

ANALYSIS ON RATIONAL CHOICE OF NW ANJANI's COMMUNITY IN LOMBOK TENGAH LOCAL LEADER ELECTION

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Abstract

Nahdlatul Wathan has three charitable enterprises (Amal Usaha) as its institutional central movement: education, social, and dakwah Islamiyah fields. Out of the three central movements, social field is interpreted most widely as the principle of justification for practical political development undertaken by Nahdlatul Wathan. Nahdlatul Wathan still develops its organizations consistently, including practical political domain until today. NW has encountered internal problem related to leadership dualism since 1998 until today: Anjani and Pancor versions. Dualism problem widens political dynamic of NW, particularly in NTB, with their own constructed direction and political development. This article discussed political dynamic of Anjani-version Nahdlatul Wathan in considering rational choice aspect of NTB community members. The dynamic was analyzed using rational choice theory as the primary theory, in addition to practical opportunity theory, framing process and resource mobilization as the reading instrument in analyzing the mechanism and procedure of succession taken by Nahdlatul Wathan. This study described that Nahdlatul Wathan Anjani has not maximized fully the political policy yet based on rational choice aspect of citizens, thereby affecting the objectivity of its political analysis in seeing opportunity structure, succession technique packaging, and political resource distribution.

Keywords: *Nahdlatul Wathan, social movement, rational choice*

A. INTRODUCTION

Nahdlatul Wathan (thereafter called NW) is an Islamic organization based in Lombok, established by Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad

Zainuddin Abdul Madjid¹ on Djumadil Akhir 15, 1373 H or March 1, 1953 AD in Pancor, Lombok Timur, Nusa Tenggara Barat. NW is an Islamic organization holding on *aqidah Asy'ariyah* and *madzhab ahl as-sunnah wa al-jama'ah asy-syafi'iyah*.²

Originally, Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid established *Madrasah Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah* and *Nahdlatul Banat Diniyah Islamiyah*. These two *madrasah* developed very rapidly; about 66 NWDI-affiliated *madrasah* and 5 NBDI-affiliated *madrasah* in 1953,³ and tens *majelis dakwah* (proselytizing session) have been established in many areas of Lombok Island. This development requires an institution to accommodate all subsidiary *madrasah* in structured manner; therefore NW was established.

Since its inception, NW has been filled in with education, social, and *dakwah Islamiyah* activities. These three fields become NW movement pivot making it the largest organization in NTB spreading in many provinces in Indonesia.

One of NW's movement track records is its participation in practical politics, initiated by Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid himself, and continued by the next generation until today.⁴ It can be said that Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid has passed through a long political journey and had bright political

¹ Mohammad Noor et al, *Visi Kebangsaan Religius : Kiprah dan Perjuangan Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid sebagai Pendidik, Pejuang, Pendiri Tarekat, Pendiri Organisasi Masyarakat Terbesar di Lombok, dan Politisi Muslim* (Jakarta : PP. Nahdlatul Wathan, 2014) pp. 100-109

² Ulyan Nasri, *Mengenal Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah dalam Konteks Nahdlatul Wathan* (Lombok Timur : CV. Al-Haramain Lombok, 2017) pp. 20, 23 & 27

³ Mohammad Noor, *Visi Kebangsaan*, pp. 187-188

⁴ More discussion on religious political philosophy and interpretation of TGKH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, see Fahrurrozi, *Nahdlatul Wathan : Refleksi Keislaman, Kebangsaan dan Keummatan* (Mataram : CV. Haramain Lombok, 2019) pp. 147-156.



career. The reality is conceived as an integral part of his very strong personage as the society's social node, supported with representative political system and citizen participation shackled by indirect democracy.⁵

In contrast to the political dynamic post- Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, reform era has occurred. Democratic euphoria delivers the state with parliamentary-faced presidential system. Press is no longer controlled. Political parties have mushroomed. Everyone can be a figure public very easily. Liberal democratic era began. While in Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid era, the political ratio was based on parliament and executive lobby, in the following era political successes have an ability of framing themselves as a rational choice: on citizens, parties, and other political elements and participants' eyes.

