

## Transactional Political Practices and Incumbent Defeat in the 2021 Patengteng Kab. Bangkalan Election

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### Abstract

This study aims to explain transactional political practices carried out by candidates MH. Rohim and the incumbent's defeat in the 2021 Patengteng village head election in Bangkalan Regency. This research is a qualitative research by combining primary data and secondary data obtained through literature, news, and documentation that supports this research. Susan C. Stokes' views on transactional politics were chosen as the author's attempt to look further into the form and operation of transactional politics. Supported by Frederick Charles Schaffer's view of transactional politics to see the perspective of political transactions from the point of view of candidates and voters. The results of this study show that political transactions made by a candidate can cause voters to change their support in several groups of society as well as cause the defeat of the incumbent. This is evidenced by the way MH. Rohim conducts his political transactions at important posts in Patengteng village such as mosques, madrassas, and ulama tombs. The candidate can win the hearts of voters by paying attention to houses of worship, education and clerics. In addition, in conducting its political transactions, MH. Rohim acts as a *problem solver* for problems in the Patengteng community. The community sees the distribution of aid as a tribute and a gift. The assessment was later confirmed by a change in support in several community groups in Patengteng that led to the defeat of the incumbent. Another factor that caused the incumbent to lose was voters' dissatisfaction with the incumbent's decision to marry klebun Sadi without waiting for the *iddah period*. This makes his image bad in the eyes of the people of Patengteng. Because his actions have violated the norms in Patengteng society.

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### Abstract

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan praktik politik transaksional yang dilakukan oleh kandidat MH. Rohim dan kekalahan petahana pada pemilihan kepala desa Patengteng Kabupaten Bangkalan tahun 2021. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan memadukan data primer dan data sekunder diperoleh melalui literatur, pemberitaan, dan dokumentasi yang menunjang penelitian ini. Pandangan Susan C. Stokes mengenai politik transaksional dipilih sebagai upaya penulis untuk melihat lebih lanjut bentuk dan operasi politik transaksional. Didukung oleh pandangan Frederick Charles Schaffer mengenai politik transaksional untuk melihat perspektif transaksi politik dari sudut pandang kandidat dan pemilih. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa transaksi politik yang dilakukan oleh seorang kandidat dapat menjadi penyebab kekalahan mengubah dukungannya di beberapa kelompok masyarakat sekaligus menjadi penyebab kekalahan petahana. Hal ini dibuktikan dengan cara MH. Rohim melakukan transaksi politiknya di pos-pos penting di desa Patengteng seperti masjid, madrasah, makam ulama. Sang kandidat dapat mengambil hati para pemilih dengan memperhatikan rumah ibadah, pendidikan dan ulama. Selain itu dalam melakukan transaksi politiknya MH. Rohim berperan sebagai *problem solver* atas persoalan yang ada di masyarakat Patengteng. Masyarakat melihat distribusi bantuan tersebut sebagai penghormatan dan hadiah. Penilaian tersebut kemudian terkonfirmasi dengan adanya perubahan dukungan di beberapa kelompok masyarakat di Patengteng yang menyebabkan kekalahan dari petahana. Faktor lain yang menyebabkan petahana kalah adalah ketidakpuasan pemilih terhadap keputusan petahana yang melakukan pernikahan dengan klebun Sadi tanpa menunggu masa *iddah*. Hal ini membuat citranya buruk di mata masyarakat Patengteng. Karena tindakannya tersebut telah menciderai norma-norma yang ada di masyarakat Patengteng.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Villagers are the lowest political communities whose existence is recognized in Indonesia. This is shown by the existence of village government as the lower level of government in Indonesia. In addition to government, rural communities also have their own democratic culture in the administration of government, especially in determining the figure of the head of village government. When viewed from history, village democracy is an original democracy that has existed even before Indonesia was formed (Halili, 2009). One form of village democracy that has existed in rural communities since before Indonesia was formed is the election of lurah, or currently known as the election of village heads (Pilkades). Namely Thomas Stanford Raffles, Governor-General of Indonesia 1811-1816 who first introduced the term village head election by issuing regulations that changed the system in village community politics. The village head (formerly known as lurah) who was originally appointed by the government above him was changed like the electoral mechanism in western countries that is elected by the people. This is aimed at changing the lurah culture that has a tendency to be attached to indigenous rulers, as well as introducing western democratic mechanisms (Nurkholis, 2011).

The application of the regulation is considered appropriate, because the change in power from the original king who chose the village head to the community will make the king's influence decrease. This condition was certainly good for minimizing the authoritarian ruler at that time. In addition, this western-style democratic model has changed the pattern of public relations, especially in terms of tractional. After the regulations are implemented, the relationship pattern switches to the relationship between candidates and village communities.

