinship or family factors, (b) mass media factors, (c) characteristics of political parties and legislative candidates, and (d) amae'n pe'sse' factors.

**Keywords:** Election, Madura Pandalungan, Typology of Voters

### **A. Introduction**

Democracy is synonymous with the exercise of power from the people, by the people, and for the people which can also be interpreted as the people in power or "government or rule by the people" (Budiarto, 2022). In a democratic political system, the people have the right to choose their representatives in addition to the right to be actively involved in the political contestation itself. Following the thoughts of (Dahl, 2001) there are five main things in democracy, namely opportunities for effective participation, equality in voting, obtaining clear understanding, carrying out final

control of agendas, and inclusion of adults (Sriwahyuni et al., 2023). Rotation of power is a necessity in a democratic system and regular elections are a requirement for a country to be said to adhere to this democratic system (Chalik, 2010). In general elections as democratic parties, the people make choices about who will represent them, as well as the renewal of the political contract between the representatives and those they represent (Fitriyah et al., 2020).

In every election event, questions always arise, why do some people take political action while others don't, why do people vote for certain parties and not vote for other parties, why do voters of certain political parties tend to be consistent from election to election, while others fluctuate? , why do certain societies have a tendency for political choices that are almost the same or even different, and what is also important are the factors that can influence a person to make a choice in an election. Questions like these also arise when trying to analyze the typology of the Madurese Pandalungan voters in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency.

(Ananta et al., 2016) research which examines voter typology in elections shows that there is an objective tendency to vote for political parties or candidates who have sensitivity to problems and program clarity. Political parties whose policy direction is unclear will tend not to be elected. While voters who are more concerned with the ideological ties of a party or a candidate, will emphasize more on aspects of subjectivity that affect voters. This was shown by (Fitriyah et al., 2020) in making a category of Islamic society which was divided into two groups, namely Abangan Islam and Islamic Santri (Asmara et al., 2023) (Nurzila et al., 2022). Even if these two groups are both Muslim, because of their different religious backgrounds, their political affiliation is not the same. Islamic Santri groups tend to vote for Islamic parties while abangan Islamic groups choose nationalist parties.

Bondowoso Regency is one of the areas which in terms of its location is in the horseshoe area. The majority of the people are Madurese Pandalungan people who are Muslim with a Nahdiyyin background who have a tendency to choose political parties that have close ideological, understanding, and religious affiliations which are commonly referred to as traditional voters. Traditional voters of this type have a relatively high ideological orientation. Voters do not really see the policies of political parties or candidates as important in decision making. Traditional voters prioritize the closeness of religion, understanding, values, socio-culture, and origin, as a benchmark in choosing political parties.

Kyai are still a knot in controlling people's political choices and this is one of the characteristics of a patrimonial society with a patron-client social pattern. Kyai or ulama as patrons who are highly respected as well as being role models in their spiritual life in the form of embodying important values in people's lives in Bondowoso Regency, especially the pesantren or santri community. This has been passed down from generation to generation which is then strengthened by rampant

religious activities such as recitation, prayer, istighosah, yasinan, tibaan, pilgrimage to the wali songo tomb and other religious activities which are the hallmark of this group which distinguishes it from other groups. However, over time, with more open access to information, this type of voter has gradually changed. The kyai as the patron and the santri community as the client, it is not immediately clear that what the kyai or ulema convey will become a guide in the political choices that the community makes. In this context, there could be a shift in the typology of voters who originally had a typology of traditional voters, shifting to a typology of rational voters or even shifting to non-rational voters or other typologies. Therefore, this research focuses on the problem (1) how is the typology of the Madurese Pandalungan voters in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency, is there a shift in the type of voter? (2) what factors influence the typology and/or shift in the type of voter?

The rationale for democracy comes from a goal that allows a pattern of government to create people's welfare and justice. This cannot be achieved if the processes that deliver and establish power do not reflect and represent the majority of people's wants and needs. A clear and transparent constitution is needed in a democracy, especially to regulate the duties and authorities of each institution within the state structure. It is hoped that the idea put forward regarding the distribution of power cannot arbitrarily grip their power for their own or group interests. According to (Tulistyantoro et al., 2019) democracy refers to efforts made to initiate, implement, and institutionalize democratic principles in the life of society and the state. Democracy will not happen by itself, so social tools are needed that can shape and condition a democratic climate. There is no automatic process of transition from a non-democratic regime to a democratic form of government. According to (Agustino, 2020) there are several structural characteristics as prerequisites for democracy, such as a sizable middle class layer, the existence of private entrepreneurship groups, coupled with low illiteracy rates and awareness of civil society.

