THE VOTING BEHAVIOR OF KYAI AND SANTRI ON THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTION OF 2019

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ABSTRACT

Background: Kyai and Santri have a long history in the political dynamics of the Indonesian nation. In addition, the number of Islamic boarding schools and students has experienced significant development, so it is not surprising that Islamic boarding schools are land to gain votes in the general election of legislative candidates.

Aim: This study aims to describe the behavior of Kyai voters in the 2019 Legislative Election and the behavior of Santri voters in the 2019 Legislative Election.

Method: The research uses descriptive qualitative with a case study at the Wisma Wisnu Islamic Boarding School, Madiun Regency. Data analysis was carried out using the approach of sociological theory (The Colombia Study) and rational choice.

Findings: The results showed that: 1) The behavior of Kyai voters in the 2019 Legislative Elections showed a rational choice approach. Kyai was able to assess the quality, competence, and integrity of legislative candidates through vision, mission, and programs; 2) The behavior of Santri voters in the 2019 Legislative General Election showed a sociological approach (The Colombia Study); Santri did not know the vision and program of the future legislative because the students were not involved in the campaign stage, so the consideration in determining the choice of students was due to the direction of the Kyai and partly because of the supervision of the parents.

KEYWORDS voting behavior, Kyai, Santri

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INTRODUCTION

The birth of many parties in the country is a sign that the journey of democracy has begun (Wijaya, 2014). In the democratic process, following the mandate of the Constitution, the people have the highest sovereignty (Rikardo, 2020). It is stated in the 1945 Constitution article 1 paragraph (2), "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is exercised according to the Constitution." The form of embodiment of people's sovereignty is carried out through general elections (elections), where elections as a means for the people to choose the nation's leaders through the election of the President and Vice President, Members of the DPR, Members of the DPD and Members of the DPRD.

The 2019 General Election is the first election in Indonesia that takes place simultaneously, both the election of the President and Vice President, the election of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, the election of the House of Representatives (DPR) of the Provincial Region, the election of the Regional House of Representatives (DPR) of regencies/cities and the election of the Regional Representative Council. Because of this turmoil, there are many problems and problems on the ground until many deaths of election organizers, especially at the polling stations (TPS) level.
The Voting Behavior of Kyai And Santri on the Legislative Election of 2019

The large number of eligible participants who must be elected is a problem for voters, especially novice voters who have just poured their voting rights (Suciptawati et al., 2020). Of the five ballots available, it will inevitably confuse voters. There is no exception for student voters. In pouring out their voting, they are fully bound by the regulations the Kyai and pesantren set. It will limit students' participation in socialization, especially in the campaigns of election participants, so that the lack of knowledge of the profile, vision, and mission of election participants will affect the voting behavior of students.

It is an indisputable fact that the number of Islamic boarding schools and students is experiencing reasonably rapid development. In 2018 the Central Statistics Agency of Madiun Regency said that there were 88 (eighty-eight) Islamic boarding schools with 3,094 male students and 4,054 female students (BPS Kabupaten Madiun, 2018). With many Islamic boarding schools, it will undoubtedly become something new in society, both socially and politically. Islamic boarding schools have a vital role in implementing general elections because the influence of Kyai and the number of students become a land to gain votes for eligible participants.

Kyai is a charismatic figure and is highly respected, especially by students (Syarif, 2016). Kyai is not only a teacher but also a role model figure and even a substitute for parents in the Islamic boarding school environment who can also understand the students' thoughts (Ridho & Tomohardjo, 2022). Horikoshi (1987) stated that Kyai is a charismatic leader in religion. He is fluent and has a careful ability to read the minds of his followers. The followers here are not only the students in the Boarding School but also the pilgrims and the community around the Islamic boarding school.

On the other hand, Kyai has a very high bargaining value socially and politically. It will attract contestants or candidates to seek vote support so that these Kyai and students will vote for them. From here comes the political interaction between Kyai and politicians. The relationship between Kyai and these politicians will then influence students' choices.

The interaction between Kyai and Santri affects the students' daily life (Hartono, 2016). Students are very respectful and obedient to Kyai both in the pesantren environment and outside the pesantren. Not only in personal affairs but even in political affairs, students will follow the directions and orders of the Kyai (Ansori & Nasikah, 2020). The colloquial language in the Islamic boarding school environment is “Sami'na wa atho'na,” which means we hear and obey. These words become a sacred mantra among students that will never be refuted because by refuting the Kyai order, students believe that they will get a kualat (calamity/karma) that can come anytime.

