

## FROM TRADITION TO RATIONALITY: UNDERSTANDING VOTER BEHAVIOR IN MADURA'S LOCAL ELECTIONS

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### ABSTRACT

This study offers an in-depth comparative analysis of the voting behavior of the Madurese community in regional head elections, focusing on the differences between traditional voters influenced by kiai (Islamic scholars) and voters who tend to consider rational factors. This case study examines three main groups: the santri (religious students), the educated class, and the general public. The research is rooted in the central role of kiai within Madura's social and political structure, which has traditionally influenced election outcomes. However, recent corruption cases involving kiai who have served as regional heads raise questions about whether their influence remains or if there has been a shift in the community's voting behavior. The research employs a qualitative approach with a case study design, conducted in four regencies: Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. Data were gathered through participatory observation, in-depth interviews with key informants from the three community groups, and documentation studies. Informants were selected based on their cultural involvement and experience in the election process. The findings indicate that although kiai continue to wield significant influence, especially among the santri, there is an emerging trend toward more rational voting behavior among the educated class and the general public. Factors such as candidate quality, vision and mission, and proposed programs are increasingly considered, particularly by students. Additionally, corruption cases involving kiai have led to more critical public perceptions of kiai in politics. This study identifies four voter typologies in Madura: rational, critical, traditional, and skeptical, highlighting the complexity of voting behavior in the region

**Keywords** Voting Behavior, Santri, Students, General Public, Regional Head Election, Madura

### INTRODUCTION

Direct elections are a representation of the implementation of democracy at the local level in determining regional heads and deputy regional heads, elected by the local people themselves. According to Rozali Abdullah, there are several reasons why regional heads and deputy regional heads must be elected directly. First, it is to return sovereignty to the people. Second, to provide equal legitimacy between the regional heads and deputy regional heads with the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). Third, to establish equal standing between regional heads and deputy regional heads with the DPRD. Fourth,

as an effect of the implementation of the Susduk Law, and fifth, to prevent money politics.<sup>1</sup>

These changes have also altered the national political configuration. During the New Order era, political actors were always dominated by the elite. In the Reform era, there has been an increase in political participation among the lower classes in practical politics, whether in the struggle for power or in determining leadership at the local and national levels. This means that the public has become a determinant factor in voter behavior in every general election in Indonesia.

Regarding voter behavior in Indonesia, patronage factors have always dominated elections from the past to the present. Patronage culture arises from an unequal but mutually beneficial relationship. On one hand, the patron emerges as an individual with advantages, whether in terms of wealth, status, or influence. On the other hand, the client appears as a member of society who does not have the resources possessed by the patron. Therefore, this relationship can be understood as one based on an "exchange of interests."

In line with this phenomenon, the patronage system is supported by second-layer actors who do not have primary or strategic resources but have access to them, known as brokers. Brokers, acting as intermediaries between the main patron and the client, thrive in autocratic countries as extensions of individuals who possess first-order resources. Thus, patrons often use the resources they have to influence voters in elections. In the context of Indonesia, individuals considered as patrons can come from elements such as Islamic scholars (kyai), technocrats, entrepreneurs, or community leaders.

In the context of Madura, where the majority of the population is Muslim and there are many Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) led by kyai, the kyai play an important role in pesantren, society, and practical politics. Often, the people of Madura cast their political vote according to the guidance of the kyai, which extends to the kyai's students (santri), the parents of the students, and the general community in the kyai's area of influence. In addition to being a preference for determining choices in every election in Madura, kyai also often become key actors as candidates in elections, whether for legislative elections or regional head elections in Madura.

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<sup>1</sup> Rozali Abdullah. *Pelaksanaan Otonomi Luas Dengan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Secara Langsung*. (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005), 5.

**Table 1.1**  
**Victory of Kyai in Direct Regional Head Elections in Madura**

No	Regency	Case of Kyai's Victory in Regional Elections in Madura
1	Sumenep	KH. Moh Ramdhan Siradj SE, MM won the first direct election held in 2005. In the following elections in 2010 and 2015, Kyai Drs. A. Busyro Karim, M.Si won.
2	Pamekasan	In the first election in 2008, Drs. KH Kholilurrahman, SH. M.Si won. In 2013, the election was won by Ahmad Syafii Yasin, who came from a Kyai family. His father, Kyai Yasin, had family ties and lineage with other Kyai families in Pademawu, Pamekasan.
3	Sampang	The first direct election in 2008 was won by Noer Tjahja, whose deputy at the time was Kyai Fannan Hasib. Kyai Fannan later ran for election in 2013 and won.
4	Bangkalan	Since the direct elections were introduced, from 2004 to 2013, the election for Regent was won by Kyai Fuad Amin for two consecutive terms, followed by his son Makmun Ibnu Fuad, who won the 2013 election in Bangkalan Regency. Kyai Fuad Amin was a great-grandson of Kyai Kholil, a highly respected figure in Bangkalan.