Following the decease of Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid in 1997, NW held Mukthamar X in Praya leading to chaos and becoming the root of leadership dualism in NW body until today: Anjani and Pancor version of NW. The dualism, of course, highly

⁵ During 1953-1955 TGKH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid decided that Nahdlatul Wathan holds on "Free Politic" policy. It means that this organization is not affiliated with any political party power. Thus, it approved the establishment of Partai Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (PERTI) and PSII in Lombok in 1953 and 1954. However, in 1955, he and Nahdlatul Wathan organization preferred to be affiliated with Masyumi party, and thereby he was assigned to be the member of constituent for the period of 1955-1959, the result of first general election in 1955. For more complete discussion, see Fahrurrozi, *Diaspora Politik Keluarga Organisasi Nahdlatul Wathan pada Pemilu Legislatif 2014 di Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat*, Jurnal AFKARUNA Vol. 13 No. 1 June 2017, p. 85. Visit online version at <https://journal.umy.ac.id/index.php/afkaruna/article/view/4204>



affects NW political dynamic, due to the development of two different and frequently antagonistic political policy directions.⁶

In its development, NW Pancor seems to be more superior to NW Anjani, particularly in achieving success in local leader election (*Pilkada*) succession at both province and regency levels. NW Pancor successfully encourages the succession winning of the couple it carries on in three successive *Pilkadas* of NTB, in 2008⁷, 2013⁸, and 2015⁹. Such the success can also be seen in many *Pilkadas* of Regency in Lombok Timur and Lombok Utara, and in many other political contestations.

In contrast to NW Pancor, NW Anjani revealed its successful politics at legislative election level only from Regency to Central Legislative Assembly level. In the context of *Pilkada*, NW Anjani has not had the record of winning, particularly in Lombok Tengah. In political contestation of *Pilkada* Lombok Tengah, NW Anjani is always present carrying on the candidate declared officially. Nevertheless, in the three *Pilkada*, NW has not successfully encouraged the winning of succession of candidate couple it carried on in Lombok Tengah Region. In 2020, Lombok Tengah is preparing for dealing with *Pilkada* to be held in the next

⁶ For further discussion on dualism and long way of reconciliation in NW body, see Saiful Hamdi, *Nahdlatul Wathan di Era Reformasi: Agama, Konflik Komunal dan Peta Rekonsiliasi* (Yogyakarta : KKS Yogyakarta dan NAWA Institute, 2014)

⁷ In *Pilkada* NTB 2008, NW Anjani officially announced that Lalu Serinata- M. Husni couple carried on by *Partai Golkar, PDI-P, PBR and Partai Patriot*. See <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/122890/4-pasang-calon-gubernur-wakil-gubernur-ntb-disahkan>

⁸ In *Pilkada* NTB 2013, NW Anjani officially announced its support to Harun Al Rasyid – Lalu Abdul Muhyi Abidin couple carried on by *Partai Hanura* and 17 non-parliamentary parties. See <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/469201/kpu-tetapkan-empat-pasangan-cagub-ntb>

⁹ In *Pilkada* NTB 2018, NW Anjani officially announced its support to Ali Bin Dahlan – TGH. Lalu Gede M. Ali Wiresakti AM couple following the election through independent way. See <https://pilkada.tempo.co/read/1047759/empat-pasangan-calon-gubernur-wakil-gubernur-ntb-siap-bertarung>



future. Each of figures, foundations, mass organizations, and interest groups is preparing themselves/their delegations/affiliations for the contestation.

The fundamental questions to be addressed and elaborated in this article are: *firstly*, what is the form of NW Anjani's internal political paradigm in dealing with citizens' political maturity as characterized with rational choice politics?; *secondly*, how much is NW Anjani's probability of winning Pilkada Lombok Tengah?; and thirdly, what is strategic measure taken in building an ideal political dynamic in the future?.

B. RATIONAL CHOICE IN POLITICAL ELECTION

Rational choice theory is the one used to interpret an individual's characteristic in determining his/her choice, so that in the end conclusion, the accumulative choice can be predicted. Everyone chooses political choice based on many factors, one of which is rationality.