The obedience and obedience of students to Kyai will affect the voting behavior of students in the general elections (Anugrah & Fauzi, 2019), especially in the 2019 elections. It is whether because the students are obedient to the Kyai or the students have their reasons in making their choices, or maybe the students do not give their suffrage aka golput (Giving no vote). Hence, the behavior of choosing Kyai and students is interesting to be studied in more depth.

This study aims to describe the behavior of choosing Kyai in the 2019 Legislative Election and the behavior of selecting Santri in the 2019 Legislative General Election.
METHOD

This research uses descriptive research with qualitative methods, while the research strategy uses case studies. In qualitative descriptive research, the depiction of the subject and object of study corresponds to the facts that occur in the field. A case study on the behavior of choosing Kyai and students was carried out at the Wisma Wisnu Islamic Boarding School, Jerukgulung Village, Balerejo District, Madiun Regency. The method and strategy were selected because, in this study, researchers will describe the behavior of choosing Kyai and Santri in the 2019 legislative election at the Wisma Wisnu Islamic Boarding School. The depiction and elaboration of the study results will be more optimally analyzed using words than numbers. The data processed from this study is in the form of primary data from the effects of in-depth interviews, observations, and notes from the results of the study of documents so that descriptive research with qualitative methods is more likely to be used in this study.

In collecting the data, the authors used the following techniques:

1) Document Studies: Document studies are used to obtain data by studying or retrieving pre-existing data, such as examples: of Islamic boarding school profile data, village monographs, village profiles, books about Islamic boarding schools, information from the internet, journals, and so on;
2) Observation: Observation is a researcher's direct observation of the object of research, and even the researcher participates in the life of the students who will be observed, such as watching the daily activities of students in Islamic boarding schools. In this observation, the researcher as a person in the social situation under study; and
3) Interview: In-depth interviews are used to obtain first-hand information through Q&A with informants. Researchers conducted direct interviews with several informants, including Kyai, principals, and teachers, as well as students and students.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Voting Behavior of Kyai in the 2019 Legislative Elections

One of the indicators of the success of a democratic system in a state that adheres to it is the increasing political participation of its citizens (Patmisari et al., 2020). The higher the political involvement of its citizens, the better the democratic system is run, and vice versa (Wardhani, 2018). The citizen in question is an Indonesian citizen who is even 17 (seventeen) years old or older, has been married, or has married who has met the criteria as a voter following the understanding in the Election Law (Gunawan, 2019), including Kyai who has the status of an Indonesian citizen and is also involved as a voter in the election.

A Kyai with the status of an Indonesian citizen certainly meets the criteria as a voter as stipulated in the law (Hanan et al., 2019). If the requirements are met as a voter, then a Kyai is allowed to be involved in every election stage from beginning to end. Even the Kyai can be directly involved in the campaign and become the winning team and not just vote (voting) alone. The involvement of Kyai in the world of politics will add to the information they have so that Kyai can judge every legislative candidate (Caleg, Future legislative) who will run in the election (Lutfiana, 2015). The assessment of a Kyai will certainly affect voting behavior, not only for himself but for students and, of course, the surrounding community, especially the pilgrims of the Kyai.
In the General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) Number 32 of 2018, it is stated that there are 19 (nineteen) stages of the general election starting from the beginning, namely socialization to taking oaths of promise and inauguration of the President and Vice President which is the end of the election stage. Among these stages, not all can be followed by the general public, including Kyai. Because by rule, there are several stages of an exceptional nature, where the participants involved are not the general public, such as the example of the steps of registration of political parties. In this stage, only political parties are involved as candidates for elections. Some of the stages followed by the Kyai are shown below.

![Figure 1. Election Stages Followed by Kyai](image)

**Figure 1.** Election Stages Followed by Kyai

Generally, the three stages are followed by a Kyai, especially the campaign stage used in assessing a future legislative. It will also be a differentiator for students in their involvement in the election stage. If students are only involved in voting, Kyai is involved more, especially in the campaigns carried out by the candidates. In addition to Kyai being visited directly by future legislators, Kyai is also engaged in other campaigns such as rallies, limited meetings, and face-to-face meetings. Kyai is also involved as spokespersons (Jurkam, campaigners) in these campaigns.

Thus, a Kyai certainly has a more rational assessment of the future legislative (Caleg). The more information obtained, including about the vision and mission possessed by a Caleg, will add to the assessment indicators that can be used. A good vision and mission that has been proven or implemented through the realization of the work program will undoubtedly be chosen by the Kyai, especially for those who will nominate again for the next period.