The implementation of democracy can be seen through the use of universal suffrage in elections, where every citizen who meets the requirements has the right to exercise his right to vote. This is in line with the explanation given by (Chalik, 2010) that "One of the central values of our democratic theory has been the surpassing importance of freedom and choice". In terms of elections in Indonesia, Law Number 7 of 2017 article 1 paragraph 1 has emphasized that elections are a means of people's sovereignty to elect members of the People's Representative Council, members of the Regional Representative Council, President and Vice President and to elect members of the Regional People's Representative Council, which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Specifically for the 2019 election, the Indonesian nation celebrates two democratic parties simultaneously, namely the legislative election and the presidential election for the first time on 17 April 2019. The 2019 simultaneous elections were held to elect members of the DPR RI, DPD RI, Provincial DPRD and City Regency DPRD as well

as the President and Vice President for the 2019-2024 term. The results of the 2019 simultaneous elections are known to the public; members of the legislature and the president-vice president have also been appointed and are working. However, the typology of voters in the Madurese Pandalungan community in Bondowoso is still an interesting question.

Typology consists of the word *typos*, which comes from the word *typos* (Greek), which means the impression, shape, image, type, or character of an object and *logy*, which means the study of something, so that typology can be interpreted as the study of impressions. image, shape, type or character of an object. According to (Fitriyah et al., 2020) typology is a unique and specific character attached to certain people that distinguishes them from others. Meanwhile, the definition of voters as explained in Law 7/2017 is Indonesian citizens who are seventeen years of age or older, are married, or have been married. So, the typology of voters is the unique character of people's political behavior related to general elections. Voters in general elections cannot be separated from the identity of voters both from social and cultural factors of voters. Rational voters can be influenced by the work programs of political parties or candidates, which have the ability to offer the public to raise people's welfare and provide solutions to problems faced by the community. On the other hand, non-rational voters do not pay attention to the work programs of political parties or candidates, but who provide greater assistance during closed or open campaigns.

Studies related to voter typology cannot be separated from aspects of political behavior. According to (Ananta et al., 2016) voter behavior is a person's decision to vote for a particular candidate. This happens in every political event, both regional head elections and general elections. This means that in a political event it can have an effect that refers to political preferences for voters in determining their political choices. Voters' political preferences will certainly describe different segmentations as well. Judging from this reality, the community as voters can be categorized into several groups based on their level of political preference, as stated by (Breen, 1999) below.

1. Constituents, namely groups of people who are represented and have closeness to a party or candidate. This community group is the candidate's support base. Constituents have the highest loyalty compared to other types of voters.
2. Non-partisan, namely the floating masses who have not yet decided which political party they support. These non-partisans are not affiliated with any political party. Usually, these types of voters either vote at the end of the campaign period, or they don't vote at all because they feel that no candidate matches their expectations.
3. Supporters or constituents of other candidates, namely people who have different opinions in view of which candidate is worthy of being their leader.

Efforts to explain voter typology have been the subject of discussion and analysis by academics and politicians since (Downs, 1957) published the book *An Economic*

Theory of Democracy. This book is able to explain that the decision to vote is very significantly different from economic and commercial decisions in general. The decision to vote in elections can be analogous to buying behavior (purchasing) in the business and commercial world. In the business and commercial world, the wrong purchasing decision (to vote) will have a direct impact on the subject by losing the utility (utility loss) of the goods or services he bought. Meanwhile, wrong decisions in general elections do not have a direct effect on the decision maker, because individual decisions will have no meaning except in significant numbers. Individual decisions are a small part of collective decisions because it is only in individuals who have a position with the ability to exert influence and wider public opinion that meaning resides. Therefore, (Downs, 1957) emphasized that political participation is seen more as the action of each individual to maintain and maintain democratic institutions.

Voters in making decisions, are always faced with rational or irrational choices. According to (Mariam & A. Dahl, 2008) regarding this rationality "I have a deep ingrained fear of big words, such as rationality". (Chater et al., 2003) classifies value rationality with goal rationality. Rationality of values is defined as an orientation of action based on a value such as ethics, morality, religion, preferences, origins or aesthetics. Individual rationality is measured by the extent to which decision making (to vote) is based on held values and not on the goals to be achieved. Meanwhile, objective rationality is the orientation of decisions and actions based on conformity with the ultimate goal. Methods of achieving them and individual consequences will be judged rational when their decisions and actions support the ultimate goal.

While (Dahl, 2001) distinguished the two concepts of rationality. First, rationality is defined as thinking, speaking, arguing, making decisions and acting to achieve goals efficiently and effectively (R1). This type of rationality prioritizes personal reasons to achieve personal goals. Second, rationality is defined as thinking, speaking, arguing, making decisions and acting based on a certain normative system (R2). This type of rationality emphasizes more on the degree of conformity between individual decisions and best practices that exist and are believed to be true in society. The more there is conformity between individual decisions and social standards, the more rational they will be. These two rationalities are not related to one another. A person will be very rational in trying to achieve his goals (first rational), but may be contrary to the general standards that exist in society (social deviant behavior). By adhering to this system of differences, individuals can achieve their goals regardless of whether their goals are rational or not. Then each individual will define the goals to be achieved in different ways.

