



## NAHDLATUL WATHAN AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2019

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### Abstract

*This study aims to determine the existence of the Nahdlatul Wathan and its impact on the election of President and Vice President in the 2019 general election in Pringgasela Village. The analysis in this study uses Social Movement Theory and Rational Choice Theory. This study used a qualitative approach, with data collection techniques obtained from observations, interviews of data sources, and documentation. By using an attractive model consists of three stages: data reduction, data presentation and conclusions. The results of this study show that the existence of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization in Pringgasela Village cannot easily affect the victory of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates' number 01 in 2019 in Pringgasela Village. The factors that led to the defeat of the Presidential and Vice-presidential candidates' number 01 (Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin) such as the mobilization of the Nahdlatul Wathan management were not optimal, the influence of the media at that time, antipathy towards Jokowi, people who voted with calculation and suitability.*

**Keywords:** Election, Nahdlatul Wathan, Social Movement, Rational Choice.

### A. Introduction

Nahdlatul Wathan is an Islamic religious organization that focused on education, social, and Islamic da'wah. This organization was founded by Tuan Guru KH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid on March 1, 1953. Since its establishment in 1953, of course, there have been many contributions of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization to the Islam of this nation.



Nahdlatul Wathan's awareness of the importance of education for the community at that time deserves good appreciation, the Nahdlatul Wathan organization was very instrumental in developing education in the people of West Nusa Tenggara. Nahdlatul Wathan's awareness of the importance of education for the community at that time deserves good appreciation, Nahdlatul Wathan's organization was instrumental in the development of education in the people of West Nusa Tenggara. Nahdlatul Wathan's vision and mission not only focus on education but also engaged in social and Islamic Da'wah. This organization emerged as a solution for the Islamic community at that time, with a clear vision and mission that had the principle that Nahdlatul Wathan could participate in contributing to the better development of Indonesia.<sup>1</sup>

Nahdlatul Wathan's struggle began since the emerge of the NWDI madrassa can be said to be mature. Year to year there have been changes, while important changes have occurred in Nahdlatul Wathan is the development of the role and function of Nahdlatul Wathan as a community organization that carries out activities in the field of strengthening civil society. Therefore, Nahdlatul Wathan is known as a religious and community organization.

At present, Nahdlatul Wathan is not only seen in educational and social community activities, but also participates in politics and

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Noor Muslihan Habib dan Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, *Visi Kebangsaan Religius: Refleksi Pemikiran dan Perjuangan Tuan Guru Kyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid 1904-1997*, (Jakarta Timur: Lembaga Percetakan Al-Qur'an, 2014), cet.3. hlm. 78.



government. This began to be clearly seen after the ascension of Tuan Guru Muhammad Zainul Majdi or often called Tuan Guru Bajang (TGB) to become the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara in 2008.

By carrying the great name of Nahdlatul Wathan, it is often associated with TGB political tools, through da'wah, and other social community activities. This fact was seen until the time of the general elections held in 2019. Nahdlatul Wathan's connection in elections was clearly seen during the campaigns of presidential and vice-presidential candidates, as well as candidates for legislative members.

Where the general election itself is a means of democracy to realize a system of government that is sovereign of the people, which until now has been carried out 12 (twelve) times after Indonesia announced independence. General elections that have regulated the procedures for conducting general elections, both legislative and presidential elections. The thing that is quite interesting in the discussion of general elections is the general election which includes legislative elections and presidential elections in 2019, with five ballot boxes; DPRD II, DPRD I, DPR RI, DPD and candidates in the presidential and vice-presidential elections.