Some of the indicators commonly used by voters to assess a candidate, especially for officials who want to re-nominate, namely, the quality, competence, and integrity of the candidate or candidate, are also the factors in the approach to the rational choice model of voter behavior (Pajow et al., 2022). This statement is in line with the results of research conducted by the author, where Kyai assesses the candidate's quality and competence through the candidate's vision, mission, and integrity through work programs that have been carried out and not just promises.
The voting behavior of a Kyai shows a rational choice model following one of the indicators above, namely how the Kyai assesses the quality, competence, and integrity of legislative candidates. In addition to the quality, competence, and integrity of legislative candidates, another consideration in determining the choice of Kyai is the results to be achieved and those obtained by political parties. So that the rational choice of Kyai will affect the results of political party votes, especially in the Islamic boarding school area, both at the sub-district and village levels, more details can be seen in the following chart:

![Figure 1. Political Party Votes in Balerejo District - Madiun Regency (Election Region 6)](image)

*Source: Processed from db-1 data of the General Election Commission (KPU) Madiun regency, 2019*

The chart above shows the votes of the nationalist political party, namely PDIP, getting the most votes at the Balerejo district level with 8,707 votes. Meanwhile, the party with Islamic ideology received the second most votes, namely the PKB, with 6,067 votes. The next vote was won by nationalist parties such as Nasdem with 3,487 votes, the Golongan Karya Party (Golkar) with 2,686 votes, and the PD with 2,617 votes.

The only Islamic-based parties of the PKB reached the number of thousands, while others did not match the number of one thousand for votes in one district. Even the Bulan Bintang Party (PBB) only got 35 votes in one district. It suggests that the Kyai's voting behavior correlates with the party's vote gains. The party's vote gain further reinforces that the voting behavior of a Kyai shows a rational choice model that is different from the sociological approach (The Columbia Study).

In the sociological approach, the sociological values attached to a person affect voting behavior such as religion, traditions in the family, ethnicity and regionality etc. However, this does not apply to Kyai at pondok Pesantren Wisma Wisnu because it is in accordance with the information in the study that it is a political party with a nationalist ideology that is the choice of a Kyai and not a party with Islamic ideology that matches the religion of the Kyai. So that religious similarity is not a determining factor in the voting behavior of a Kyai.
ethnic factors, family traditions and regional proximity to candidates are also not an influence in making choices.

It is not just the subdistrict level of the nationalist party as the winner, at the village level it is also the case. At the village level, especially in Jerukgulung Village where pondok Pesantren Wisma Wisnu is established, the PDIP also received the most votes with a total of 621 votes, followed by the PKB with a total of 367 votes. Meanwhile, other Islam-based parties also got few votes even for the PAN whose base was clear, namely the Muhammadiyah Association pilgrims only got 3 votes for one village. For more details, here is a graph of the votes of political parties at the Jerukgulung Village level, Balerejo District, Madiun Regency.

Figure 2. Political Party Votes in Jerukgulung Village - Balerejo District - Madiun Regency
Source: Processed from DA-1 data from the General Election Commission (KPU) of Madiun Regency, 2019

The chart above shows a significant difference between Islamist and nationalist-based parties. The votes of other nationalist parties besides the PDIP as mentioned above, also reached dozens such as Nasdem which got 87 votes, the Golongan Karya Party (Golkar) got 78 votes, then the PD got 68 votes and the Gerindra got 34 votes. The data above further reinforces the voting behavior of a Kyai is a rational choice approach.

Behavior of Choosing Students in the 2019 Legislative Elections

Students from pondok Pesantren Wisma Wisnu get the freedom to express their voting rights in the 2019 elections yesterday. For students from Madiun and its surroundings, they are allowed to go home to choose both candidates for President and Vice President, candidates for the DPD (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, Regional Representative Council) as well as candidates for the DPR (People's Representative Council) of the Republic of Indonesia and the DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, Regional People's Representative Council). As for students who come from outside the city and are quite far from the location of the cottage, they are only allowed to choose at the polling station close to ponpes so that only the Presidential and Vice Presidential elections are followed, for the DPD, DPR RI, Provincial DPRD and
Regency / City DPRD elections cannot be followed because they are not in accordance with the regulations imposed by the KPU, especially the rules regarding electoral districts (electoral districts).

Although it cannot be said to be an active participation in politics, because students are only allowed to participate in voting from several stages in the general election, the values and practices of democracy in the Wisma Wisnu Islamic Boarding School have been implemented. The principle of the simplest application of democracy in nation and state is to be directly involved in elections according to the mandate in the 1945 Constitution. Direct involvement is also in accordance with the azaz of elections where the General Elections are held directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly (Budiyono, 2015).