*Source: Compiled from research findings.*

From the data above, it can be observed that since the introduction of direct regional head elections in the four regencies of Madura, the elections have consistently been won by Kyai, with only one exception in Sampang Regency, where the election was won by a professional, Mr. Noer Tjahja. However, his deputy at that time came from the Kyai circle. This indicates that Kyai have always been dominant patrons in every regent election in Madura.

However, following the arrest of former Bangkalan Regent Kiai Fuad Amin in 2015 and the arrest of the incumbent Pamekasan Regent, Ahmad Syafii Yasin, in 2017, there is likely to be a decline in the influence of Kiai as patrons. This coincides with the emerging trend of voters, as noted by Surbakti, who are becoming "critical and rational" in their decision-making.<sup>2</sup>

The phenomenon mentioned above is interesting to study because the patron-client relationship between Kyai and the people of Madura may hinder the realization of high-quality democracy, particularly at the local level in regional elections. Therefore, this study is significant to explore whether there has been a shift in voting behavior among

<sup>2</sup> Ramlan Surbakti, *Partai, pemilu dan demokrasi*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997).

the people in the four regencies of Madura—Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep—focusing on the electoral element of the public as voters, following the arrest of current and former regional heads in Madura

## **METHOD**

This research is field research using a qualitative approach, with a case study focusing on the factors and voting behavior of the santri (Islamic students), the educated class, and the general public in regional elections in Madura. The research location is Madura, covering the administrative areas of four regencies: Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. The selection of Madura as the research site has significant meaning for operational activities in the field, as regional leadership in Madura, since the introduction of direct regional head elections, has consistently been won by candidates from the Kyai (Islamic scholar) community.

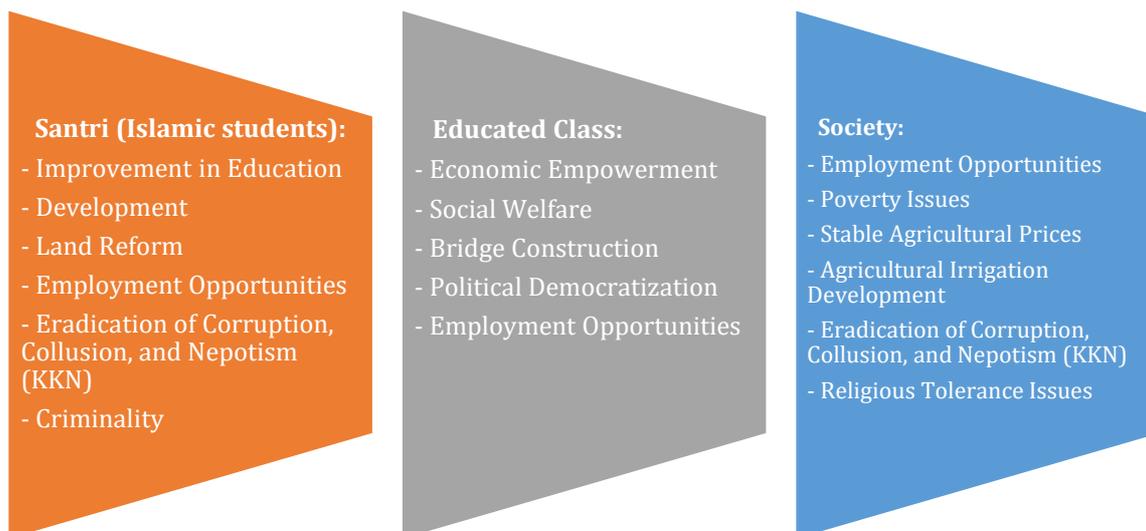
In Madura, Kyai are highly respected elites and role models due to their expertise in religious knowledge and their services to the community. This has led to a strong patron-client relationship between the Kyai and the people of Madura. However, in recent years, the leadership of regional heads from the Kyai community in Madura has faced challenges, as several current and former regional heads have been implicated in corruption cases.