To understand rational choice in more detailed, an elaboration is required about six postulates as its theoretical epistemology. Rational choice theory contains six statements¹⁰: *firstly*, every political social reality is the implication of an individual's choice, pertaining to behavior, attitude, and etc; *secondly*, therefore, behavior is understandable; *thirdly*, the behavior results from the reasons thought of; *fourthly*, the reasons results from consideration/representation of the consequence of a choice made; *fifthly*, the consequence results from the representation of corollary (effect) to be obtained by an individual choosing; and *sixthly*,

¹⁰See R. Boudon, *Rational choice theory, The New Blackwell companion to social theory*, ed. B. S. Turner (Oxford : Blackwell Publishing, 2009) pp. 179-195



individual then will make choice with the representation most favorable to him/her self.

In the context of political contestation, it should be explained first that every citizen is political actor, serving as participant, voter, and determinant of winning. In his position as actor, everyone should be assumed to determine his political direction based on two factors: value and preference.¹¹ It is noteworthy that in the rational reality the cooperation between actors is not everlasting, or very slightly based on objective, but it is based on interest value and life preference of individual actors very much.

There are three dimensions contributing to the effective cooperation between actors in the attempt of winning political contestation: *firstly*, reciprocal benefit; *secondly*, the shadow of the future (long time horizon, regularity of stakes, reliability of information about the others actions, quick feedback about changes in the others actions); and *thirdly*, number of actors.¹² Reciprocal benefit emphasizes on the extent to which the electoral actors obtain the representation of benefit or “direct reward” for the political cooperation made. Considering both social contract and individualism paradigms, the electoral actor should be viewed as an egoistic and selfish individual who will make choice based on his/her desire horizon, need and life preference. Thus, this reciprocal consideration is very important to be conceptual basic in determining the strategic measure in political succession. The more rational the direct

¹¹ See JS. Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge : The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990)

¹² For more detail about Game Theory, visit <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/game-theory/>



feedback, the more are the electoral actors joining and the more is the opportunity of winning succession.

Meanwhile, the shadow of the future emphasizes on the extent to which an actor obtains the future representation, related to sufficient time interval, favorable implication obtained from the rule of cooperation undertaken, information reliability related to rival cooperation action, and fast feedback on the change in rival cooperation action. "The shadow of the future" factor, of course, affects the electoral actors, particularly, in directing their choice to an appropriate political choice. The more rational the shadow of the future (the winning), the more is the opportunity of winning succession. The two dimensions will affect the third dimension directly, the number of electoral actor. And of course, the winning lies on the largest actor support.

1. Moral-individual-based Rational choice

The keywords of moral rationality are *passion*, *altruism* and *impartial spectator*.¹³ Passion is related to interest/preference encouraging a stance choice. Altruism is related to the helpful behavior. Meanwhile, impartial spectator is an individual's ability of viewing themselves through others and surrounding environment's perspective. These three factors are the principle underlying the choice in morality basis.

For example, an individual is given an opportunity of voting for A or B. Viewed from *passion* aspect, he prefers voting for B. However, A positions himself in the context in which altruism results from the voter, and can build the paradigm of the voter that majority people in his

¹³ *Passion* and *impartial spectator* is the heart of Adam Smith's thought in his work entitled *The Theory of moral sentiments*. See <https://www.adamsmith.org/the-theory-of-moral-sentiments>



environment choose A and if he votes for B, it will have adverse social implication to him. An individual will potentially vote for A. The condition will be different if the individual's passion cannot be defeated by altruism and external condition, she will keep voting according to his interest, B. Nevertheless, the choice most potentially falls down to A, because individual's egoism can be based not only on passion but also on good name and social existence.

Although this electoral actor pivoting on moral rationality is rare in number, many of them are found in the community with strong religiosity and traditional thick social relation. These electoral actors with such moral category are not expected too much.

2. Risk estimation-based rational choice

An individual chooses A or B, with estimated gain of 20% and loss probability of 10% if he chooses A, gain of 10% and loss probability of 1% if he chooses B. In this situation, choice B is of course the rational one to most people, particularly in loss aversion category in marketing concept.¹⁴

This ratio can be elaborated into at least two forms: electoral actor's personal interest and elected actor's shadow of future. In the first condition, electoral actor will consider individual and social existence in making choice. How much gain and loss does he get by choosing certain candidate politically? The consideration of individual existence is around passion, preference, and value harmonious with the details of candidates to be chosen. Social consideration is around the opportunity of transparency and cooperation, economic transparency, and security and

¹⁴ Eric J. Johnson et al, *Consumer Behavior and Marketing*, in Arie W. Kruglanski and Edward Tory Higgins (Ed) *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles* (Guilford Press, 2007) p. 869.



other social interest insurance. All of these considerations are correlated to the object of choice with the smaller risk.