The village democracy mechanism in the form of village head elections remains applied until Indonesia becomes independent, namely in the old order regime, the new order, until now. The journey is quite long, making village head democracy an election that has its own characteristics compared to other elections. This difference is manifested in the implementation of elections which have a different format from other elections. For example, in the elections there is no formal involvement of political parties. Unlike the election of governors, regents or presidents who require support from political parties. It is possible for political parties to informally present a political party machine to win over village candidates, but that is not uncommon in elections.

Moreover, political parties do not have a reliable mobilization engine, especially at the lower levels of society (Tawakkal, 2009). Despite the weakness of the political party machine, the direct impact of the difference in format is that village head candidates do not have a political machine ready to be used in mobilizing voters. The candidate for village head must independently build his political machine. In addition, candidates for village heads must also be careful in utilizing elements in the community to get a strong political machine and be able to mobilize voters. It is not uncommon for the political machine to determine victory in the elections rather than the figure of the village head candidate itself (Tawakkal, 2009). This condition triggers village head candidates to do various ways to win the election contestation. Many of them then choose shortcuts such as doing transactional politics in order to become the number one person in their village.

The election of klebun or village head is not only interpreted as a competition for power involving several candidates. But more than that, the selection of klebun becomes a place to prove and strengthen one's social status which also involves honor and self-respect. Talking about the victory of the klebun is not only talking about the figure of the winner, but also talking about the strategy used to be able to occupy the seat of formal government. In the course of local democracy in Madura, especially in Bangkalan Regency, it has become commonplace to use political transactions to be able to pocket voters' votes.

This study will examine transactional political practices that occurred in the 2021 village head election in Patengteng, Bangkalan Regency. In addition, this study will also review the factors that cause voters to change their support in several community groups so that incumbent candidates lose. However, before discussing further the tight competition in the Patengteng election, the author will first discuss the Patengteng election.

The election of the head of Patengteng village is set to be included in the first wave of

simultaneous elections in Bangkalan Regency. This refers to Perbup No. 89 of 2021, which regulates the Village Head Election in Bangkalan in 2021. In the 2021 Patengteng election, there were five candidates participating in the Patengteng election. Namely: Laila Kurani (Incumbent), Maruki, M.MH. Rohim, Mat Kosim, Maruji. The election was won by MH. Rohim by obtaining the most votes. The following author presents data on vote acquisition in the Patengteng Election.

**Recapitulation of Vote Counting for the 2021 Patengteng Village Head Election, Bangkalan Regency**

No	Name	Vote Gain	Percentage
1	Laila Kur'ani	668	28%
2	Maruki	481	20%
3	M. MH. Rohim	795	34%
4	Mat Kosim	135	6%
5	Maruji	293	12%
<b>Total number of votes</b>		<b>2372</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Patengteng village head election committee

The victory achieved by MH. Rohim is the result of his hard work in convincing voters. One of the winning strategies is to carry out transactional political practices in several hamlets in Patengteng village. Furthermore, the author will discuss it in the discussion.

**2. RESEARCH METHODS**

To answer research problems usually use a research method. The research method chosen is based on the most relevant way to respond and answer the research problem. In political science, qualitative method is a common term used to refer to data collection techniques such as intensive individual interviews, focus group interviews, observation, participant observation. This is done to understand the experience and practice of informants and place them appropriately according to the context. Qualitative methods aim to explore subjective experience and the associated meanings of that experience. The point of view of the informant becomes the most important (David Marsh, 1995).

Fundamentally, this qualitative research method is built by an interpretive approach. That is, absolutely researchers must interpret (Creswell, 2003). In political science, the interpretive approach focuses on the meanings that shape actions and institutions and how they do them. The interpretive approach learns about ideas, discourses and beliefs. This approach indirectly studies about wealth, action, practice and institutions. There are three definitions of the interpretive approach. First, people who act on the basis of their beliefs and preferences. Second, we cannot separate their beliefs or preferences from objective facts about them such as their institutional position, race, even social class. Third, to legitimize their actions, it needs ideologies used by political actors. To understand actions, practices and institutions we need to understand the meaning, preferences of the people involved as well as beliefs (David Marsh, 1995).

Data collection techniques used in qualitative approaches are through in-depth observation and interviews. In addition to in-depth interviews, focus group discussions can also be used. In-depth interviews are listening to people speak in order to gain an insight into their outlook on life and how they see things as they really are (David Marsh, 1995).

**3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This article will discuss the transactional political practices carried out by MH candidates. Rohim in winning the election for the village head of Patengteng Bangkalan Regency. To reveal this political practice, the author uses the theory of transactional practice from Susan Stokes and Frederick Charles Schaffer to analyze the point of view of candidates and voters in viewing transactional political practices. Therefore, in this section, the author will discuss several subjects to find out the factors that caused the change in support in several community groups in Patengteng and the defeat of the incumbent. The first part will discuss the forms of transactional political practices, the second

part discusses voters' views on transactional political practices and the third part discusses the bad image of incumbent candidates.