After the amendment of the 1945 Constitution (1945 Constitution) there is great hope that the future president has strong legitimacy and the people also have ample opportunities to assess and choose their own leadership candidates. Direct presidential elections by the people have provided a strong basis of political legitimacy for the president. Thus, the president does not need to be bound by



political factions in the House of Representatives (DPR), or in other words the president is not easily removed by the DPR. In addition, direct presidential elections provide an opportunity for every citizen to assess and determine choices for presidential candidates.<sup>2</sup>

After the Constitutional Court decision No. 14 / PUU-IX / 2013 which granted as a petitioner a judicial review of Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President submitted by Effendi Gazali et al this election rule appeared, the issuance of this Constitutional Court decision was one of the new legal breakthroughs, where in its ruling the Court stated: Article 3 Paragraph (5), Article 12 Paragraph (1) and Paragraph (2), Article 14 Paragraph (2), and Article 112 of Law Number 42 of 2008 have no binding legal force (unconstitutional). From the series of provisions that were declared to have lost constitutional validity, the Constitutional Court emphasized that the presidential and vice-presidential elections must be held simultaneously with the general election of members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD, with this decree the provision that the Presidential and Vice-presidential General Elections (Presidential Elections) are held after the General Elections for members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD (Legislative Elections).<sup>3</sup>

In the general elections held in 2019, presidential and vice-presidential elections were held with legislative elections united.

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<sup>2</sup> Lucky Sandra Amalia (Ed), *Evaluasi Pemilihan Presiden Langsung di Indonesia*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016), hlm. v.

<sup>3</sup> Trino, "Menakar Efektivitas Pemilu Serentak 2019", *Jurnal Wacana Politik*, Vol. 2, Nomor 2, Oktober 2017, hlm. 157.



Pringgasela Village, Pringgasela District, East Lombok Regency itself, is the majority community included in the Nahdlatul Wathan organization, which at that time the PB Nahdlatul Wathan presidential and vice-presidential elections supported the pair of Jokowi in the general election in 2019. However, at the time of the announcement of the results of the election, the pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidates' number 01 (Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin) did not win the election which was defeated by the presidential and vice-presidential candidates' number 02 (Prabowo-Sandi) in Pringgasela Village with 37.21% votes for the candidate pair number 01 and 62.79% for the candidate pair number 02.

Based on the presentation of the data obtained at the beginning of the study above, researchers are interested in researching the existence of Nahdlatul Wathan and Its Impact on the Presidential and Vice-presidential Elections in the 2019 General Elections in Pringgasela Village, Pringgasela District, East Lombok Regency.

Based on the description of the background described above, the formulation of the problem that the researcher makes as a limitation of the problem in conducting this research includes: first, how is the existence of the Nahdlatul Wathan in Pringgasela Village in the 2019 Presidential and Vice-presidential elections? Second, how the influence of the Nahdlatul Wathan on the election of President and Vice President in the 2019 general elections.

## **B. Method and Theory**

The Social Movement theory is used in analyzing the existence and role of the Nahdlatul Wathan in politics in the 2019 Presiden



and Vice-presidential elections and this theory is used as a grand theory in this study. Rational Choice theory as a supporting theory used in this study, which is used to analyze how the assessment of the community / jamaah, in choosing their choices in the 2019 Presidential and Vice-presidential elections and see the tendency of the community to vote.

Social movement is defined as a movement in social structure, namely certain patterns that regulate the organization of social groups. Social structure itself includes the nature of the relationship between individuals in this group and the relationships between individuals and their groups.<sup>4</sup>

According to Singh, social movements are mobilizations against the state and its system of government, which does not always use violence and armed rebellion, as is the case in riots, rebellions, and revolutions. Meanwhile, according to Della Porta and Di-ani, the main characteristics of social movements are: (1) informal interaction networks; (2) mutual feelings and solidarity; (3) conflict as a focus of collective action; (4) promoting forms of protest, in other words social movements are informal networks based on shared feelings and solidarity aimed at mobilizing contextual issues through various forms of continuous protest.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Elly M Setiadi dan Usman Kolip, *Pengantar Sosiologi Pemahaman Fakta dan Gejala Permasalahan Sosial: Teori Aplikasi dan Pemecahannya*, (Jakarta: Kencana, 2011), hlm. 508.

<sup>5</sup> Dimpos Manalu, "Gerakan Sosial dan Perubahan Kebijakan Publik", *Populasi*, Vol. 18, Nomor 9, 2007, hlm. 31.