In this research, data collection was conducted through participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation studies, which included obtaining data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, such as district demographic data. This also supported the data from previous research, as well as concepts and theories related to the study.

## **RESULTS & DISCUSSION**

### **Factors Influencing the Voting Behavior of Santri, the Educated Class, and the General Public in Regional Elections in Madura**

The results of this research reveal several findings related to voting behavior, specifically concerning issues of political understanding and government policies, both directly and indirectly, affecting the voting groups of santri, the educated class, and the general public. These findings serve as the primary data in this study.



*Source: Compiled from research findings.*

### Graph 1:

#### Political Issues That Need Government Attention According to Islamic Students, University Students, and Society

From the research findings above, several issues related to the political understanding of **santri** (Islamic students) in the Madura region were discovered, which affect their voting behavior for candidates. These issues include: improvement of education, infrastructure development and road paving, agricultural irrigation, resolving land disputes, eradicating corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN), and addressing criminality.

Furthermore, the issues understood and desired by the educated class include: economic empowerment, addressing social issues (prostitution, gambling, drug abuse), bridge construction, political democratization, and employment opportunities. The issues understood by the general public, based on data collected from four districts in Madura—Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep—include: employment opportunities, basic foodstuff issues, stability of agricultural prices, eradicating corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN), and religious matters.

Regarding the factors that influence the voting behavior of **santri**, the educated class, and society, three approaches were identified in voters' decision-making processes: the sociological approach, the psychological approach, and the rational approach. It was found that the factors influencing the voting behavior of **santri** include these three

approaches: the sociological approach, the psychological approach, and the rational approach.

In the sociological approach, voters consider the instructions or **fatwa** (religious rulings) from **kiai** (Islamic religious leaders) when selecting a candidate. In Madura, particularly in Bangkalan, the close relationship between teachers and students is not limited to educational contexts such as Islamic boarding schools (pesantren); communication and interaction continue even after they become alumni. This can be observed almost every month in Bangkalan when there is a **haul** (commemoration ceremony) for a **kiai**, which is always crowded with alumni attending.

This also happens in Pamekasan district, where during every election, the **fatwa** of a **kiai** becomes a reference point for a portion of the community. Due to their respect for the **kiai**, the community does not make decisions without a **fatwa** from a **kiai**. For example, in large pesantren such as Banyuwanyar and Bata-Bata, where students have spread far and wide, their political support is often guided by a **fatwa** to the **santri** and alumni.<sup>3</sup>

Another finding regarding voter approaches in selecting candidates is the rational approach. In this approach, voters consider a candidate's experience in governance. **Santri** also assess the quality and experience of candidates, both in the bureaucracy and in politics. It is believed that candidates with government experience are more accustomed to handling governance and bureaucracy, making them more professional in the future.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, experience in politics is important.<sup>5</sup> because when someone has a political background, they are less likely to be easily flustered when faced with challenges during their tenure as regent or other governmental positions.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 2**  
**Preference of Community Groups in Madura in Regional Head Elections**

Group	Sociological Approach	Psychological Approach	Rational Approach
Santri	Instructions/fatwa from kiai	Prominent figure	Candidate's experience

<sup>3</sup> Subairi. Tokoh Masyarakat, *wawancara*, di Kecamatan Pakong Pamekasan 15 September 2018

<sup>4</sup> Nur Fadilah, santri, *wawancara*, sampang 24 Agustus 2018

<sup>5</sup> Moh. Holil, santri, *wawancara*, Sreseh sampang 24 Agustus 2018

<sup>6</sup> Faisal Mukhlis, S.Ag. wakil ketua fraksi PAN DPRD, *wawancara*, Desa Aeng Bejeh Rajeh, Bluto sumenep 5 Oktober 2018

	- -	- -	Candidate's quality
<b>Educated Class</b>	-	Politeness	Program
			Vision and mission
<b>Society</b>	-	Prominent figure	Candidate's quality
	-	Favorability toward candidate	Experience
	-	-	Leadership qualities
	-	-	Performance
			Quality

Source: Processed from research findings

Next, the factors influencing or considered in the voting behavior of the educated class or students will be explained, which include the psychological and rational approaches. The people of Madura highly uphold ethics. For example, in the 2018 election in Bangkalan, Ra Latif was a young and polite candidate. In Pamekasan, a man named Badrus, known for his politeness, emerged. In other parts of Madura, such as Sampang, the profile of Mr. Hermanto was also seen as good. Mr. Farid (a candidate in Bangkalan) appeared brave, but there was a hint of arrogance, which led the villagers attending the campaign to feel that he was being condescending.