#### a. Transactional Political Practices

In this section, the author will discuss the form of transactional politics in the contestation of village head elections in Patengteng, especially those carried out by MH winning candidates. Rohim. When viewed from its type, transactional politics has several types according to Aspinall, namely *vote buying, individual gifts, service and activities, club goods and pork barrel projects*. The type of political transaction used by MH. Rohim in giving assistance to vital objects such as mosques, madrassas, tombs of scholars when referring to Aspinall is *club goods*. Where a candidate will give money or materials to a particular social group. The trick is to make donations to communities such as religious groups, youth groups, women's groups and farmers' cooperatives. The donation can be in the form of providing wells for villages, providing street lighting, renovating infrastructure needed by certain communities such as renovation of bridges, houses of worship and roads. In general, candidates do not consider the gift of *club goods* as part of a transactional political practice. Because they only feel they have provided what the community needs (Aspinall, 2015).

This is in line with Susan C. Stokes who said that an important part of clientelism is how the distribution of gifts is right on target, according to needs and as a solution to community problems (Stokes, 2013). So that the gift is not only felt momentarily but also really sticks in the minds of voters. Therefore, the author will elaborate on how MH. Rohim conducts political transactions to gain the sympathy of voters in vital objects such as mosques, Islamic educational institutions to the tombs of clerics'.

Actually, this transactional political practice is carried out by all candidates but only differs in the amount and way of distribution. Political transactions carried out by MH. This Rohim is indeed somewhat different from the usual candidates. Where they only focus on giving cash directly to voters. MH. Rohim did something different, by first tracing which posts needed help and allowing him to gain sympathy from the public. Therefore, the author's focus is to see how the distribution of these political transactions boils down to strategic posts such as mosques, madrassas and tombs of clerics so that MH. Rohim received positive ratings from the community.

In terms of economic capital, MH. Rohim is supported by his brothers who incidentally are iron entrepreneurs in several cities in Indonesia. In addition, MH. Rohim also cooperates with several investors (rich people) such as cattle entrepreneurs, satay skewers who are successful overseas. In the 2021 elections, MH. Rohim spent more than 500 million. This is acknowledged by his successful team who say that MH. Rohim did not mess around in the face of the incumbent. The mapping of the distribution of funds was really well thought out. As with the allocation of aid to the Miftahul Jannah mosque, the concerned is confident that what is planted will get results.

*In yesterday's elections MH. Rohim spent a lot of money, if you count it can be more than 500 million. But most of the funds were allocated to help expand the Miftahul Jannah mosque. About 300 million for the construction of mosques alone. used to purchase building materials such as cement, sand, and iron. The cost of the builder was also covered by MH for several months. Rohim. I've also heard directly from MH. Rohim "mon sengkok bheres slamet, e dependah kabbhi masjid jiah" (if there is no obstacle I bear all the costs of the mosque until it is completed). But it seems that this has not been realized, the proof is that the development is now running slowly and has not been completed (RN Interview Rohim's successful team, dated June 17, 2023).*

Statement from MH's success team. Rohim was approved by the mosque treasurer who claimed to have received a considerable amount of funds from MH. Rohim. The person concerned did not specify exactly how much but it greatly helped the expansion of the construction of the Miftahul Jannah mosque. In addition, MH. Rohim also often came to him just to discuss developments and provide extra money for the cost of builders.

*Rohim often met me both in the mosque, and at home and even called me often. If it wasn't*

*Rohim, sometimes his brother called just to ask about the development of the mosque. It is true that Rohim's side has provided assistance with a fairly decent amount of money. Sometimes the cost of the builder is also Rohim who pays. I am very grateful, and there is no feeling of discomfort at all with the help from Rohim. I know if Rohim is a candidate for cades, but his name must be accepted, hopefully it will be reciprocated with a better one. With this assistance, the Miftahul Jannah mosque has now entered the finishing stage, although it has not been ceramic, but thank God it can be used for Friday prayers (Interview with KSN Mosque Treasurer, June 18, 2023).*

Assistance provided by MH. Rohim not only has an impact on accelerating the construction of mosques but also has an impact on worshippers in general. Miftahul Jannah mosque worshippers can now carry out activities inside the mosque such as congregational prayers and Friday prayers and other activities. As shown in the picture above, the priest's place is good complete with his Friday khatib place. Although there is no ceramics, this can be covered with carpet.

Not only mosques, educational institutions such as madrassas are also MH places. Rohim distributes funds to achieve optimal votes in the hamlet. Thoriqol Ulum Madrasah is one of the madrassas that is widening and adding classes in Patenteng village. When viewed from history, this madrasa has a long history. Besides being the first madrasah in Lonmantu hamlet, this madrasah was also founded by a charismatic figure in the hamlet, namely KH. Abdullah Alawi is highly respected by the surrounding community. From its long history and founded by a charismatic figure, it is not surprising that this madrasa has quite a lot of alumni and sympathizers. The reason is MH. Rohim was moved to provide assistance to this madrasa. When viewed from the large number of alumni, of course this can be an opportunity to get sympathy from para-alumni and the community. From the beginning, MH. Rohim has consolidated this with several board members. That his party will provide assistance to the madrasa but on condition that the madrasah administrators may not accept from other candidates. This is illustrated from the author's interview with one of the teachers at the madrasa.