Researchers consider this social movement theory very relevant to the problems that occur in this study, namely the existence of the Nahdlatul Wathan Islamic organization and its impact on the general elections in 2019. To analyze this research also uses four perspectives or approaches in understanding collective movements, namely political opportunity structure, mobilization structure, and framing process.

### ***Political Opportunity Structure***

Through the structure of political opportunity, Doug McAdam explains that the theory of social opportunity structure can be used as the main variable related to two principles of dependent variables, namely, the momentum of collective action and the results of the activity of a movement.<sup>6</sup>

One of the first pioneers of political opportunity theory was Peter Eisinger in his article in the journal *American Political Science Review* which explained some of the phenomena of the emergence of social movements, revolutions and nationalism movements using political opportunity theory. Although he did not directly state the theory of the structure of political opportunity when he explained the events of the protests in America, he did indirectly encourage and help social movement academics such as Peter Eisinger formulate the theory of the structure of political opportunity.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Abdul Wahid Situmorang, *Gerakan Sosial: Teori dan Praktik*, (Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar, cet II revisi, 2013), hlm. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Suharko, "Gerakan Sosial Baru di Indonesia: Repertoar Gerakan Petani", *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, Vol. 10, Nomer 1, 2006, hlm. 13.



In the context of NTB, especially in Pringgasela Village, East Lombok Regency, the theory of political opportunity structure can explain a long-standing phenomenon, namely how the existence of the Nahdlatul Wathan, especially during the 2019 general elections, namely in the presidential and vice-presidential elections. The theory of political opportunity structure in this study will be relevant to examine the findings of problems in the field in the context of how the Islamic community organization Nahdlatul Wathan sees political opportunities in the Pringgasela Village community to win the pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidates' number 01 in the 2019 elections.

### ***Resources Mobilization Structure***

The resources controlled by each person function to realize individual and collective goals. This social capital allows the generation of individual prosperity (wealth), capital can also generate profits to groups to benefit groups that have common goals, both material gains and socio-political benefits.<sup>8</sup>

Collective action is a means of achieving an objective or means chosen among the various repertoire of actions available in society, with emphasis on the ways and processes involved in choosing that way. The interest in discontent that fuels collective action as

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<sup>8</sup> Anthony Giddens, dkk, *Sosiologi: Sejarah dan Berbagai Pemikirannya*, (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wachana, 2004), hlm. 332.





something that can be found everywhere and certainly is not a sufficient reason for collective action.<sup>9</sup>

According to Edward and McCrathy, cultural resources are cultural products owned by social movement actors. This resource is closely related to the concept of stock of knowledge owned by social movement actors. This category of cultural resources includes movement or production-related issues such as music, knowledge, magazines, newspapers, and film or video. Such cultural products facilitate the recruitment and socialization of new movements of adherents and help justice to their readiness and capacity for action.<sup>10</sup>

McCarthy revealed that mobilization structures are a number of ways social movement groups integrate into collective action, including in movement tactics and organizational forms of social movements with the aim of finding locations in the community to mobilize. In this context family units, networks of friends, voluntary labor associations, units of employment and elements of the state itself become social locations for micro-mobilization structures.<sup>11</sup>

This resource mobilization structure theory is used in research that will be conducted by researchers to see the formal institution of the Nahdlatul Wathan Islamic community organization on how their members invite the people of Pringgasela Village to

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<sup>9</sup> Syarifuddin Jurdi, *Sosiologi Nusantara: Memahami Sosiologi Integralistik*, (Jakarta: Kencana, 2013), hlm. 331.

<sup>10</sup> Joko Suwarno, "Gerakan Muncar Rumahku dan Strategi Mobilisasi Sumberdaya pada Gerakan Sosial Penyelamatan Lingkungan", *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, Vol. 3, Nomor 2, 2016, hlm. 20 .

<sup>11</sup> McCarthy, *Gerakan Sosial: Teori dan Praktik*, Hlm. 38.



support and elect the pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidates' number 01 in the 2019 general election, by utilizing informal networks such as kinship, friendship and material resources.