A similar definition of rationality is also expressed by (Ali, 2017) Distinguished between the rationality of calculation and the rationality of description. Calculation rationality is defined as a thinking process that uses probabilistic techniques or methods, logic, and decision-making processes. Meanwhile, descriptive rationality is defined as the degree of decision or behavior compared to the standard results

spawned by rationality calculations. Believe that the classical view of rationality (that rational rules are standards that must be used in decision-making processes) must be applied in all aspects of life (Alie, 2013). Many people argue that probabilistic methods, statistics, game theory and calculations are the methods that must be used in decision making.

The concept of rationality departs from the concept of individuals who have preferences and are faced with constraints when they have to make decisions (Ananta et al., 2016). Usually, the basic premise is that individuals are selfish, calculating and intent on maximizing utility. So that the more an individual is able to maximize profits while simultaneously reducing costs, the more rational the person concerned is considered. Vice versa, when an individual does not use the profit and loss calculation formula in the decision-making process, the person concerned is considered reckless and irrational.

A different relative concept was put forward by (Breen, 1999) who argued that decision-making and action are based on the system of values and beliefs (beliefs) that they hold, not based on profit and loss calculations. Belief systems and values encourage each individual to make decisions. Thus, the system of beliefs and values has more power to direct decisions to be taken compared to logic and calculation calculations. Beliefs or beliefs are the result of non-rational processes. The inclusion of belief systems in the study of decision-making processes is based on the fact that individuals or actors never have complete information. When the person concerned is faced with this situation, it is the belief system that will lead them to choose someone whether to choose X over X', simply because they believe X is better than X'.

In line with that, (Mariam & A. Dahl, 2008) says that the political beliefs of the less educated class of society are fragmented and chaotic in the majority. He argues that in many phenomena, this belief is not the result of logical and calculative analysis. This belief grows and develops from a process of in-vivo experience and the internalization (dogmatization) of beliefs that are firmly held by society in general. Individual beliefs about something are very difficult to ask for reasons and arguments behind these beliefs, where beliefs from beliefs are standard and difficult to shake because they are taken-for-granted. Any attempt aimed at questioning the truth or reasons for a truth will be considered as deviant behavior, impudence, ignorance, low morals and all other negative stereotypes.

## **B. Method**

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive qualitative research type. This research focuses on the typology of Madurese Pandalungan voters in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency along with the possibility of a shift and the factors that influence it. The research location is in Bondowoso Regency. The research subjects were determined based on voter segmentation which included family voter base, beginner voter base, female voter base, disability voter base,

marginal voter base, community voter base, religious voter base, voter base with special needs, and internet citizen voter base. Data collection was carried out through interviews and documentation studies. Data adequacy is based on saturation so that data collection will be stopped when the information obtained is saturated. Data were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's model analysis.

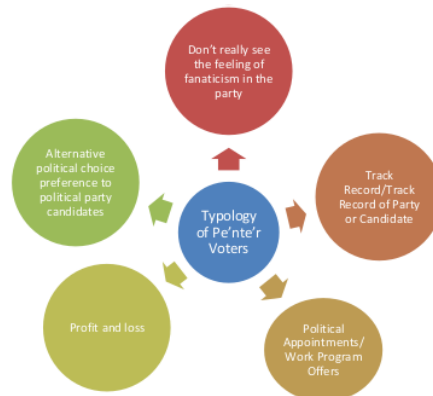
### C. Results and Discussion

#### Typology of Voters and Their Shifts

The Madurese Pandalungan community in Bondowoso Regency in the 2019 simultaneous elections can be categorized into the following voter typologies: *tente'r* voter typology, focal voter typology, *nuro'ulama'* voter typology, *ta'ro'nuro'* voter typology, and *pap pe* voter typology 'sse'an.

#### *Typology of Pe'nte'r Voters*

The typology of *pe'nte'r* voters or smart/intelligent voters in the Pandalungan Madurese community has several characteristics as can be seen in the following figure.



**Figure 1: Characteristics of Pe'nte'r Voters**

Based on Figure 1 above, the characteristics of *pe'nte'r* voters can be described as follows. First, this type of voter does not really see a sense of fanaticism in certain political parties or candidates. Political parties and candidates are not fanatically used as a basis for support, although at a certain level the fanaticism still exists. Second, the *pe'nte'r* voters tend to see what has been done by a political party or a candidate before with profit and loss calculations or concrete evidence of the implementation of the previous program. Experience in previous elections (track record) of political parties and candidates who have served in the Regency DPRD in the past is very important to analyze and give an assessment. *Pe'nte'r* voters will always consider experience during their previous term of office as a benchmark for whether a political party or



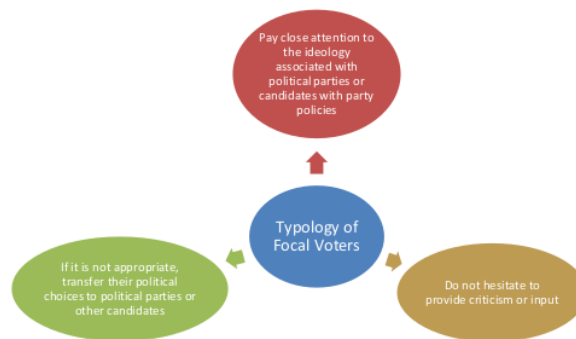
candidate is consistent with what has been offered in their work program or political promises. The success of political parties and candidates in fighting for pro-people programs will always be appreciated by voters by providing voting support in the next election, on the other hand failures in fighting for the aspirations of pro-people programs as well as their political promises will tend not to be re-elected.