*It is true that there is help from MH. Rohim, in question, gave a condition not to accept help from other candidates. The assistance is in the form of class addition costs and class repairs. After several meetings and checking the condition of the madrasah, MH finally did. Rohim agreed to help. The initial funds given to us amounted to 20 million. In the following month, because it took a lot of materials to be purchased, MH finally agreed. Rohim increased the number to 30 million. It does not have to be every month that the disbursement of funds is obtained, sometimes from our side who contacts him when it is urgent, but not infrequently the MH. Rohim himself contacted and asked about his progress. Indeed, not all of this development funding is from MH. Rohim, only what percentage of it. But if calculated around 70 million funds came from MH. Rohim is not bad (Interview with YH Madrasah teacher, June 18, 2023).*

Not only that, MH. Rohim was also involved in providing assistance to the final sanah event at this madrasa. The fundraising carried out to hold the event involved para-alumni who also acted as donors in addition to parents. MH. Rohim, who is also an alumnus of the Thoriqol Ulum madrasa, also contributed some funds for the final event. Information that the author got from a madrasah administrator, the amount donated by MH. Rohim for 10 million rupiah. What MH did. Rohim is in line with the kinds of transactional politics proposed by Aspinall, namely club goods. Where a candidate will go to one particular community which in this case is a religious community and donate to these community events.

Not stopping there, the strategy to get a lot of votes was also carried out on other vital objects such as the tombs of bujuk (ulama) in two different hamlets. The characteristics of Madurese society that highly respect the scholars were put to good use by the candidates to gain support. Such as repairing langgar (musholla) at the tomb of buju' in Bulek hamlet. The provision of assistance was carried out by candidates 03 MH. Rohim is in the form of repairing the floor of the prayer room that is no longer suitable for use, repairing the roof of the tomb

and several water channels for community ablution when visiting the tomb. In addition, repairs to the road to the steep tomb were also improved by providing a layer of gravel so that it was not slippery. MH. Rohim also invited the youth in Bulek hamlet to jointly escort the repair of Bujuk's tomb.

*The roof of this mushollah has long been damaged, pilgrims who stay overnight sometimes get all wet even though they are inside. Many leak so much that it needs to be completely repaired. Many ceramics have also been destroyed, sometimes the danger is also because many sharp edges. True, we received help from MH's side. Rohim in the form of building materials such as asbestos, ceramics, cement, gravel. Originally MH's side. Rohim only made a pilgrimage at this tomb, but then met me and asked what the needs in this tomb were. I then point out the parts that need to be repaired. Not long after that, the next day help in the form of needed materials had arrived. Regarding the builder, I am looking for it myself but the cost is borne by MH. Rohim (Tomb caretaker interview, June 19, 2023).*

Funds issued by MH. Rohim for the repair of the tomb persuaded bulek around 15 million not including the cost of builders and cigarettes, coffee people who helped out. In addition, MH. Rohim also provided financial assistance for the haul bujuk bulek event, the amount of which is unknown. The author did not explore further about the assistance provided at the haul event. The estimated money spent on the needs of persuading bulek is 20 million (Interview Roni MH success team. Rohim, June 19, 2023).

*Not only in Bulek, assistance to repair the grave of scholars also occurred in Tlageh hamlet. Initially, MH. Rohim offered some money to the people around the tomb but they refused and preferred road repairs at the tomb.*

*If it is money, many offer, other candidates also offer money besides that I can also find it myself. I only want one, which is road repairs at the tombs of Buju' Elma and Abdurrahman. From the beginning, many candidates offered this, promised this, but nothing was realized. Now if it is serious, please fix it first, before the road is still like that, I and my extended family will not vote for you (Interview with MSN, residents of Tlageh hamlet, April 26, 2023). These two tombs are indeed side by side, both are figures of the ancestral scholars of the Tlageh hamlet community.*

People in Tlageh hamlet do not trust the promises of previous candidates who are often broken. The road to Elma's coaxed tomb when entering the rainy season is indeed difficult to pass because it is muddy and slippery. The residents and descendants of Elma and Abdurrahman's persuasion wanted improvements to the road. Therefore, when MH. Rohim tried to offer some money, the residents refused and it was better to use the money for road repairs, persuading Elma and Abdurrahman. MH Party. Undertake provided that at the time of election, the people around the persuasion and descendants of the persuasion elma and Abdurrahman can vote for it. At that time MH. Rohim immediately provided assistance in the form of gravel two trucks to cover the muddy road. Then promised to cast it if later elected (Marsingen interview of residents of tlageh hamlet, June 18, 2023)