The student or educated group tends to focus on the programs offered. This group of voters will look at the vision and mission, as well as the quality of the candidate. If the candidate is able to formulate a progressive program that is feasible and can benefit the community, the better and newer the program, the more visionary the leader appears.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, the vision and mission of the candidate are also important because a candidate must have a clear vision and mission, which should be prepared for the next five years if they are elected. It should outline the priorities for development in Pamekasan. Whether they like it or not, the vision and mission become the key to success.<sup>8</sup>

The findings from the educated group support the theory that the rational approach assumes voter behavior is not a decision made at the last moment or behind the voting booth, but is determined long beforehand, even before the campaign begins. The rational approach posits that other variables influence or contribute to voter behavior. Situational factors can influence someone's political choice. Therefore, voters are not just passive but

<sup>7</sup> Ibnu Hajar, S.Sy. (informan dari unsur mahasiswa), *wawancara*, Desa Errabu, Kecamatan Bluto, Kabupaten Sumenep, 29 September 2018

<sup>8</sup> Ahmadi, S.Pd Mahasiswa S2 IAIN, *wawancara*, Pamekasan 15 September 2018

also active; they are not confined by sociological characteristics but are free to act. These situational factors can include political issues surrounding the candidates.

The rational approach views voter choice as a rational decision, where the following are considered: 1) Orientation toward Vision and Mission, which is measured by the voter's knowledge, understanding, and interest in the programs offered by the candidate. 2) Orientation toward the Candidate, which is measured by the candidate's quality, including position, information, achievements, and personal popularity in various fields of life, related to their competence in implementing the programs offered.

Apart from the **santri** and educated groups, the findings also highlight voter behavior among the general public in selecting a regent or legislative candidate. The research found two approaches used by the public in every election: the psychological approach and the rational approach.

In the rational approach, the factors influencing the public's choice are: 1) Experience: The public considers the candidate's experience in managing governance. If they have experience in government, they are familiar with the intricacies of administration.<sup>9</sup> 2) Performance: The public is more interested in real performance rather than just promises of work programs. When asked, the public now responds with development as a reason for their choice, especially infrastructure development like roads and other physical infrastructure. For instance, in the northern part of Pamekasan, people almost always vote for candidates who have previously repaired roads in their village. There is even a saying in the community, "mon tak pernah ngaspal jhelen ma'pas epheleyah," which means, "If they've never paved the road, then it's hard to choose them." This shows that people value visible results, even if the invisible achievements might be more numerous. The presence of infrastructure development completed during their tenure makes it easier for an incumbent to be re-elected. For example, the construction of educational institutions, roads, and infrastructure such as bridges and water reservoirs in villages is often what makes voters choose the candidate again. 3) Leadership: When a candidate has strong leadership, they are more likely to be responsible. 4) Quality: The candidate must have the quality and ideas to develop their region. If they lack quality,

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<sup>9</sup> Nur Fauziyah. (informan dari unsur masyarakat), *wawancara*, Desa Dasuk Laok, Kecamatan Dasuk, Kabupaten Sumenep 5 oktober 2018

they will struggle to lead the entire government apparatus under them. A regent must not only create work programs but also have ideas for developing their region<sup>10</sup>.

The psychological approach in choosing a candidate is based on the figure of the kiai (religious leader). In Madura, kiai are still role models and references in various matters, including politics. Even people who have never been santri (students at an Islamic boarding school) still listen to the opinions of a kiai.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to listening to the kiai's views, voters' behavior is also influenced by their personal preference for a candidate. People choose a regent candidate because they like them, and they will not consider anything else if they genuinely like the candidate. For example, in Sumenep, Kiai Busro Karim was liked by the people because of his participatory and populist leadership. He also made efforts to bring about better development. Despite having served two terms as Chairman of the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD), he remained humble and polite, which contributed to his election as regent for two consecutive periods<sup>12</sup>.

### **Voting Behavior of the Santri, Educated Class, and General Public in Regional Elections in Madura**

Based on research findings on the performance of local governments from 2013-2018, four informants expressed dissatisfaction, specifically in Bangkalan and Sampang regencies. Meanwhile, four **santri** (Islamic students) expressed satisfaction in Pamekasan and Sumenep regencies.

In terms of the perception of the educated class regarding the satisfaction with the local government's performance in Madura, several respondents expressed dissatisfaction, particularly in Bangkalan, Sampang, and Pamekasan regencies. However, one respondent in Pamekasan and two in Sumenep expressed satisfaction.