Third, in this Pe'nte'r voter where they will take into account the gains and losses when making their political choices on the choice of political parties or legislative candidates. Considerations whether the political party has a good, pro-people program that it will run for the next 5 years (during its term of office). Furthermore, pente'r voters will feel at a loss when they are wrong in making the decision to choose a political party or legislative candidate. The voters of the Madurese Pandalungan community in the 2019 elections in Bondowoso Regency used their political choices based on the extent of the benefits that the voters wanted to obtain. Meanwhile, political parties must formulate pro-people policies and programs in order to gain votes in general elections.

Fourth, in addition to considerations of profit and loss, in the Pandalungan Madurese community voters, where they will order and alternative preferences for political candidates, whether they will vote for PKB, PDIP, Golkar or other parties. Considerations such as the order of preference for their political choices, he will look at the track record or track record of political parties in the previous period and the offer of work programs during the campaign period. The Madurese Pandalungan Pe'nte'r Voters in the 2019 election in Bondowoso Regency, incidentally are already politically literate, they always follow information related to regional political developments either in direct participation during the campaign or through access to information in the mass and electronic media. This pente'r voter is based on the voter base, those with relatively high education. In choosing this Pente'r, they are used to the diversity of varied and contradictory information, they are able to choose between which information comes from a reliable source or not. The process of checking and checking the correctness of an information will be carried out until accurate information is found.

### *Typology of Focal Voters*

The typology of focal voters in the Madurese Pandalungan community in Bondowoso Regency has several characteristics as shown in Figure 2 below.

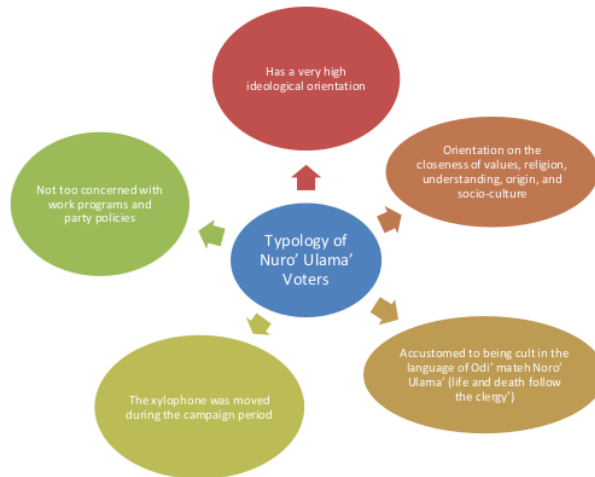


**Figure 2. Characteristics of Focal Voters**

Based on Figure 2, it can be explained that the characteristics of these focal voters are always critical in examining the ideology of political parties or candidates with party policies that have been implemented and those that will be carried out for the next 5 years, so that they will always have the will to improve performance, future policies that will be carried out by political parties and candidates. In the focal voter, he determines his choice by analyzing the ideology of the party and the policies of the political parties and their candidates for the problems they face. For this type of voter, voters will not hesitate to provide criticism or input to a party or candidate if the policies taken are not in accordance with the interests of society. When voters' expectations do not match reality, they will transfer their political choices to political parties or other candidates. In this way, this focal typology is a combination of orientations on the ability of a political party or a candidate and their orientation on ideological matters. This type of voter is a combination of high orientation on the ability of a political party or a candidate to solve problems in society and their high orientation on ideological matters. Ideological ties make fanatical voter loyalty to a party or candidate quite high and it is not as easy as "penté'r voters" to switch to another party. Focal voters make ideological values as a basis for which political party they will choose. Furthermore, they will criticize the policies that will be and have been implemented. Focal voters in the Madurese Pandalungan community will first be interested in the work programs promised by political parties or candidates, after that focal voters will try to understand the understandings and values that lie behind the making of a party policy. Focal voters always analyze the relationship between the party's value system (ideology) and the policies made. If there are differences in ideological values with the party platform, then they give internal criticism, if they are frustrated, they will move to a party that has similar ideological characteristics to the old party, or choose a new party that has similarities with the old party.

### *Typology of Nuro' Ulama' Voters*

These nuro 'ulama' (ulama followers) voters in the Pandalungan Madurese community in Bondowoso Regency have the characteristics as shown in Figure 3 below.