Based on the results of the description above, it can be concluded that there are two points of discussion that can be taken from the political transactions carried out by MH. Rohim. First, when referring to Aspinall, the type of political transaction is club goods. Where a candidate will give money or materials to a particular social group. The trick is to make donations to communities such as religious groups, youth groups, women's groups and farmers' cooperatives. The donation can be in the form of providing wells for villages, providing street lighting, renovating infrastructure needed by certain communities such as renovation of bridges, houses of worship and roads. In general, candidates do not consider the gift of *club goods* as part of a transactional political practice. Because they just feel they have provided what the community needs. second if referring to Schaffer, MH. Rohim wants to create normative compliance, where the gift is expected to convince voters of the goodness and worthiness of the giver or even create a sense of normative necessity to vote for the candidate at the time of the election.

## b. Voters' views on the help provided

This section will explain some of the factors that led to the defeat of the incumbent in the 2021 Patengteng Village election. One of the factors that led to the defeat of the incumbent was the massive use of transactional politics carried out by MH candidates. Rohim. The political transaction is not only in the form of giving money or dawn attacks but the distribution of these gifts boils down to the needs of the people of Patengteng. This is in line with Susan C. Stokes who said that the important point of clientelism is how the distribution of gifts is right on target, according to needs and as a solution to community problems (Stokes, 2013). So that the gift is not only felt momentarily like a dawn attack but also really sticks in the minds of voters. Therefore, the subject matter in this chapter will explore how voter perceptions see the distribution given by candidates to be able to win voters' sympathy and then make those voters change their choices.

Provision of assistance to the Miftahul Jannah Mosque by MH. Rohim when viewed using the concept of transactional politics proposed by Schaffer. Therefore, the distribution given to the Miftahul Jannah Mosque is expected to result in normative compliance. That is, the gift is expected to convince voters of the goodness and worthiness of the giver or even create a sense of normative necessity to vote for the candidate at the time of the election. Tlageh hamlet is where MH. Rohim was born and of course the candidate's family and relatives network is very strong in this hamlet. But keep in mind, to deal with incumbent candidates, a special strategy is needed, especially the network of village bureaucrats and the support base of the incumbent is also still strong in this hamlet. Therefore, MH steps. Rohim in providing assistance to the Miftahul Jannah Mosque was considered appropriate. In addition to aiming to give a positive image of his person, it is also a confirmation that the person concerned deserves to be elected in the 2021 Patengteng election.

MH victory. Rohim's incumbent in the 2021 Patengteng election is proof of his success in positioning himself as a solution to various problems in Patengteng village. The assistance made by the candidate seems to answer the problems that have been faced by the people of tlageh hamlet over the past few years. Please note that the Miftahul Jannah Mosque is a religious symbol located in the hamlet of Tlageh. Renovations carried out recently due to the increasing number of worshippers to the need for renovation and widening of the mosque. For several The year of renovation development was slow because donors only relied on the community / congregation around the mosque.

*The renovation of the Miftahul Jannah Mosque despite its name is renovation but in fact it was built from scratch, the old mosque was all demolished and became like this. That's why the funds needed are not small. It began to be demolished in 2018 but until now it has not been completed even though it is only finishing away. Indeed, the development committee only has donor options from the congregation, especially those overseas. But since the help from Rohim, development has been fast. It can be cast, domes are installed, mosques can be used for Friday prayers. The change is quite good compared to before (Interview with mosque administrators, June 15, 2023).*

In addition, assistance provided by MH. Rohim is not only valuable for the acceleration of the construction of the Miftahul Jannah mosque but also as a form of respect for the ancestors (Founders of the Mosque). Please note that the initiator of the establishment of the Miftahul Jannah Mosque in the past was a person who was highly respected and respected by the people of Tlageh and the surrounding hamlets. The initiation departed from concern for the Tlageh people in the past who had to travel long distances to just pray Friday. These figures are Bhujuk Kusumo and Mbah Da'i, both of whom were religious figures as well as people who were highly respected among the Tlageh community at that time and even today. The aid has unwittingly imaged MH. Rohim as a person who cares about the ancestors of the Tlageh community and religious affairs.