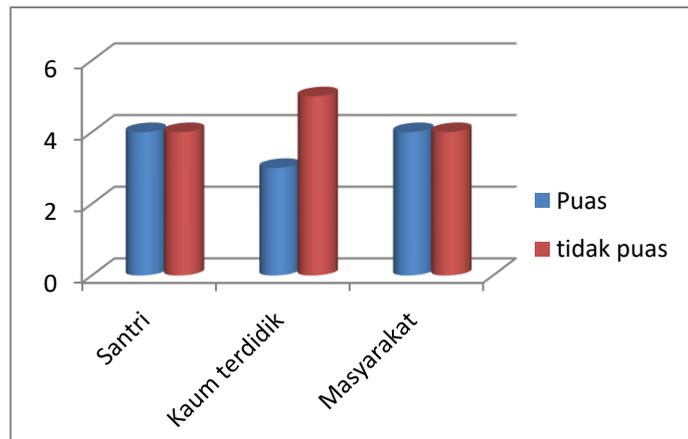
As for the public's perception of satisfaction with the local government's performance in Madura, four respondents expressed satisfaction: one in Bangkalan, two in Sampang, and one in Pamekasan. Those who expressed dissatisfaction included one respondent in Bangkalan, one in Pamekasan, and two in Sumenep.

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<sup>10</sup> Ahmadi, S.Pd Mahasiswa S2 IAIN, *wawancara*, Pamekasan 15 September 2018

<sup>11</sup> Mina (masyarakat), *wawancara*, Tengginah Sreseh sampang 7 September 2018

<sup>12</sup> Faisal Mukhlis, S.Ag. wakil ketua fraksi PAN DPRD, *wawancara*, Desa Aeng Bejeh Rajeh, Bluto sumenep 5 Oktober 2018



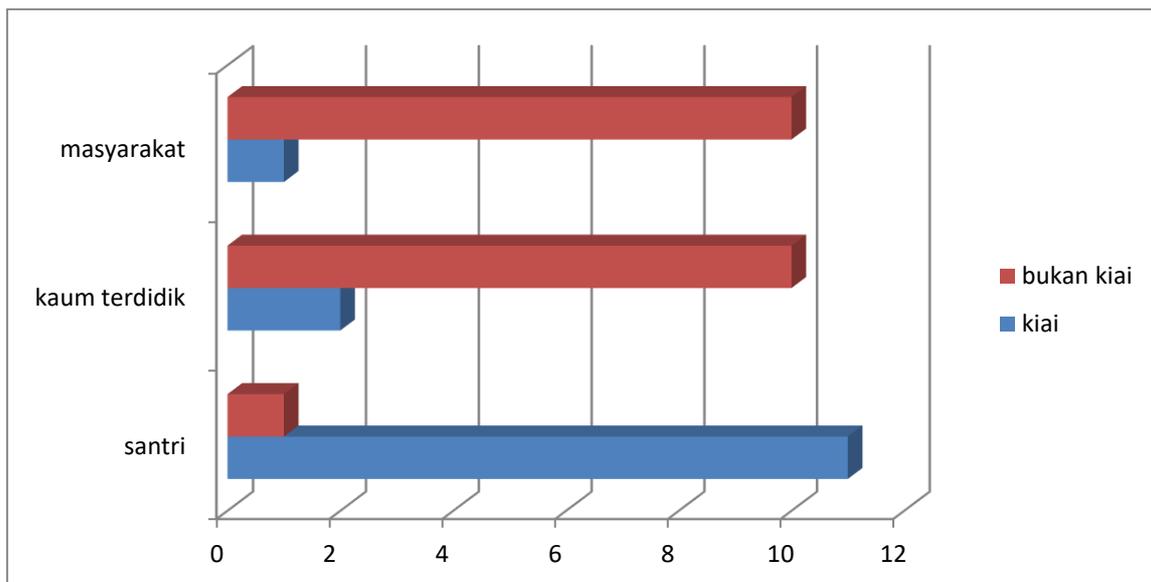
Source: Processed from research findings

**Graph 1**  
**Perceptions of Santri, University Students, and the General Public Regarding Satisfaction with Government Performance**

Regarding the tendency of voter changes from the three voter groups—**santri**, the educated class, and the general public—this tendency can be observed from the 2018 election to the 2023 election. Out of eight **santri**, one did not vote for a **kiai** in the 2023 simultaneous elections in Madura, specifically in Bangkalan regency. Meanwhile, the other seven **santri** respondents preferred **kiai** candidates.