**Figure 3. Characteristics of Nuro' Ulama' Voters**

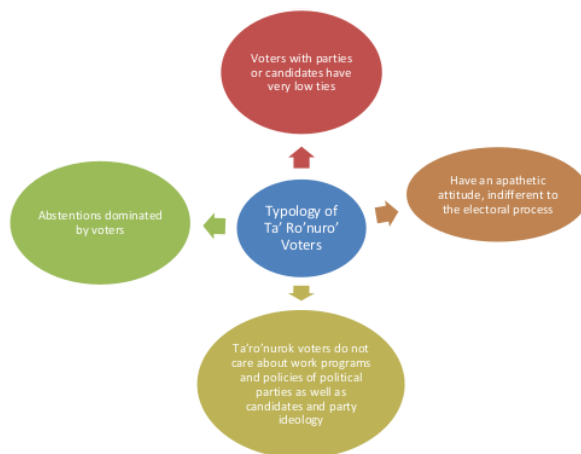
In figure: 3 we can see that the voters have a typology Nuro' ulama' ini they have a very high ideological orientation in their political decision-making and do not care about rational or critical aspects. Their political choices are based on closeness in values, religion, beliefs, origins, and socio-culture. Voters of this type are accustomed to being cult in the language of Odi' mateh Noro' Ulama' (life and death follow the clergy), which means they have a very strong belief that what the clergy say, the behavior of the clergy, and the guidance of the clergy in their political choices is a truth that cannot be contested. That the consideration he chose a party because of the closeness of understanding and religion. The tendency of this type of voter to judge that the political party chosen is a party that has close understanding with voters, such as Nahdlatul Ulama or NU. Then the person concerned is also active in campaign activities carried out by political parties or candidates. Nuro'ulama' voters are voters who are easily mobilized during the campaign period, having high loyalty is one of the characteristics that is easiest to see in this type of voter. These nuro 'ulama' voters have a very high ideological orientation. For nuro 'Ulama' voters, they do not really see the policies of political parties or candidates as something that is important in decision making. Nuro'ulama' voters prioritize socio-cultural closeness, values, religion, understanding, and origin as a yardstick in choosing political parties.

Nuro 'ulama' voters choose a party based on historical and mythical considerations, a political party or contestant. Nuro'ulama' voters have relatively low education and

are very conservative in upholding the beliefs, understandings and values they believe in. The nuro 'ulama' voters are very easy to mobilize during the campaign period, where these nuro 'ulama' voters have high loyalty to political parties. What is said by the leaders of political parties is a necessity of belief that is difficult to deny. Nuro'ulama' voters have a tendency to view ideology as the main basis for making decisions in their political choices and this political choice is relatively difficult to shake.

### *Typology of Ta' Ro'nuro' Voters*

In the typology of the *ta' ro'nuro'* voters, the Madura Pandalungan community in Bondowoso Regency has several characteristics as shown in Figure 4 below.



**Figure 4. Characteristics of Ta' Ro'nuro' Voters**

In Figure 4, the characteristics of *ta'ro'nuro'* (non-participating) voters can be explained that this type of voter has no ties or very low ties with political parties or candidates so that their political preference for parties or candidates is also very lacking. The *ta'ro'nuro'* voters have an apathetic attitude, indifferent to the election process. The tendency of the *ta'ro'nuro'* voters does not care about the work programs and policies of political parties as well as the candidates and ideology of any party. These *ta'ro'nuro'* voters do not have a high ideological orientation with political parties or candidates, and do not make party policy the basis for consideration in choosing a party. For *ta'ro'nuro'* voters, the willingness to participate or be involved with political parties is relatively lacking.

In *ta'ro'nuro'* voters where the desire to participate or be involved with political parties for this type of *ta'ro'nuro'* voters is lacking because their ideological ties are

very low, they also pay less attention to the work programs and policies of political parties or candidates. Apart from having a low ideological orientation, this type of voter is dominated by white groups (abstentions). This type of voter has a very low desire to participate in elections and no desire to exercise their right to vote. In the white group (abstentions) the majority are ta'ro'nuro' type voters, even though those concerned participate in voting they usually do it randomly or randomly. They believe that no matter what party or candidate is elected, they will not bring the nation to a better direction or improvement according to their expectations.

### *Typology of Pa Pe'sse'an Voters*

In the Pandalungan Madurese community in Bondowoso Regency, which has a typology of pa pe'sse'an voters, the characteristics are as shown in Figure 5 below.



**Figure 5. Characteristics of Pa Pe'sse'an Voters**

The characteristics of the pa pe'sse'an voter type as shown in Figure 5 can be explained as follows. The pa pe'sse'an voter typology is a type of voter who has an orientation towards pe'sse' (money) or in other forms such as goods. This type of voter still perceives the closeness of party and candidate ideology to voters but is rather weak, not as strong as nuro'ulama voters or focal voters. This also includes the track records of political parties and candidates in the past which are still a consideration in their political choices. In the view of pa pe'sse'an voters what political parties and candidates did in the past (previous period) remains a consideration, in their political choices during elections, but the money factor is still a consideration for which party and which candidate to choose.