### *Framing Process*

The individual cannot understand the world or reality without relating it to life experience in order for that reality to enter into the individual's scheme of mind. Fram on an event is the result of construction carried out by actors of the social movement. Fram arises upon an event because it is not understood as a scientific process, but is seen as a strategic process. These strategic processes include the position of fram, strengthening fram, expanding fram, to transforming fram. This framing process is not static because when forming fram, social movement actors also use media coverage and thoughts that develop in society.<sup>12</sup>

Mass media is instrumental in the framing process where mass media is a very powerful instrument for articulating, shaping, and unifying beliefs, formulating, and spreading ideological messages, and shaping public opinion. Mass media also evokes solidarity, loyalty, and consensus that extends beyond social circles that transcend previous social circles.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ahmad Jamil, "Gerakan Sosial dalam Perspektif Framing studi Pembentukan Proses dan pertarungan Framing pada Gerakan Sosial Sengketa Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi dengan Polri 2009 dan 2012", (*Disertasi*, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta)

<sup>13</sup>Poitr Sztompka, *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial*, (Jakarta: Prenada, 2004), hlm. 331.



This framing process theory was used in the analysis of data findings obtained after conducting research on the extent to which Nahdlatul Wathan administrators in imaging the pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidates' number 01 to the people of Pringgasela Village using both mass media and online media.

### ***Rational Choice***

This rational choice theory is based on the assumption of value and makes an assessment based on the cost and benefit (good-bad or profit-loss) of a new policy. Rationality here refers to cost and benefit or Axelrod calls it a payoff structure. The assumption is that if rationality is based on profit and loss, it will be able to make decisions that are in accordance with the alternative that he considers most beneficial to his interests. Thus, cooperation is only formed if it is profitable, if it is not profitable it will not happen.<sup>14</sup>

This rational choice theory is used in the analysis of data findings obtained in the field after research. How the people of Pringgasela Village think about presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the general election in 2019, to the act of choosing choices that are dropped rationally, without being influenced by ideology as it is known that the majority of Pringgasela Village people are included in the Nahdlatul Wathan.

## **C. Result and Discussion**

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<sup>14</sup> Tri Ratna Rinayuhani, "Rational Choice dalam Kerjasama Pemerintahan Indonesia dengan PT Freeport Indonesia", *Jurnal Kajian Politik dan Masalah Pembangunan*, Vol. 13, Nomer. 1, 2017, hlm. 1921.



Political opportunity is an explanation of the analysis of the emergence of social movements, and social movements will be caused more than political opportunity.<sup>15</sup> The existence of Nahdlatul Wathan in Pringgasela Village which has gradually been quite long is since the beginning of the formation of Nahdlatul Wathan, and this existence has a great role and influence among the community. However, during the 2019 Nahdlatul Wathan Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections, it was seen that Nahdlatul Wathan's influence among the public was not so great.

Nahdlatul Wathan's political opportunity in Pringgasela Village consists of two sides, namely from the cultural seen from the condition of the congregation and Nahdlatul Wathan cultures applied in Pringgasela Village and the structural side seen from the condition of the Nahdlatul Wathan management in Pringgasela Village.

The cultural situation of Nahdlatul Wathan in Pringgasela Village is the most important factor in seeing the political opportunities of Nahdlatul Wathan in Pringgasela Village. With the condition of the people of Pringgasela Village which are mostly Nahdlatul Wathan pilgrims and Nahdlatul Wathan cultures that are still thick in the Pringgasela Village area, such as Hiziban and Nahdlatul Wathan congregational recitations which are carried out at least once a week.

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<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Luthfil Hakim, "Gerakan Sosial Nahdlatul Ulama: Studi Kasus Pengurus Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama Kota Malang", *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, Vol. 3, Nomer. 1, 2018, hlm. 7.