*For a long time, this mosque has escaped the attention of candidates or heads of their villages. In the past, the father of Aan (Incumbent) had participated in fundraising once in the early days of development. However, after his father died and Aan served as village*

*chief in his place, he never had contact with the mosque again. Candidates who used to focus only on giving envelopes. It's nothing, the envelope is familiar from a long time ago and just like the pattern. Instead of refusing, but if there is a better option, why not, for example, like giving help to the renovation of this mosque. Rohim is good in my opinion, as a descendant of Mbah Da'i I feel that his existence is considered and helped. Because now the community / congregation can move again in the mosque. The mosque here is not only used as prayer, but also various religious activities are all located in the mosque. Such as nisfu sha'ban, mawlid of the Prophet, selamatan every eleventh day in the month of Hijri etc. (Interview with EM, Tlageh Society on June 16, 2023).*

The same is the case with the provision of assistance to mosques by MH. Rohim, the provision of assistance to madrassas also has the aim of getting a positive assessment from the community. In addition, the distribution of grants to the improvement of madrassas is also expected to create normative compliance with voters. This means that the gift can shape the perception in voters that the giver in this case MH. Rohim is a figure worth choosing. There are two madrassas to which MH provides assistance. Rohim, first Thoriqol ulum madrasah located in Lonmantu hamlet and Al-Alawiyah madrasah located in Tlageh hamlet. Both received offers of assistance from MH. Rohim, but some refused and some accepted. The madrasah that received remedial assistance was the Thoriqol ulum madrasah. The following is the author's interview with the madrasah administrator as well as teachers at the madrasa.

*This assistance is very useful for us so far, there are only three classes that can be used, the rest cannot be because the conditions are bad and it is not possible to use because it is dangerous for students. This condition also makes students have to take turns using the class. For those who are at the wustho level, they enter the class at noon after dhuhur. Meanwhile, the Ulya level will enter the class after maghrib. There are many complaints from teachers, because they have to teach at night. Then I also found it helpful with the allocation of assistance to pay teachers and the akhirus sanah (end of the year) event. Although lately the funds for the allocation of teachers have not been distributed anymore. Nevertheless, I am very grateful for paying attention to this madrasa. The construction is 90 percent, soon to be completed and students can return to study and do not need to have to alternate with each other (Madrasah Teacher Interview, June 18, 2023).*

Not only teachers, but alumni are also greatly helped by this, considering that so far they have a moral responsibility for the renovation of the madrasah where they used to study but it has not been realized for financial reasons. The alumni and the community are very enthusiastic about the renovation of this madrasah, this is evidenced by the many people and alumni who participated in helping step by step the renovation of this madrasah. There is assistance from MH. Rohim seems to give a breath of fresh air to the world of education in Lonmantu hamlet. Moreover, they see this madrasah as a starting point for the younger generation to gain religious knowledge which will usually be continued at the pesantren level after graduating from the madrasah level. In addition, the existence of madrassas in the community can prevent the younger generation from being influenced by promiscuity. Not only alumni, but people whose children study at this madrasa also give a positive assessment of what MH does. Rohim towards this madrasa. they considered this renovation as proof that MH. Rohim is indeed a figure who pays attention to the world of education. In addition, the community was also helped by the renovation because soon his child will no longer go to class at night.

*I was greatly helped by the renovation of this madrasa, because my son will soon be able to enter like children at the wustho level, which is daytime. Because if I continue to follow the night schedule, my son cannot participate in the Qur'an ngaji in surau, so his Qur'an salary is abandoned. In addition, at night, you have to prepare for tomorrow's formal lessons. Sometimes because they are tired, they end up not learning formal lessons, they immediately take a break. Therefore, I see that this renovation has a lot of impact. If this continues, it will be very good for education in this hamlet. In my opinion, there is a need*



*for synergy between ulama and umara' in the context of developing education, so that not only ulama' play a role. In yesterday's election many offered money, I actually have no problem with that. After all, before, it was also common for someone to run for office, there would definitely be money offered. But for choice I still choose MH. Rohim (SH Interview, June 18, 2023).*

Provision of assistance by MH. Rohim's renovation of madrassas has had a significant impact, especially in the world of education. Not only teachers, administrators and students feel that way. But also the people of Lonmantu hamlet also feel helped, especially people whose children attend the madrassa. The existence of this assistance has indirectly given a positive stigma to the figure of MH. Rohim as a candidate. Because the community considers that madrasah is the initial level for students to study religion before continuing at the next level, namely Islamic boarding schools. In addition, the existence of a quality madrasah will determine the future of its young generation. Especially in religious Madurese society, madrasah plays an important role in the formation of a quality generation in terms of religion. Even if it needs to be compared, they are more proud if their children do well in madrassas than in formal schools. This is evidenced by the Madura proverb "*tak arapah maghulah lok can mecah latent se penteng pelak ngaji, bisa atahlel, can brake fatehah*". This means that even if you can't read and write, the important thing is to be able to recite the Qur'an, be able to read tahlil and send al-fatihah. Although the proverb is no longer popular today due to the times. But there are people who still hold fast to the language.