The next finding from the educated class or student group shows that students/university students tended to vote for candidates outside the **kiai** group. Two respondents preferred candidates from the professional sector, one chose a candidate from the bureaucracy, one from the business sector, two from the **kiai** group, and the rest preferred candidates from outside the **kiai** group.

As for the general public, it was found that the majority of voters preferred candidates who were not **kiai**—a total of five voters. One voter preferred a candidate from the professional sector, one said it did not matter, and only one chose a **kiai** candidate.



Source: Processed from research findings

**Graph 2**  
**Perceptions of Santri, University Students, and the General Public Regarding Satisfaction with Government Performance**

The following are the findings regarding the typology of voters among **santri**, the educated class, and the general public, classified into four typologies: **skeptical**, **traditionalist**, **rationalist**, and **critical** voters.

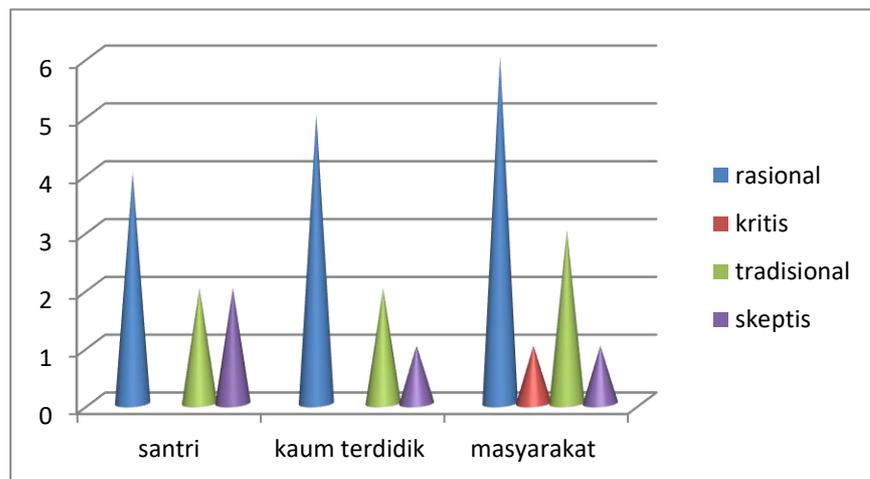
From the data presented above, it can be understood that the most dominant typology among **santri** voters is the **rationalist** typology. Out of 8 **santri** informants, 4 tended toward the rational typology. Their reasoning was that experience is a key factor in choosing a candidate. Additionally, secondary data revealed that experience is a significant consideration when selecting a candidate—if their experience is good, they will be remembered by the community, and their chances of being re-elected as regent or for other positions are high. If they are not good, the community will dislike them.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, 2 voters tended toward the **traditionalist** typology, hoping that the **kiai** could improve the current moral crisis, particularly among increasingly unruly youth. Additionally, the **kiai** are seen as trustworthy and honest, as many current leaders are neither. Another reason for this choice is that the **kiai** are religious figures who serve as role models for the community.

<sup>13</sup> Irwan Sujatmiko, S.Kom. Perwakilan Dari Unsur Tokoh Masyarakat Kelurahan Kolor, Kabupaten Sumenep, 29 september 2018

Fundamentally, voters of this type have a strong ideological orientation and do not place much importance on the policies of political parties or a contestant in their decision-making process. **Traditionalist** voters prioritize social-cultural proximity, lineage, ideology, and religion as key factors in choosing a political party. Typically, this type of voter focuses on the figure and personality of the leader, the myths, and the historical values of a political party or contestant. One fundamental characteristic of this type of voter is a low level of education and a conservative stance on values and beliefs. Traditionalist voters are the type of voters that can be mobilized during the campaign period, with a high level of loyalty being a prominent trait of this voter type.

Additionally, 2 voters were categorized as **skeptical** voters, where the **santri** voter tradition still accepts money politics. This is further supported by opinions from those who say education plays a role. Educated individuals will automatically be more rational in determining their choice. For example, when it comes to work programs offered by candidates, this group of voters will examine, scrutinize, and weigh which programs and candidates' visions and missions are most suitable before making a decision.



Source: Processed from research findings

**Graph 3**  
**Typology of Voters Among Santri,**  
**University Students, and the General Public**

The data presented above details the typology of voters from the educated group. It was found that five respondents tended toward the **rational** voter typology. They stated

that experience was the main factor when choosing a candidate, whether in managing the bureaucracy or in the political realm.