The structural condition of Nahdlatul Wathan in Pringgasela Village is no less important in seeing political opportunities because it is a driving institution in every activity. The Nahdlatul Wathan structure in Pringgasela Village consists of branch administrators covering the village and eight branch administrators covering each hamlet in Pringgasela Village. Branch administrators are administrators who play an important role in the success of each activity because they interact most closely with pilgrims. Discussions on the preparation of organizational activities were carried out directly by branch administrators to the person in charge of each hamlet in Pringgasela District.

Seeing the magnitude of Nahdlatul Wathan's political opportunity in Pringgasela Village from both sides above, who should have won the 2019 Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates' pair of Nahdlatul Wathan's support.

However, the Pringgasela sub-district branch management sees the low political opportunity of Nahdlatul Wathan to win the pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidates' number 01 in Pringgasela sub-district, especially Pringgasela Village, cannot be separated from three things. First, the condition of the political structure. Democracy that exists after the reform causes the level of political participation of the people to increase is not new and occurs throughout Indonesia, of course, also in West Nusa Tenggara. However, in the 2019 election, participation was encouraged by the existence of social media that made it easier for the public to get



information, especially information around the 2019 Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections yesterday.

Second, the condition of the media at the time of the 2019 general election. At the time of the 2019 general election, the media played an important role in providing information that was known at that time that there were two types of elections, namely the election of the President and Vice President, and legislative elections. However, the media at that time seemed to be more dominant in reporting on the election of President and Vice President, by presenting various news about the pairs of candidates available.

Not a few bad news circulating from the candidate for President and Vice President number 01 which incidentally became the pair of candidates for support from Nahdlatul Wathan at that time affected the public giving a bad impression on the pair of candidate's number 01.

Third, people are beginning to be critical of politics. The ease with which people get information through the media, especially social media, makes people more critical in assessing and determining their choices, especially the youth community during the 2019 Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections.

Thus, these factors are considered to affect the decline in the level of political opportunity of Nahdlatul Wathan in Pringgasela Village during the 2019 Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections to win the pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number



## Resource Mobilization Structure

McCarthy and Zald explain that the resource mobilization approach investigates the diversity of resources that must be mobilized in a social movement, the linkages between social movements and networks of other groups, the dependence of the social movement on external support to achieve success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or conduct the social movement.<sup>16</sup>

Nahdlatul Wathan organizational resources in Pring-gasela Village are divided into human resources such as Nahdlatul Wathan administrators and pilgrims, assets and infrastructure such as Islamic boarding schools and Nahdlatul Wathan madrassas in Pring-gasela village which are classified as not small.

Human resources consisting of Nahdlatul Wathan administrators and pilgrims are not small, and become most of the people in Pringgasela Village. The existence of administrators who play an important role in mobilizing pilgrims in the 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential elections by utilizing infrastructure assets in Pring-gasela village which are not a few ranging from Islamic boarding schools, madrassas and some santren directly held by Nahdlatul Wathan, is a determinant of the success rate in the mobilization process.

With the resources owned by Nahdlatul Wathan in Pring-gasela Village during the 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential elections, but constrained by the analysis of the chances of victory of

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<sup>16</sup> Dewi Karia Sari, "Strategi Mobilisasi Gerakan Masyarakat dalam Penutupan Industri Pengelolaan Limbah B3 di Desa Lakardowo Kabupaten Mojokerto", *Jurnal Politik Indonesia*, Vol. 2, Nomor. 1, 2017, hlm. 5.



the pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates supported by Nahdlatul Wathan at that time carried out by the Nahdlatul Wathan management in Pringgasela Village. Seeing this, the Pringgasela Subdistrict branch management, especially the branch management in Pringgasela Village, made efforts to mobilize the community to choose the choice supported by Nahdlatul Wathan, namely the pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number 01.

The efforts made by the Nahdlatul Wathan management are: First, da'wah efforts. As an official organization, the Pringgasela sub-district branch management has various efforts made to get maximum results in mobilizing the community to choose a pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates supported by the Nahdlatul Wathan organization itself.