With only the voting stage that can be followed by the students, this will certainly affect the voting behavior of the students themselves. In accordance with the General Election Commission Regulation (Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum, PKPU) Number 32 of 2018 concerning the Stages, Programs and Schedules for the Implementation of the 2019 General Elections, there are several stages of elections that can be followed directly by all levels of society as participants including students who already have the right to vote.

The stages of holding the General Election consist of 19 (nineteen) stages starting from the beginning, namely the socialization stage to the last stage, namely taking the oath of promise and inauguration of the President and Vice President. In accordance with the results of the study, information was obtained that students were only involved in voting. Meanwhile, other stages are not allowed to be involved by the Kyai, including the campaign stage. Where this campaign stage is an important stage to know the vision and mission of the candidate.

Campaigning is the only stage for voters to know the vision, mission, program, and/or self-image of the election participants. With the involvement of voters in the campaign, it is hoped that voters will not be wrong in making their political choices. By not involving students in this stage, it is certainly a factor or influence in the voting behavior of the students.

By not involving students in the campaign, of course, students will experience confusion to find out the offer of vision, mission, program and/or self-image of election participants. Not to mention that the large number of election participants or political parties and the number of legislative candidates for each political party will add complexity in determining the voting behavior of students.

With a situation like this, students in making choices are certainly very easy to be influenced by anyone, including Kyai. With the lack of political education owned by students, it has the potential to make irrational choices. On the other hand, students must submit and obey the orders (dawuh) of the Kyai, this is what then shows the voting behavior of the students in accordance with the sociological approach (The Columbia Study).

This sociological approach or theory the Columbia Study is used to see the extent to which the influence of sociological values, such as religion, social class, ethnicity, region, family tradition and others influencing a person's behavior in determining his political choices. As well as students who are in the Islamic boarding school environment and stay there while undergoing education at the Islamic boarding school so that the environment of the Islamic boarding school will affect the behavior of choosing. In addition, the control of a Kyai over students is very dominant and strong, students must obey and obey a Kyai as a form of ta'zim (respect) towards the Kyai. This respect is not only limited to students when they are in Islamic
boarding schools, but still applies until students graduate from the cottage, even as it applies absolutely during the life of students in the midst of society, so that this sacredness also affects the voting behavior of students in determining their political direction, including in the 2019 general elections.

This is in accordance with the information obtained from interviews with female students. How then does a Santriwati follow the direction of the family or parents in determining their political behavior because for Santriwati there is no direct direction from the Kyai to choose a particular candidate in the 2019 elections yesterday. The influence of the family shows the behavior of choosing female students in accordance with the sociological approach.

Although there was no direction from Kyai, the student also said he did not dare to refuse the Kyai's order (dawuh). So the point is that if there is a direct direction from the Kyai, the student will determine the behavior of choosing according to the command of the Kyai. The direction of the Kyai although linguistically only like an appeal, but the students certainly did not dare to refuse the appeal. Because for students (as the result of the interview above), the appeal is not just an appeal, but a command or dawuh that must be followed. If dawuh Kyai is not implemented then the Santri is afraid of kualat (getting a calamity) for his non-compliance with the Kyai.

In accordance with some information in the study, it shows that voting behavior of students (voting behavior) does not show a rational choice behavior model. Students do not know the vision and mission and even the programs offered by caleg because students are not involved at all in the campaign stage. So that the consideration in determining the choice of students is due to the direction of the Kyai and also partly because of the direction of the parents, where the behavior of choosing students (voting behavior) like this shows the behavior of the sociological model.

CONCLUSION

Kyai's voting behavior in the 2019 legislative elections showed a rational choice approach. Kyai is able to assess the quality and competence of the caleg through the vision and mission as well as the integrity of the candidate through work programs that have been carried out previously (for those who advance in the next period). In addition to the quality, competence and integrity of legislative candidates, another consideration in determining the choice of Kyai is the results to be achieved and those obtained by political parties. While other factors such as religious similarity, similarity of one organization (such as the example of mass organizations: Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah), ethnic factors, family traditions and regional proximity to candidates are also not an influence in making choices.

Voting behavior in the 2019 legislative elections showed a sociological approach (The Columbia Study). Students do not know the vision and mission and even the programs offered by caleg because students are not involved at all in the campaign stage. So that the consideration in determining the choice of students is due to the direction of the Kyai and also partly because of the direction of the parents, where the behavior of choosing students (voting behavior) like this shows the behavior of the sociological model.

For election organizers, both the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) are expected to be more active in providing participatory
socialization to Islamic boarding schools and especially students and students so that students know and understand every stage in the general election (election).

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