These voters are students or educated individuals, most holding a bachelor's degree. Their voting behavior tends to be more rational, meaning they choose candidates who are seen as capable of handling not only issues affecting the lower class but also the administration of the state or government affairs<sup>14</sup>.

Theoretically, this type of voter is characterized by not prioritizing ideology tied to a particular party or contestant. Factors such as beliefs, lineage, traditional values, culture, religion, and psychographics are considered but are not significant. What matters most to this type of voter is what a party or contestant can (and has) achieved, rather than their beliefs or values.

Next, two respondents fell into the **traditionalist** voter category. They believe religious leaders have a deep understanding of religion, command a following, and possess charisma as leaders. These leaders are supported wholeheartedly by the people, not for material reasons or due to money politics, but out of loyalty to the **kiai**.

The last group consists of **skeptical** voters, who accept money and vote for the candidate who gives it. Skeptical voters are not strongly ideologically aligned with a political party or contestant and do not see such affiliations as important. Their desire to engage with a political party is very low, as they have little ideological attachment. They also care little for a political party's platform or policies. In certain aspects, this type of voter tends to be more pragmatic, often swayed by money politics. Money politics, as a form of political pragmatism, doesn't always mean direct monetary handouts but can include softer forms like donations of basic goods, mosque construction, and so on.

Among the general public, the majority of voters fall into the **rational** category, with six rational voters. They believe that the most important factor is a candidate's experience in governance or bureaucracy. According to Eep Saifullah Fatah<sup>15</sup>, these voters are also known as **Calculative Rational Voters**, a type of voter who makes political decisions based on rational calculations and logic. Typically, these voters come from an educated or well-informed segment of society, gathering enough information before making their decision.

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<sup>14</sup> Abd. Rahman, S. Ag. DPRD Periode 2014-2019 Komisi D dari fraksi Partai Demokrat, *wawancara*, Morombuh, Kecamatan Kwanyar. Bangkalan 20 Juli 2018

<sup>15</sup> Efriza, *Political Explore, Sebuah Kajian Ilmu Politik*, Alfabeta, Bandung. 2012),h. 487

One voter was classified as a **skeptical** voter, accepting money and choosing the candidate who gave the most. When candidates are dominated by familiar faces or when the public feels they have no other options, skeptical voters will likely emerge. These voters believe that whoever is elected will make no difference, and thus they prefer to vote for the candidate who provides tangible benefits, such as basic goods or cash, as it feels more realistic<sup>16</sup>. Lastly, the **critical** voter group, which values leadership qualities, considers this trait important because a candidate with strong leadership skills is likely to be more responsible.

## CONCLUSION

An important factor influencing santri voters reveals three approaches in choosing a candidate: 1) Sociological Approach: Voters consider the instructions or fatwa of a kiai when making their choice. 2) Psychological Approach: Voters often evaluate the candidate's figure or prominence. 3) Rational Approach: The main consideration in choosing a candidate is their experience in governance.

Next, the findings on the factors influencing the voting behavior of the educated class include: 1) Psychological Approach: The Madurese community highly values ethics and politeness. 2) Rational Approach: Voters evaluate the programs offered. This group will assess the vision, mission, and quality of the candidate.

The findings among the general public reveal two approaches in every election: 1) Rational Approach: Factors influencing voters include experience, performance, leadership qualities, and overall competence. 2) Psychological Approach: A key factor in selecting a candidate is the figure of the kiai. In Madura, kiai are still seen as role models and references in many aspects, including politics. Even those who were never santri still listen to the views of the kiai.

As for the voter typology among santri, the educated class, and the general public, they are classified into four types. The most dominant typology among santri voters is the rational typology. Out of 8 santri informants, 4 tended to be rational voters, considering experience as the main factor in choosing a candidate.

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<sup>16</sup> Efriza, *Political Explore, Sebuah Kajian Ilmu Politik*, Alfabeta, Bandung. 2012),h. 487

Next, 2 voters tended toward the traditionalist typology, with the hope that the kiai can help improve the moral crisis currently affecting society, especially the increasingly unruly youth. Additionally, kiai are seen as trustworthy and honest, in contrast to many current leaders who are neither honest nor trustworthy. Another reason is that the kiai are religious figures and role models for the community.