In general, Madurese people have a strong attachment and respect for teachers and scholars'. The respect is illustrated by how the Madura people treat ulama' both living and dead. In living scholars, Madurese people always use smooth speech, they will choose to sit lower than their ulama if possible, bowing their eyes when face to face. All of these are forms of respect and *tho'atan wa takdziman* to the teacher. In a religious society like Madurese, solemnity and respect for religious figures in this case ulama and their descendants are ingrained cultures. In this context, ulama who incidentally are charismatic informal leaders occupy a strategic place in the view of the community. The assessment of the community is influenced by the stability of attitudes and qualities possessed by scholars, thus giving rise to personality ethics that have attractiveness (Nurcholis, 2016).

In deceased clerics, the form of respect is to care for and guard his tomb. One form of treatment is to repair damaged parts of the tomb, such as the prayer room, the roof of the tomb, and others. Therefore, anyone who devotes his attention to the repair of the tomb will get a positive assessment and sympathy from the Madurese. For example, Fuad Amin was the former Regent of Bangkalan from 2003 to 2013. One of the strategies used to gain the sympathy of the Bangkalan community is to repair the tomb of the ulama, namely Mbah Kholil. Fuad is able to meet the expectations of its people by responding well to communal problems and concerns (Rozaki, 2015). For example, before becoming regent, the pasarean (tomb) of Kiai Kholil was in poor condition. After Fuad took office as regent, he renovated the burial ground including his mosque, and repaired the main road leading to the cemetery as well. The Bangkalan community sees this as the highest degree of respect for Kiai Kholil, who is considered the greatest figure in Islamic history in Madura (Yanwar, 2018).

That strategy was later used by MH. Rohim as an incumbent challenger candidate to gain sympathy from the people of Patengteng. There are three renovated tombs located in two hamlets in Patengteng. Namely the tomb of Bujuk Bulek located in the hamlet of Bulek, then the tomb of Bujuk Abdurrahman and the tomb of Bujuk Elma located in the hamlet of Tlageh. The tombs of Abdurrahman's persuasion and elma's persuasion are located next to each other so renovations will be easy to do. The results of the author's interview with the caretaker of the tomb bulek who stated that he was very happy that there were candidates who paid attention to the tomb of the ulama.

*I am very happy that there are candidates who want to come and repair this tomb of Bujuk. This tomb has actually been badly damaged for a very long time, but to repair it the funds are not there. Society and its descendants also don't care much about it. That's*

*why when there is help from MH. My Rohim kept taking care of it until it was finished. I think people who focus their attention on repairing the ulama's tomb will get a barokah from the ulama and be worthy to be the village head in Patengteng. Only this time there are indeed those who want to jump directly to see the condition of this tomb and improve it. I am very grateful that his kindness will be repaid by Allah and may he become a trustworthy village head (Caretaker Interview, June 20, 2023).*

The people of Bulek hamlet who are around Bujuk Bulek also agree with the assistance coming from MH. Rohim. The people of Bulek hamlet saw the actions taken by MH. Rohim is a form of respect for previous scholars. The results of the author's interview with the bulek community stated that MH. Rohim before becoming the village head had paid attention to things that were considered sacred to the bulek community, especially later in office.

*MH. Rohim had done something unusual for previous candidates. The community and I really appreciate the help of this tomb. This is a very high respect in my opinion, because many of the younger generation have now forgotten about their scholars especially scholars who have died. The repair of this tomb certainly indirectly revived a sense of love and devotion to the ulama. With the improvement of the mosque, the younger generation no longer considers the place as a haunted place. Because all this time what is in the minds of young people is a haunted tomb (Bulek Community Interview, June 21, 2023).*

According to some informants, MH. Rohim also gave money to voters in Bulek hamlet. Various responses were received by MH. Rohim, there are those who accept but not a few who refuse for several reasons. As with the incumbent's linkage, there are also those who have received from other candidates. Some even openly expressed their rejection, because this political transaction is a bad example for village democracy. This is illustrated by several interviews the author has with voters.

*If the gift is in the form of money, whoever the person is, even if my own brother, will refuse. Indeed, from the beginning I did not really agree with this tradition of distributing money. I want to be a free person in choosing my choices. These money-sharing candidates definitely want reciprocity, it is impossible if they give money casually. My action is actually just to educate the community that to become a village head there is no need to spend a lot of money. Just be kind, nurturing the community and other good actions. People are smart, now they know what's good, what's not good. If good has been done, the community will vote voluntarily (Interview with HDY, June 20, 2023).*

Not only in Bulek, assistance for repairing the grave of the ulama also occurred in Tlageh hamlet at the tomb of Bujuk Abdurrahman and Bujuk Elma. These two tombs are indeed side by side, both are figures of the ancestral scholars of the Tlageh hamlet community. Initially, MH. Rohim offered some money to the people around the tomb but they refused and preferred road repairs at the tomb.