For this type of voter, the tendency for political choices is always changing, for example, he chose a political party in the 2015 election, chose the PKB party and in the 2019 election, chose the Golkar party. Political choices in each election tend to be based on the work program of the party or candidate and how much money the voters receive. Also included, these *pa pe'sse'an* voters have a tendency to participate in campaigns where there must be a frill, such as a replacement for tired money or a substitute for gas money. Whereas the *pa pe'sse'an* voter is usually involved in campaign activities with gas money as an addition or a substitute for tired money, he prefers to work if he doesn't get anything (*pe'sse'*), because he considers it useless to join the campaign if he doesn't get anything (*pe'sse'*). This typology of *pa pe'sse'an* voters is mushrooming as a result of the practice of *amae'n pe'sse'* (playing money) carried out by political parties, candidates or campaign teams. The practice of *amae'n pe'sse'* cannot be avoided anymore, along with the electoral system (direct election by the people) where voters can directly choose their representatives who will sit in parliament. There is excessive concern that political parties and legislative candidates will not be elected in elections, so they are also competing to find sympathetic voters, including using the practice of *amae'n pe'sse'* (playing money). The practice of *amae'n pe'sse'* is inevitable, along with the collapse of the ideological ties of political parties or legislative candidates with voters, the orientation of voters is increasingly pragmatic, which bases their political choices on how much money is given by political parties or candidates, then it is likely that they will be elected in elections.

From the identification of the characteristics of the five types of voters in the Madurese Pandalungan community in Bondowoso Regency during the 2019 simultaneous elections, namely the typology of *pente'r* voters, the typology of *nuro' ulama'* voters, the typology of focal voters, the typology of *ta'ro'nuro'* voters and the typology of *choose pa pe'sse'an*, the difference between types lies in the degree of each characteristic. The dominating typology of voters is the *nuro'ulama'* type of voter. As is known in the horseshoe area, especially in Bondowoso Regency, the majority of the people are Muslims with a *Nahdliyin* background who have a political preference for political parties that have close ideological, ideological, and Islamic religious affiliations with NU and PKB or PPP affiliations. *Nuro'ulama'* voters have a very high ideological orientation, prioritizing values, myths, figures and leaders' personalities and the history of a political party or candidate. This type of voter has relatively low education and is very conservative in upholding the values espoused. *Nuro'ulama'* voters are also relatively easy to move during the campaign period, have high loyalty, what a political leader says is a truth that is hard to deny. As traditional voters whose majority of voters have a *Nahdliyin* background, *kiyais* are very influential in determining their political choices for political parties to be elected in general elections.

Ideology in the view of the *nuro'ulama'* type of voters is the foundation or basis for making decisions and acting and is relatively difficult to shake. The tendency of these voters in determining their political choices to political parties such as PKB or PPP.

The Kyai is still a role model as well as a controlling node, he can provide guidance on people's political choices, and this is one of the characteristics of a patrimonial society with a patron-client social pattern. Kyai or clerics as patrons who are highly respected and at the same time become role models in their spiritual life in the form of embodying important values in people's lives in Bondowoso Regency, especially the Islamic boarding school or santri community. This is indirectly passed down from generation to generation which is then strengthened by religious activities.

However, along with the passage of time, the development of the times, and the more open access to information, this type of voter has gradually experienced a shift (can also be called a change). The Kyai as the patron and the community (santri) as the client, does not automatically mean that what is conveyed by the Kyai will become a guide in political choices which are then simply carried out. In this context, it can be concluded that there is a shift in the type of voter who originally had a typology of traditional voters, shifting to a typology of voters of the *pa pe'sse'an* type.

By looking at the phenomenon of the shift in the type of *nuro'ulama'* voter to the type of *pa pe'sse'an* voter, the results of the Bondowoso district KPU recapitulation, as shown in table 1 below, can be supporting evidence.

**Table 1. Comparison of Seat Acquisition in the Bondowoso DPRD Political Parties 2009-2019**

No	Party	Vote Gain			
		Election 2004	Election 2009	Election 2014	Election 2019
1	PKB	23	6	12	14
2	Gerindra			3	4
3	PDIP	6	5	8	7
4	Golkar	7	4	5	6
5	PKS	1	5	5	5
6	PPP	6	5	5	6
7	PAN		1	1	1
8	Demokrat	1	3	3	2

The data in table 1 shows that in 2004 the National Awakening Party (PKB) won 23 seats, then in 2009 it won 6 seats, in the 2014 election it won 12 seats and in the 2019 election it won 14 seats. From this data, PKB dominated the seat acquisition in the 2004 election, namely 23 seats, which means more than 50% of the total seats, namely 45 seats in the DPRD. This number experienced a significant decrease in 2009 which only won 6 seats and again experienced an increase in seats in 2014, namely 12 seats, then in the 2019 election it increased to 14 seats. If we analyze the seat acquisition data above, that the peak of the PKB seat acquisition was in 2004 with 23 seats, when compared to the seat acquisition period for the last election, namely 14 seats, of course there is a significant difference. This means that if we compare PKB's seat acquisition in 2004 with the 2019 elections, this party has experienced a reduction in its seat

acquisition of 9 seats. Meanwhile, the acquisition of political parties with a nationalist/Pancasila ideology tends to be stable, for example the PDIP party won 6 seats in the 2004 election, 5 seats in the 2009 election, 8 seats in the 2014 election and 7 seats in the 2019 election. This includes the Golkar party, in the 2004 election it won 7 seats, in the 2009 election it won 4 seats, and in the 2014 election it won 5 seats, then in the 2019 election it won 6 seats.