In the second situation, the electoral actor will consider how small the risk of loss is to be experienced by certain candidate. The smaller the loss opportunity, the higher is the opportunity of support gotten by electoral actors. It is understandable as the common face of social-political psychology.

3. Exchange principle-based rational choice

Exchange theory develops particularly in political behavior with a basic assumption that everyone makes choice (votes) based on exchange concept: an individual votes for certain individual related to what he will get individually, financially, socially, and environmentally. Actually, social behavior is a beneficial behavioral exchange between individuals, including psychological behavior, economic behavior, effect dynamic, and behavior between group structures. Thus, exchange principle is of course highly influential and always prevails in dynamic election in each of political contestation.¹⁵

The most vulgar interpretation and development in this exchange concept is like political contract and money politics. Exchange concept even involves not only electoral actors but also policy makers, functionaries and executives, and interest groups.

¹⁵ For more detail, see exchange theory in Mark V. Redmond, *Social Exchange Theory* (Iowa State University Digital Repository, 2015) See also



C. OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE, FRAMING, AND RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION

While *rational choice* theory can be the parameter in understanding citizens' social-political psychology (electoral actor and those related), social movement theory can be the parameter in understanding "self feasibility" as the electoral political actor. Social movement is basically conceived as an analytical instrument to understand the effective mass mobility in many social realities. Because it is related to social mobility, this theory was then used widely in measuring the opportunity of successful succession. There are three fundamental social movement theories: political opportunity structure, framing mechanism, and resource mobilization.

1. Political opportunity structure

Basically, as the basics of social movement theory, political opportunity structure¹⁶ is conceived as an approach used to investigate an opportunity or constraint with social mobility occurring. When political structure is opened (transparent), social mobility will have an opportunity of being successful, and vice versa. Here, the author interprets the *dictum* "opportunity structure" as referring to the condition of political actors correlated with external political reality. Therefore, political opportunity structure in this context is related to the extent to which the electoral political actor has opportunity in a contestation. The opportunity

¹⁶See C. A. Rootes, *Political Opportunity Structures: promise, problems and prospects*, La Lettre de la maison Française d'Oxford, No. 10 of 1999 pp. 75–97. Visit the Online version: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265006762_Political_Opportunity_Structures_Promise_Problems_and_Prospects



is related to several dimensions: personage/figure, financial/modality, issue and geopolitical development, and etc.

Political opportunity level is measured not only from general scale but also reverting to social structure, the starting point of which lies on psychological condition of each electoral actors. Thus, figure existence, financial adequacy, issue and geopolitical support, should be measured for its coherence level based on electorates' rational choice (as aforementioned).

2. Framing dynamic

Framing,¹⁷ in the electoral context, is a process of packaging, imaging, socializing, and campaigning for the details of political actors to be elected by maximizing ideal representation corresponding to passion, value, and preference of electoral actor. Framing is an interpreting scheme presented to the audience in order to create social mobility and ending up in the political choice making as wanted by the electoral actor from the electoral actor. Framing usually contains beliefs and meanings inspiring and legitimating a condition aiming at the framing object's partiality.

There are three core framing tasks composing the main stages of political "framing" process. Firstly, diagnostic framing pertains to the activity of elaborating problem. This stage focuses more on problematic matters while elaborating what and who should be blamed and giving "enlightenment" informing that such condition must need a change.

¹⁷ See Robert D Benford & David Snow, *Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment*, an article in *Annual Review of Sociology*, August 2000, pp. 611-639. Visit the Online version: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/225089313_Framing_Processes_and_Social_Movements_An_Overview_and_Assessment



Secondly, prognostic framing pertains to denial and offering of strategic solutions. After the problem has been analyzed and solved, the actor of framing then develops a strategic scheme in the form of denials against problematic condition ending up in the offering of solutions to solve problem. This stage also emphasizes on the defense of solution and directs and convinces the object of framing about the solution. Thirdly, motivational framing pertains to an activity of motivating and inviting. This stage contains an activity of calling, inviting, and campaigning for solution to the problem elaborated, so that the electoral actors and those related move collectively to improve the condition.