The efforts made are not far from the status of the organization, namely Islamic organizations by approaching the community through the holding of yasinan events, prayers, recitation of Nahdlatul Wathan hizib and recitation accompanied by socialization to compactly win the pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number 01 as candidates supported by organization.

Second, the socialization for the novice voters and the youth. This effort aims to provide an understanding of the general election to novice voters and youth who are members of the Nahdlatul Wathan youth group by providing a good picture of the pair of Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates number 01, to gain youth trust in candidates supported by the organization.





Third, the socialization door to door. This effort was carried out by the management and religious leaders of Nahdlatul Wathan in Pringgasela Village by coming directly house to house inviting them to choose the pair of candidates for President and Vice President number 01 in the election that will take place. This is done by utilizing kinship, friendship and family of Nahdlatul Wathan administrators and figures in Pringgasela Village.

From the mobilization efforts carried out by the Nahdlatul Wathan management in Pringgasela Village which have been described above, it is considered to have received a good response by some pilgrims, especially among the elderly and students. However, it received an unfavorable response among the young pilgrims as seen from the lack of interest of pilgrims to choose a candidate pair proposed by the organization, because of critical thinking in politics and an unfavorable impression of the da'wah event accompanied by the campaign.

### **Framing Process**

Zald argues that framing contests occur in face-to-face interaction and through various print and electronic media, books, pamphlets.<sup>17</sup> In the whole process the framing process is not only because it has their own agenda but also because everyone has a different interpretation of things.

In this study, it was found that the media was used by Nahdlatul Wathan to influence the public in the 2019 Presidential

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<sup>17</sup> Abdul Wahib Situmorang, *Gerakan Sosial: Teori dan Praktik*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2013), hlm 44.



and Vice Presidential elections to choose choices supported by the Nahdlatul Wathan organization. Although the use of media is not up to the management of the sub-district branch and the management of the Pringgasela Village branch.

The use of media is carried out by utilizing the distribution of pamphlets and videos through the official account of Nahdlatul Wathan and the official account of the Tuan Guru Nahdlatul Wathan. There are several posts expressing Nahdlatul Wathan's support for the pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number 01 on Nahdlatul Wathan's official account "nwonline\_id" with the jargon "Full Support for the Jokowi-Amin Candidate Pair in the 2019 Presidential Election. Uniting in Nahdlati, United to Build the Country". By juxtaposing TGB photos. Muhammad Zainuddin Atsani with the candidate pair Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin.

Other posts are also available on TGB's Instagram social media account. Muhammad Zainul Majdi, who sent a video expressing his support for the number 01 candidate pair by expressing things about the importance of two terms by Joko Widodo. It is known long before the strength of *sami'na wa atho'na* among Nahdlatul Wathan pilgrims with the submission can be an invitation to pilgrims to choose a candidate partner who has been supported by the Nahdlatul Wathan organization.

McCarthy and Zald argue that the media is the primary target for framing efforts in social movements, but the media is not the only one. Direct efforts to influence governments, elections and



public agendas are also a major part of social movements.<sup>18</sup> In this case, the framing process not only utilizes the media but can also be used with direct tactics.

This was also done by the Nahdlatul Wathan management in Pringgasela Village, by meeting with Nahdlatul Wathan youth in Pringgasela Village as a medium for discussion and debate. Where the Nahdlatul Wathan board provides good issues related to the pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number 01, to gain the trust of the youth and choose options that have been supported by the organization.

From the framing process carried out by describing the candidate for President and Vice President number 01, by the management of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization to invite pilgrims to jointly win in the 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential elections received a good response from some pilgrims, especially the congregation of ladies and gentlemen who still firmly uphold the principle of *sami'na wa atho'na*, following what was ordered by Tuan Guru.

Some pilgrims did not give a good response, especially by Nahdlatul Wathan youth. Back again to the factors of bad news and issues circulating in the community and social media regarding the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number 01. Pilgrims' assessment of Jokowi's reign in the previous period. And the new hope brought by the number 02 candidate couple to the melenial young people is also a factor that causes doubts and even refusal to

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, hlm 45



choose the number 01 candidate partner and is more interested in choosing the number 02 candidate partner.