The significant reduction in PKB seat acquisition between 2004-2019 can be attributed to the shift in the typology of the Madurese Pandalungan voters in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency. The results of the analysis of qualitative data from the interviews showed that there was a shift in the typology of voters from originally being the *nuro'ulama'* type of voter to shifting to the *pa pe'sse'an* type of voter, which had a continuity with a significant decrease in PKB vote acquisition. This shift in the type of voter is caused by the widespread practice of money politics (*amae'n pe'sse'*) so that voters in determining their political choices are based on who gives *pe'sse'* (money), either in the form of goods or money to the voter, or how much nominal money the voter receives, then that is what will be chosen in the election.

### **Influence Factors**

The existence of several typologies of voters in the Madurese Pandalungan community in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency is influenced by several factors, namely (1) voter characteristics, which include socio-cultural conditions and value systems, education and the economy, and kinship/family, (2) the media mass, (3) characteristics of political parties and candidates, and (4) *amae'n pe'sse'*.

### ***Voter Characteristic Factors***

The voter factor itself can be described as the initial condition of the voter, which has inherent characteristics of the voter. Characteristics of voters is a driving factor, so that a person can participate in using his right to vote to choose a party or candidate. These voters have a social character who have social sensitivity to socio-economic and socio-cultural issues which can be seen from their political activities in elections. Basically, they have different characteristics, but most of them generally have awareness in participating in choosing political parties or legislative candidates. This is also reinforced by voter turnout data in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency which reached 84%. This voter characteristic factor is influenced by socio-cultural conditions and value systems.

Socio-cultural conditions and value systems are factors that can influence voter typology. The socio-cultural characteristics of voters such as the social environment influence the typology of voters in making decisions to choose parties or candidates.



Environmental factors are very influential, where voters live and interact is very important, such as the condition of their traditional values and socio-cultural life. What happens in the external environment influences the way of thinking and acting patterns of every voter. In the family environment, for example, voters grew up in a family that has Islamic ideology, so there is a tendency for these individuals to adopt these Islamic values, because they are used to Islamic principles in their daily lives.

The majority of Madurese Pandalungan voters in Bondowoso Regency adhere to Ahlussunah Waljama'ah or Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU) Islam. So the NU-style tradition greatly influences the values in the socio-cultural life of the community. Even though every voter has and inherits a different value and belief system, the majority of voters have a Nahdiyyin background so that the kyai exert significant influence in determining people's political choices, both for political parties and candidates to be elected. The tendency of these voters in determining their political choices to political parties such as PKB or PPP is the effect of this ideology. In other words, the kyai are still the nodes that can control their preferences and political choices.

Education and economic conditions are also factoring that influence voter typology. Voters who do not have higher education will tend to use non-rational aspects in decision making. Factors of issues, rumors, voters' emotions and public opinion regarding political parties and candidates are important in the decision-making process of their political choices. Conversely, voters who have relatively high education will tend to be very careful in the decision-making process to vote. The information they get is not immediately received, but they will verify, cross-check whether the information comes from a reliable source or not.

Kinship or kinship is also a factor that can influence the typology of voters in Bondowoso Regency. Voters in Bondowoso Regency highly value kinship or kinship. The system of kinship and kinship among voters in this area is very strong, as in their daily life, the culture of gotong royong is still very much attached to daily activities, helping each other in building houses, farming, so that when there is a family that needs help, other families will not hesitate to help, even though those involved do not directly ask for help. The kinship or kinship factor is not only highlighted in their daily activities in social life, but also in their choices. Voters who prioritize family or kinship factors have a tendency in their political choices in elections to vote for parties or candidates who still have kinship or family ties rather than having to vote for parties or candidates who have no family ties. Communities in Bondowoso Regency who are Pandalungan Madurese firmly consider kinship or kinship in determining their political choices in elections.

#### ***Mass Media Factor***

The mass media can be a factor influencing voters because of its ability to disseminate information that has the power to shape public opinion. When mass media coverage

of a political party is positive, people tend to judge the party positively. Conversely, if the mass media is busy reporting on the badness of a political party, then society tends to judge the party or contestant negatively. The relationship between the mass media and political parties is not always objective and neutral, there is even a tendency of mutualism symbiosis in providing biased descriptions and information regarding political parties and contestants. This bias in information is caused by journalists and journalists who write news have a value system, morality, level of education and culture that can influence the analysis of the news they write. In fact, it is even worse when the mass media and journalists' side with a particular party because they are cadres or sympathizers of a particular political party. This is evident from the results of interviews with informants from the mass media, such as television, other electronic media, and social media.