In practice, framing is implemented not only in narration and text scopes, but also in issue development [propaganda], photograph and pamphlet. An effective framing always successfully build positive opinion, and characterized its focus on the elements of framing featured deliberately.

3. Resource Distribution

Resource¹⁸ is the main strength of social mobilization process. Resource is not always in financial form, but also knowledge, press network, proponent militancy, team integrity and loyalty, adequate facility ownership, and etc. Similarly, favorable political condition or climate can also be called resource to be managed and utilized well. Therefore,

¹⁸ See: J. Craig Jenkins, *Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements*, article in Annual Review of Sociology, November 2003, pp. 527-553. Visit the online version: <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.so.09.080183.002523>. See also: John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, *The Enduring Vitality of the Resource Mobilization Theory of Social Movements* in Jonathan Turner (Editor), *Handbook of Sociological Theory* (USA : Springer Science, 2001) pp. 533-565. Visit the online version :https://www.researchgate.net/publication/226426596_The_Enduring_Vitality_of_the_Resource_Mobilization_Theory_of_Social_Movements



resource distribution is defined as political actor in managing and utilizing all resources, either physical or non physical, in order to achieve the political objective maximally.

D. NW ANJANI's POLITICAL PRACTICE: A CASE STUDY ON PILKADA IN LOMBOK TENGAH

This discussion will elaborate and answer three questions all at once: what is the form of NW Anjani's internal political paradigm in dealing with citizens' political maturity as characterized with rational choice politics?; how much is NW Anjani's probability of winning Pilkada Lombok Tengah?; and what is strategic measure taken in building an ideal political dynamic in the future?

1. NW Anjani Succession Paradigm

Considering the result of direct observation, NW Anjani has three characteristics of political perspective in seeing internal constituent or NW citizens as political support base.

Firstly, in facing many *Pilkadas*, NW Anjani believes internally in the collective support based on communal militancy. It means that NW Anjani does not fully recognize the political fact of *rational choice*, even the one prevailing as the political paradigm of most NW citizens themselves. Rational choice is proportional directly (coherent) with NW's political policy found only in community/village consisting of majority NW militant citizens. In contrast to the village/community despite filled in with most but non-militant NW citizens, its rational choice basis is potentially different from NW political policy direction. Thus, rational choice, viewed from moral-organizational aspect can be an effective foundation.



Secondly, NW Anjani internally uses religiosity narration as the content of political invitation. In the context of contestation area, 99% population of which are Muslim, rivalry activity with religious narration is ineffective because all political contestants come from the same religion, all contestants claim *jihad fi sabilillah*, and all contestants can prove that none of their social-political attempts gets out of religion sharia. Thus, rational choice of moral-religious aspect cannot be an intact pivot.

Thirdly, NW Anjani internally views NW not as an independent electoral actor but as organizational entity and functional location in the form of cadre and asset. In this case, NW Anjani is pulled far out of modern political ratio: that everyone should be approached from behavioral and psychological perspective and thereby everyone should be treated specially, in his/her existence as an independent electoral actor. Everyone has passion, altruism, social-economic logic, individual fundamental value, wish to influence and desire to be respected.

Understanding NW's political attitude and policy better in some Pilkadas of Lombok Tengah, the author draws some conclusions. Firstly, Lombok Tengah is a region originally consisting of majority NW citizens. Historically, Lombok Tengah, particularly Praya in the South and Batukliang in the North, is the center of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's struggle and still has majority NW citizen status until 2000s. Nevertheless, the development of independent foundations in Lombok Tengah region such as Bagu, Darek and Bodak, has been able to color identity structure and social dynamic, and can replace the effect of NW in life reality of Lombok Tengah society. Thus, affiliation base cannot be the pivot of rational choice organizationally in gaining political support.



Secondly, social structure of Lombok Tengah society shifts in such a way from traditional to semi-moderate direction. Owing to the rapid development of IT, press liberalization, tourism growth, and economic development occur. These impact the citizen's level of rationalization and criticism against political presentations served by election actors. There is a fundamental understanding that religion is different from politics, and organization is "a movement vehicle" not requiring the people to be subjected fully, just like their subjugation to religion. Thus, religiosity ratio cannot be the center (pivot) of rational choice in gaining political support.