#### **D.Conclusion**

Social organizations, especially Islamic community organizations, cannot always influence the political choices of individuals in the social environment. There are things that are taken into consideration that can influence a person's political decisions, both organizational factors and rational voter factors.

From research on the existence of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization in the 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential elections, researchers tried to examine several factors that influenced the defeat of the pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number 01 in Pringgasela Village, there were several factors including the rational choice of the community.

The rational choice approach, explaining that the decisive thing in an election is not the dependence on strong structural or party social ties, but the result of rational judgment from capable citizens. In this study, rational choice became one of the main factors in the defeat of the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number 01 in Pringgasela Village. But beyond that, there are factors that influence it, including: First, Mobilization of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization management to the community of Pringgasela Village to choose a candidate partner number 01 is not optimal.



In an effort to increase public interest in choosing the candidates number 01 in the 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential elections, the Nahdlatul Wathan management in Pringgasela Village did not do optimally, one of which was socialization to the Pringgasela village community congregation was uneven and actively carried out only during recitation, even then it was not carried out in every routine recitation activity.

In this activity if the manager utilizes the resources, they have properly to invite Nahdlatul Wathan pilgrims, then the management will also get good responses from pilgrims. However, what happened at that time was that the socialization of the management to the congregation to choose pairs of candidates carried by the organization seemed less than optimal, this was seen from the time the activity was not routinely carried out, more seemed to be a formality of reports by the Nahdlatul Wathan management.

Socialization with Nahdlatul Wathan youth is also lacking, although this program is included in the efforts planned by the management. Seeing the results of the analysis of the low chance of victory of the candidate pair carried by the organization is more due to the attitude of youth antipathy towards the organization's chosen candidate, the management should have carried out maximum socialization among the youth at that time.

Second, the influence of the media on the 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential elections

The role of the media during the general election period is very influential among the public, as happened during the 2019



Presidential and Vice Presidential elections. The ease of the public to access news from electronic media, and the availability of news that existed at that time supported each other. Not infrequently the news presented is quite extreme with the truth of the truth that is not yet clear.

There are quite a lot of bad news circulating in the media about candidates, especially news about the pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates number 01. With not all people good at finding out the truth of these news, and not infrequently people immediately give a bad impression. This is one of the factors that influence people's choices

Third, antipathy towards Jokowi. The turmoil of social media influence as the election approaches, by presenting issues from existing candidates. The number of bad news about the number 01 candidate pair, especially bad news about Jokowi's administration in the previous period which resulted in public antipathy towards him.

Regarding the issues circulating during the Jokowi administration in the previous period regarding the issue of PKI and communism, news like this is very easy to reach and influence the public. This is supported by the circulation of bad news against the pair of Jokowi in the period before the election was held. The news in the media is certainly not all true, but not a few people try to find the truth from this news and immediately accept so as to influence the choices made.



Fourth, People who choose by calculation and suitability. At the time of the 2019 Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections, not a small number of voters made their choices personally rationally and were not influenced by ideology or money. Things like this usually happen among youth and people who are classified as educated.

Education greatly influences how the voting attitude of each individual society, from seeing and reviewing each candidate to making choices by choosing predetermined choices. This kind of society usually makes its choice by looking at what it will get or at least what good impact the community will get if it chooses one candidate and that candidate gets a victory. Menurut hasil penelitian, faktor ini menjadi faktor utama yang menyebabkan rendahnya suara yang didapatkan pasangan calon nomor urut 01 di Desa Pringgasela, dengan mayoritas masyarakatnya adalah berideologi Nahdlatul Wathan yang mengusungkan pasangan calon nomor urut 01.

Rational choice in politics is a process of using the mind by individuals to think, weigh and determine a political action that is in accordance with the ongoing political reality and is able to estimate the benefits of decisions made within a certain period of time. This is clearly related to the ability to increase the expediency obtained after performing actions.

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