*If it is money, many offer, other candidates also offer money besides that I can also find it myself. I only want one, which is road repairs at the tombs of Buju' Elma and Abdurrahman. From the beginning, many candidates offered this, promised this, but nothing was realized. MH Party. Rohim simply lined the muddy road with gravel. But even so, my extended family and I are very grateful that now the road to the tomb is no longer muddy. Until now, I am still waiting for his promise that he will improve the whole not only line the road (Interview with MSN, residents of Tlageh hamlet, June 20, 2023).*

The above efforts are MH's strategy. Rohim to get sympathy from the people in Patengteng village. In addition to mosques, the people of Patengteng also highly respect teachers and scholars, this is illustrated by how the community guards and cares for the graves of scholars as a form of respect. Therefore, MH. Rohim focused his strategy on these objects. In the hope of getting a positive assessment from the community as a leader figure who pays attention to the ummah and ulama'. In addition, by doing such assistance MH. Rohim hopes that people will vote for him in the 2021 Patengteng election.

### **c. Bad Image of Incumbent Candidates**

One of the factors of defeat experienced by the incumbent is because of his bad image in the eyes of the public. This followed news that spread in the community about the marriage carried out by the incumbent with the head of Pekaden village. Whereas before, the person concerned was still the wife of the previous husband. Prior to the nomination, the incumbent candidate unilaterally divorced her husband and married klebun Sadi. Many parties consider that the marriage is full of political elements, which aims to win him. Considering that klebun sadi is one of the influential people (blater) and has an extensive network with the blaters in Patengteng village. This issue has more or less changed the political preferences of the people of Patengteng. Many then considered that what the incumbent did had violated the norms in Patengteng society. In a religious society like Patengteng, the actions taken by the incumbent reflect a lack of knowledge about religion. Because in Islamic teachings, a wife must pass the iddah period after divorce to be able to remarry another man.

*At first I was a person who was very close to his father Aan (the incumbent). In the past, whenever there was a problem, my extended family and I always went to his father. But after hearing the issue of marriage without waiting for the iddah period, I no longer respect Aan. In addition, during the campaign period there were no offers that convinced voters like me to vote for him. The successful team is also ordinary in socializing the vision and mission of the incumbent. It should be that when the issue spreads, the success team can explain the reasons why the incumbent can take such action. At least it can explain that this incumbent is better than other candidates. So it seems as if it has been set in such a way that the public knows that this incumbent has an influential figure behind him. However, this action is actually a blunder in my opinion, because many people are disappointed with his actions (interview with tlageh community elementary school, June 20, 2023).*

Then many parties also considered that the incumbent's decision to marry the head of Pekaden Village could make Patengteng Village will be led by two village heads. So it is feared that later her decision or policy will be driven by her husband, namely klebun Sadi. This concern is quite reasonable because the track record and experience of the incumbent who is only a lifetime as a successor to his father is prone to be used by her husband for his benefit. This is illustrated from the author's interview with the people of Tlageh hamlet.

*If I am, honestly, I don't want it if it will be led by a village head who is not a native of Patengteng. Because those who know the problems and problems of the Patengteng community are the Patengteng people themselves, not from outside. After all, if the Patengteng people who dream of having it are you. They will with all their souls take care to find solutions to every problem in Patengteng village (Interview with RN, June 20, 2023).*

The incumbent's decision to marry klebun sadi turned out to be a very fatal blunder. Although initially intended to acquire and strengthen the blater network, it actually reaped many negative assessments from the people of Patengteng. The author also considers that the performance of the incumbent's successful team is less effective in dealing with the issue. It can be argued that the incumbent's successful team has failed in the political branding of the incumbent candidate. A successful team should be able to overcome and prevent the development of these issues in the community.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The 2021 election for the head of Patengteng village, Bangkalan Regency, was colored by transactional politics carried out by several candidates. However, this study only focuses on political transactions carried out by the winning candidate, MH. Rohim. Political transactions are aimed at places of worship such as mosques, madrassas and tombs of clerics. Unlike other candidates who only rely on political transactions such as buying and selling votes. The use of the type of political transactions carried out by MH. This Rohim aims to obtain normative compliance. This means that the political transaction is aimed at convincing voters of the goodness and worthiness of the candidate and creating a sense of normative necessity to vote for

the candidate at the time of the election.

The results of this study show that political transactions made by a candidate can cause voters to change their support in several groups of society as well as cause the defeat of the incumbent. This is evidenced by the way MH. Rohim conducts his political transactions at important posts in Patengteng village such as mosques, madrassas, and ulama tombs. The candidate can win the hearts of voters by paying attention to houses of worship, education and clerics. In addition, in conducting its political transactions, MH. Rohim acts as a *problem solver* for problems in the Patengteng community. The community sees the distribution of aid as a tribute and a gift. The assessment was later confirmed by changes in support in several community groups in Patengteng. Another factor that caused the incumbent to lose was voters' dissatisfaction with the incumbent's decision to marry klebun Sadi without waiting for the *mass of iddah*. This makes his image bad in the eyes of the people of Patengteng. Because his actions have violated the norms in Patengteng society.

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