Thirdly, the last two periods of leadership in Lombok Tengah reveals some achievements in many local development areas appreciated by most citizens, including NW citizens, constituting the proponents to previous event. Political convergence through inverse opinion suppression is a fatalistic measure, as it is in contradiction with public opinion. Therefore, rivalry dynamic can neither be maintained as framing element nor be the pivot of rational choice in gaining political support.

2. NW Anjani Succession Opportunity

The author analyzes several dimensions interpretatively based on empirical observation in three succession periods conducted by NW Anjani in political election in Lombok Tengah.

Firstly, figure or personage opportunity. Some political studies show that most electoral actors choose "political hero" or an individual considered to be ideal in its image and rational reasoning. The candidate elected has passed successfully through some considerations including passion, moral value, intellectual ratio, social and economic relation opportunity aspects, and more normative consideration including



steadiness and ability of leading and making the people prosperous (visionary).

In each of Pilkada of Lombok Tengah, NW Anjani basically carries on the candidate that can answer those considerations. Nevertheless, figure (personage) framing does not touch citizens' preference maximally, moreover in repeated figure case. In game theory, a standard formula is needed concerning the ratio of winning if the same game (with the same figure, regulation, and time) is played repeatedly. NW Anjani, in principle, must rethink of the conception and reform the figure if it wants to open a larger electoral opportunity.

Secondly, system opportunity. It has been known publicly that the organizer is the top dimension of successful election. It is because the organizer has authority in some aspects, particularly the legalization of winning. The system opportunity intended here is not in the sense of the presence of "insider" network or getting recommendation from "godfather", but certainty of independency and transparency of all organizer elements, including KPU (General Election Commission), Bawaslu (Supervisory Agency for General Election) and independent guards.

Basically, each of mass organizations and interest groups has equal system opportunity. As the part of civil society, they have equal opportunity of preparing their best delegation to be the participant of political contestation. Unfortunately, the face of civil society and the political structure of Identity in Lombok Tengah position NW Anjani to be a part of contestation circle with insignificant image and bargaining power; and even called "good boy". NW Anjani as if loses its influence in dynamic General Election system in Lombok Tengah. In the Pilkada of



2010, the case of General Election questioned by the candidate coming from NW Anjani even can penetrate into central level and get into Constitution Court's session.¹⁹ However, system, of course, remains to have administrative and political powers that cannot be compromised. General Election is filled in with not only normative mechanism, and NW Anjani should realize it by learning, understanding it continuously, and expanding structural network to escort the process and the output of General Election honestly, fairly, and transparently.

Thirdly, organizational structural opportunity. In principle, NW Anjani has organizational structure with high militancy level. NW Unit is established at hamlet, NW subsidiary at village, NW Branch at Sub District, PDNW at regency, PWNW at province, and PBNW at central levels. NW Anjani also develops a number of autonomous bodies such as Himmah NW,²⁰ Pemuda NW, Muslimat NW, IPNW, and a number of other autonomous bodies still existing until today to support NW organization movement.

In each Pilkada of Lombok Tengah, NW Anjani always maximizes the role of organizational structure and autonomous body to support the successful succession. Nevertheless, the failed succession encountered in some Pilkada in Lombok Tengah encourages further analysis on the existence and the contribution of this structure and autonomous body to support the political wheel running. In this context, the author draws

¹⁹ See Constitutional Court's Verdict more completely at https://mkri.id/public/content/persidangan/putusan/putusan_sidang_Putusan%20No%2048-PHPU-D-VIII-2010.pdfLihat pula <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/229545/mk-tolak-sengketa-pilkada-kabupaten-lombok-tengah>

²⁰ See Fahrurrozi, *Nahdlatul Wathan*, pp. 157-165. See also Muh. Alwi Parhanudin, *Epistemologi Perjuangan Himmah NW* (Mataram : PW Himmah NW NTB, 2016)



some conclusions: (1) less maximal electoral political building, so that each of succession points and nodes conduct political socialization without an integral technical paradigm. Although it has been held, the building time interval is so short and it is held during Pilkada period, thereby is in effective and inefficient; (2) Central-level succession actors often distinguish organizational team from strategic teams. Then, organizational team tends to be considered as “volunteer” often not getting adequate logistic and financial distribution portions; and (3) the absence of tight selection mechanism to determine who will be the members of socialization team at organization level. It affects the effectiveness of socialization. In some Pilkadas of Lombok Tengah, it can be seen that political agenda is treated equally to the agendas of other organizations, i.e. in the presence of PBNW’s instruction to be implemented chronologically and gradually from regional to unit leader. Top-down instructional mechanism not always ensures the effectiveness of political agenda, in this (NW Anjani) case, the paradigm of *fusion of horizon* (borrowing *hermeneutic* term) is needed: the fusion of structural level and the principle of “the right man on the right place, on the right job and on the right time”.