### *Characteristic Factors of Political Parties and Candidates*

Political parties have attributes such as ideology, image, reputation, image, and background as well as the quality of politicians and candidates that will influence people's judgments. People often confuse the quality of contestants with the political parties they use. The activities and behavior of political party politicians are very easily assessed by the public through the quality of their work programs, speeches, concern, attitudes that they show as a barometer of a political party. That building a brand image for a political party or a candidate takes time that is not an instant and is the result of the accumulation of information and performance over a long period of time. This is where the role of a leader in a political party is very important. A leader can provide clear descriptions and instructions about the quality of his party. This is very important for voters when they are faced with uncertainty about which party to vote for. Voters in Bondowoso Regency who have an orientation towards party ideology are one of the factors that can influence voters' political choices. For example, voters who have Ahlussunah waljama'ah or NU Islamic understanding will have a tendency to vote for parties that have an NU platform such as PKB and PPP. Meanwhile, voters who have a national understanding have a tendency to vote for nationalist parties, such as PDI-P, Golkar, and the like. The track record factor of the political parties and candidates elected during their term of office is also a preference because voters will always analyze and observe how far the parties and candidates are concerned in solving community problems. Finally, work programs offered by political parties and candidates during campaigns will be the preference of voters in making choices.

### *The Amae'n Pe'sse' Factor*

The increase in amae'n pe'sse' is a phenomenon in the Madurese Pandalungan community in the 2019 elections which is difficult to stop and has become a new habit or tradition that cannot be avoided, both by political parties and legislative candidates. The phenomenon of amae'n pe'sse' as social interaction between individuals and

political parties or candidates in the implementation of elections. Voters as social actors can consider the advantages or disadvantages gained in the practice of money politics so that they become a consideration for voters in determining their political choices in elections. The practice of money politics or *amae'n pe'sse'* occurs because of the economic limitations of the voters where most of the Bondowoso people live in poverty. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics for 2019, there are 103,330 or 13.33% of Bondowoso people living on the poverty line, out of a total population of 380,350 people. In addition, in 2020 the population of Bondowoso is 408,352 and the number of poor people is 110,240 or 14.17%. Poverty makes voters can no longer think rationally to get some monetary rewards from political parties or contestants.

Next is the factor of low education because the quality of education for the Bondowoso community is still relatively low. The low quality of education causes low knowledge of politics and the effects or punishments for practicing money politics. The low knowledge of voters about money politics can lead to the practice of *amae'n pe'sse'*. Those who know about money politics practices, but don't have the courage to report it to the authorities. Based on a survey conducted by Bawaslu, as many as 28% of voters accept and want the practice of *amae'n pe'sse'*. The practice of *amae'n pe'sse'* which is then considered commonplace in society such as *tongket* or *settong se'ke't* (1 vote 50,000) or *tong tos, se'ttong Saratos* (1 vote 100,000) the amount of which varies between 25,000, 35,000, some 50,000 or even more than 100,000, depending on the extent of the agreement built between political parties or contestants and voters the.

#### **D. Conclusion**

The typology of Madurese Pandalungan voters in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Bondowoso Regency consists of (a) typology of penter voters, (b) typology of *nuro'ulama'* voters, (c) typology of focal voters, (d) typology of *ta' ro'nuro* voters', and (e) *pa pe'sse'an* typology. The dominance of the typology of *nuro'ulama'* voters is indeed greater because Bondowoso Regency is in the horseshoe area where the majority of the people are Muslims with a Nahdliyin (NU) background. The tendency for people's political choices is political parties or candidates who have close ideological, ideological, and religious affinities which are commonly referred to as *nuro'ulama'* voters. In the view of the *nuro'ulama'* voters, understanding/ideology/religion is used as the foundation or basis for making decisions whose truth is relatively unshakable. The tendency of these voters in determining their political choices is PKB or PPP and the kyai are still role models as well as controlling nodes that can provide clues to people's political choices as well as patron-client patrimonial relations, kyai as patrons and the santri voting community as clients. Nonetheless, it seems that there has been a shift in the typology of voters, from the *nuro'ulama'* typology to the *pa pe'sse'an* typology due to the widespread practice of money politics or *amae'n pe'sse'*. This practice causes voters to determine their political choices based more on who gives something, whether in the form of money or goods or how much nominal money the voters receive. This shift in voter type is synchronous and in line with PKB's vote acquisition in the 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019 elections. This typology is

influenced by several factors, namely (a) voter characteristics with variables of socio-cultural conditions and value systems, educational and economic factors, and kinship or kinship factors, (b) mass media factors, (c) characteristics factors of political parties and candidate's legislature, and (d) amae'n pe'sse' factor.

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# A Shift of Typology the Nuro'ulama' KE PA PE'SSE'AN: Voter Typology Study of Madura Pandalungan Society in the 2019 Simultaneous Elections in Bondowoso Regency

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