Furthermore, 2 voters were classified as skeptical voters, where the tradition of santri voters still accepts money politics. Regarding the voter typology of the educated class, five voters tended toward the rational typology. Their reasoning was that experience—whether in managing the bureaucracy or in the political realm—was the main factor in choosing a candidate.

Next, two voters fell into the traditionalist voter category, reasoning that religious figures are seen as having a deep understanding of religion, a strong following, and charisma as leaders. They believe these leaders will be wholeheartedly supported by the people, not for material reasons or due to money politics, but out of loyalty to the kiai.

Lastly, one voter was classified as a skeptical voter, who accepted money and voted for the candidate who gave it. Among the general public, the majority of voters fell into the rational category, with six rational voters. They believed that the most important factor was the candidate's experience in governance or bureaucracy.

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## **Undang-Undang**

Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945

Undang-Undang Nomor 32 Tahun 2004 Tentang Pemerintah Daerah

## **Wawancara**

Abd. Rahman, S. Ag. DPRD Periode 2014-2019 Komisi D dari fraksi Partai Demokrat,

wawancara, Morombuh, Kecamatan Kwanyar. Bangkalan 20 Juli 2018

Ahmad Hanafi (informan dari unsur Masyarakat), wawancara, Kecamatan Pakong Sumenep 21 September 2018

Ahmadi, S.Pd Mahasiswa S2 IAIN, wawancara, Pamekasan 15 September 2018

- Alfiyatul Marjan, santri, Wawancara, Sumenep 28 September 2018
- Drs. Jaya Abrianto. anggota DPRD 2014-2019 dari Fraksi PKB, *wawancara*, Sampang 7 September 2018
- Eva Kusuma Perwakilan dari unsur tokoh masyarakat, *wawancara*, Bundah Sampang 31 Agustus 2018
- Faisal Mukhlis, S.Ag. wakil ketua fraksi PAN DPRD, *wawancara*, Desa Aeng Bejeh Rajeh, Bluto sumenep 5 Oktober 2018
- H. Syahrudin Riadi anggota DPRD 2014-2019, *wawancara*, Bangkalan 28 Januari 2018
- Habibullah S.Pd Santri Sekaligus Guru di PP. Nurul Islam, *wawancara*, Waru pamekasan 28 September 2018
- Ibnu Hajar, S.Sy. (informan dari unsur mahasiswa), *wawancara*, Desa Errabu, Kecamatan Bluto, Kabupaten Sumenep, 29 September 2018
- Irwan Sujatmiko, S.Kom. Perwakilan Dari Unsur Tokoh Masyarakat Kelurahan Kolor, Kabupaten Sumenep, 29 September 2018
- Ismail, S.IP. M.IP anggota DPRD Komisi I Kabupaten Pamekasan, *wawancara*, Pamekasan 21 September 2018
- KH. Ali Imron, S.Ag, M.Si, Kiai, *wawancara*, Sampang 24 Agustus 2018
- KH. Hazmi (informan dari unsur Kiai), *wawancara*, Kecamatan Guluk-Guluk, Kabupaten Sumenep 28 September 2018
- KH. Moh. Taufiq, Pengasuh Nurul Islam, *wawancara*, Waru Pamekasan 14 September 2018
- Mina (masyarakat), *wawancara*, Tengginah Sreseh sampang 7 September 2018
- Moh. Ali Makki (informan dari unsur santri), *wawancara*, Desa Aeng Bejeh Rajeh, Bluto Sumenep 28 September 2018
- Moh. Holil, santri, *wawancara*, Sreseh sampang 24 Agustus 2018
- Muhlis Slamet (informan dari unsur masyarakat), *wawancara*, Mursabe Bundah Sreseh Sampang, 7 September 2018
- Noviyanto, S.T., M.T. (informan dari unsur kiai), *wawancara*, Kalianget, Kabupaten Sumenep 5 Oktober 2018
- Nur Fadilah, santri, *wawancara*, sampang 24 Agustus 2018
- Nur Fauziyah. (informan dari unsur masyarakat), *wawancara*, Desa Dasuk Laok, Kecamatan Dasuk, Kabupaten Sumenep 5 oktober 2018
- Srihartini, mahasiswi, *wawancara*, Pamekasan 15 September 2018
- Subairi. Tokoh Masyarakat, *wawancara*, di Kecamatan Pakong Pamekasan 15 September 2018
- Zaidatun Nafisah, S.Pd, Santri (Ketua Pengurus) PP. Nurul Islam Putri, *wawancara*, Pamekasan 14 September 2018