It includes sociological and geopolitical opportunities. Sociological opportunity, in this context, is defined as NW Anjani’s opportunity in the social structure scheme in Lombok Tengah. Social structure pertains to traditional and cultural, knowledge and belief values, and the condition of affiliation predisposition and social identity developing. Meanwhile, geopolitical opportunity, in this case pertains to how the NW Anjani’s opportunity is equalized with the running rule, social figures and



institutions' political direction, and to whether or not NW Anjani has power in core and strategic areas in Lombok Tengah.

In reality, this dynamic demarcation politics has not been maximized yet by NW Anjani. For example, see the case of dispute concerning the name of airport,²¹ the reading of citizens' passion in presidential election, and other small opportunities often having positive political implication to the future. Similarly, in the participation in social structure, NW Anjani has not maximized yet its role to merely *re-action* tracing the struggle of TGKH M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid having made NW so huge in Lombok Tengah in the past.

3. NW Anjani's political Idealization

Having discussed some conclusions related to NW Anjani's paradigm in seeing the political development of rational choice along with possible electoral opportunity, this discussion will analyze some points of idealization based on some political studies and approaches, particularly the its experience with contestation in Lombok Tengah.

Firstly, it pertains to the reconstruction of paradigm concerning political base and constituent. NW Anjani should be opened to intellectual development and modernity keep replacing citizens' political paradigm, from traditional choice to rational choice. Secondly, it is related to the reposition/renewal of succession actors or figures. NW Anjani should be opened to intellectuality development, capacity, and capability of all NW citizens affiliated with it: that there are many potential candidate figures

²¹Visit <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2019/11/22/13471741/demo-di-kantor-bupati-lombok-tengah-massa-dukung-pergantian-nama-bandara>. Compare with <http://www.matanusantara.com/2019/11/ketua-pemuda-nw-dukung-perubahan-lia-ke.html>, <https://suararinjaninews.co.id/?p=8546>



ready to be empowered. Thirdly, the framing should be reinforced in adequate period. As aforementioned, framing is an activity of inculcating beliefs and meanings values requiring serious attempt and adequate time. Fourthly, (physical and non-physical) resource management and distribution system should be prepared proportionally, professionally, and gradually. This resource is related to team and volunteer, facility and financial, insight and intellectual (stock of knowledge), and strong social network and relation.

E. CONCLUSION

The reality of local politics will keep changing along with the social change occurring within society. Political dynamic tens years ago has rationalization different from that today. If in the past, political power lies on communal existence and figure (personage) charisma; therefore it lies on each electoral actor that has revealed rational choice in its political participation characteristic. Each of communities and institutions having practical political activity should, of course, consider the rational electorate aspect. Although rational choice is often identical with individual's egoism and financial reasoning, it also involves political consideration aspect accumulating the characteristics of modern life.

NW Anjani as one of Islamic mass organizations having never been absent in NTB's political event should begin to see the direction of citizens' rationalization filled in with modality aspect and social resource.²² It often gets valuable experience from so many contestations

²² See Muh. Alwi Parhanudin, *Nahdlatul Wathan dan Masyarakat Sipil : Studi Gerakan Sosial atas Manifestasi Civil Society pada Masyarakat Lombok*, IN RIGHT : Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azazi Manusia Vol.2 No.1 2012. Visit the online version: <http://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/syariah/inright/article/view/1235>



it follows, particularly in Lombok Tengah. Those experiences can be the parameter of evaluation to rejuvenate the paradigm, system, actor, and mechanism of succession undertaken. Borrowing public administration terminology, the organization that can survive, develop, and achieve its objective is only the one that can adapt to the dynamic, liberal and pragmatic political ecology.



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