

Political Behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's Elites in Regional Head Election (Social Reality Study About Behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's Politicians on 2015 Pilkada in Samarinda City)

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Abstract: Moslems' politics in Indonesia is not only played by political parties, but also Moslem intellectuals and religious social organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, especially when the roles of Islamic parties are marginalized. Both oldest and greatest Islamic organizations in Indonesia have shown their capabilities in maintaining their movements and roles through long history. Nahdlatul Ulama as a religious social organization (*jam'iyah diniyah*) bases its struggles on religious understanding derived from the tradition of *ahl-sunnah wal jama'ah's* thoughts. Its religious tradition develops political thoughts which, in certain level, are reflected in its behaviors and political culture so Nahdlatul Ulama often makes different political maneuvers, even often opposes other Islamic groups, which they identify as modern groups in line with political constellation in reform era through the implementation of regional autonomy and direct regional head election. Regional head election brings impacts to the political dynamics of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in local level. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites have social and symbolical modals in form of *jama'ah* and charisma making it be followed by people especially the people of Nahdlatul Ulama in its regions. This research aims to understand the political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites on Pilkada in Samarinda City. Moreover, this research also aims to describe the factors causing the political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites on Pilkada in Samarinda City. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach (Qualitative Research) and a Grounded Theory research analysis developed by Strauss and Corbin. The data is collected through in-depth interviews with 11 informants. The result of this research identifies the political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites, the political choices of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites through collective decisions accepted by the people of Nahdlatul Ulama and the maintenance of organizational independence, the supports it directly and indirectly receives shows that the political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are accepted and meet the expectations of people of Nahdlatul Ulama, organizational interests remain the reason for supports to one of regional head candidate pairs and anyone who wins will have their reigns monitored. Meanwhile, the factors influencing the political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are vision, mission, goal, and figure which are in line with Islamic values and organizational purposes are considered in supporting regional head candidates. The political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are based on economic considerations and, supported by organizational structures, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites have great political spaces.

Keywords: Political Behavior, Nahdlatul Ulama's Elites, Pilkada.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The implementation of direct regional head election brings serious impacts to the political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in local level. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites suddenly have spacious playground to distribute their political talents freely. The presence of regional head candidates in direct Regional Head Election (Pilkada) arena eventually has to drag various power of local elites having strong mass bases.

In line with political constellation in reform era, the reinforcement of legitimate democracy as hope and the end of democratic transition can be felt by people through simultaneous regional head elections in 2015. As a logical consequence of the political atmosphere changes, political dynamics and articulation intensity are present in the middle of social-political life. In particular, the implementation of Pilkada usually contains vested interest culture among elites. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in regions, particularly, play big roles in local political activities. They have social and symbolical modals in form of *jama'ah*, religious knowledge, and charisma making themselves be obeyed by local people.

The behavioral changes of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are deemed to experience crucial phases when direct regional head election is implemented after New Order. The energy of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda City is absorbed when responding to it. The main trigger is that numerous Nahdlatul Ulama's elites become part of political games.

Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda may seek and exploit the organization for short-term goals based on subjective meanings owned by the ruling elites. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites on Regional Head Election in Samarinda City have far plunged into the vortex of political liberalization. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites opting to plunge themselves to this pragmatic political games have made them fragmented. This competition for political access clearly comes from personal or collective economic interests. The results of studies and surveys from trusted institutions reveal that the factual reality of political orientation change of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites gets more rational and pragmatic, especially during Pilkada. Therefore, if Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are still trapped in the vortex of political liberalization, Nahdlatul Ulama will not play a strategic role in developing national civilization in the future. In contrast, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites tend to be exploited as vote getters. However, the changes of Nahdlatul Ulama people's fate will not be achieved even though regional head candidates obtain majority votes from Nahdlatul Ulama people.

The involvement of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in political games in supporting regional head candidates affects the choice of Nahdlatul Ulama people. Therefore, initial observation shows that the activities conducted by Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda are closely related to practical political areas. It reduces Nahdlatul Ulama's social-religious activities. Therefore, writer is interested in studying further about "Political Behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's Elites in Regional Head Election (Social Reality Study about Behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's Elites on 2015 Pilkada in Samarinda City)".

Research Question

Based on the background above, the problems in this research is focused on studying behaviors or political actions of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites at micro level which is Samarinda's Nahdlatul Ulama. Those are simply formulated in the following questions:

1. How are political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites on Pilkada in Samarinda City?
2. What factors influence Political Behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's Elites on Pilkada in Samarinda City?

Research Purpose

1. Describing and analyzing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites on Pilkada in Samarinda City.
2. Describing and analyzing the factors influencing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites on Pilkada of Samarinda City.

II. NAHDLATUL ULAMA AND POLITICS

2.1. Nahdlatul Ulama in Political Research

The research conducted by Ali Anwar (2004) states that the freedom of political *ijtihad* in the vicinity of Nahdlatul Ulama opens opportunities for opinion diversity and conflict among Nahdlatul Ulama's political elites. The implication of opened *ijtihad* in Nahdlatul Ulama's tolerant religious culture leads to the growth of different typology and political participative models among Nahdlatul Ulama's political elites. The differences of political *ijtihad* surround three main issues: First, universality and diversity in seeing the relationship of Islam as a religion and a government (*ad-din wa ad-dawlah*) setting up partitions and dividers between the ideologies of Five Principles (Pancasila) and Islam. Second, diversity in seeing who is the most rightful person to lead Nahdlatul Ulama, Third, the utilization of Nahdlatul Ulama's structural positions as a means to oppose political elites who are active in the political parties outside Nahdlatul Ulama's structures.

Kang Young Soon (2007) studies that Nahdlatul Ulama's non-constant political behaviors and attitudes are caused by external conditions in form of governmental policies or political changes which are also not constant and keep changing. It will underestimate problems if we only see Nahdlatul Ulama as an indecisive or opportunistic organization. The attitudes and behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's individuals are mainly reflected from the behaviors of Abdurrahman Wahid ahead of national leadership succession which tend to be influenced by Nahdlatul Ulama's religious understandings, namely *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah*, which stays in the middle, is moderate and impartial as a basis to think and act so Nahdlatul Ulama will still refer to Khittah 1926.

The research conducted by Asep Saeful Muhtadi (2004) concludes that the dynamic process of Nahdlatul Ulama's political life which was previously laden with Islamic school and cleric communities is currently facing different realities. Even though political themes among this *nahdliyin* will still be dominated by traditional political interpretations from organizational elders, the progressive flows played by "younger" generations will also bring significant political life patterns.

Rozikin Daman (2001) conducted a research which concludes that the crucial problem along Nahdlatul Ulama's life journey is its difficulty to leave political arena which makes it as a social-religious organization difficult to remove its ambivalence nature in facing the problem of Religion-Country relationship. Nahdlatul Ulama's constancy to refer to Khittah 1926 and willingness to leave practical political arena followed by human resources improvement for its followers for the sake of people empowerment is one of alternative measures which brings future hope to Nahdlatul Ulama.

Information expositions from studies and researches about Nahdlatul Ulama and politics have relevance to this research which is initially designed to reveal political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites who have conducted various political maneuvers. Therefore, historical reconstruction from observers and researchers above clarifies the argumentation that Nahdlatul Ulama has never been absent in running struggle missions in religious, social, and political fields.

2.2. Political Behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's Elites

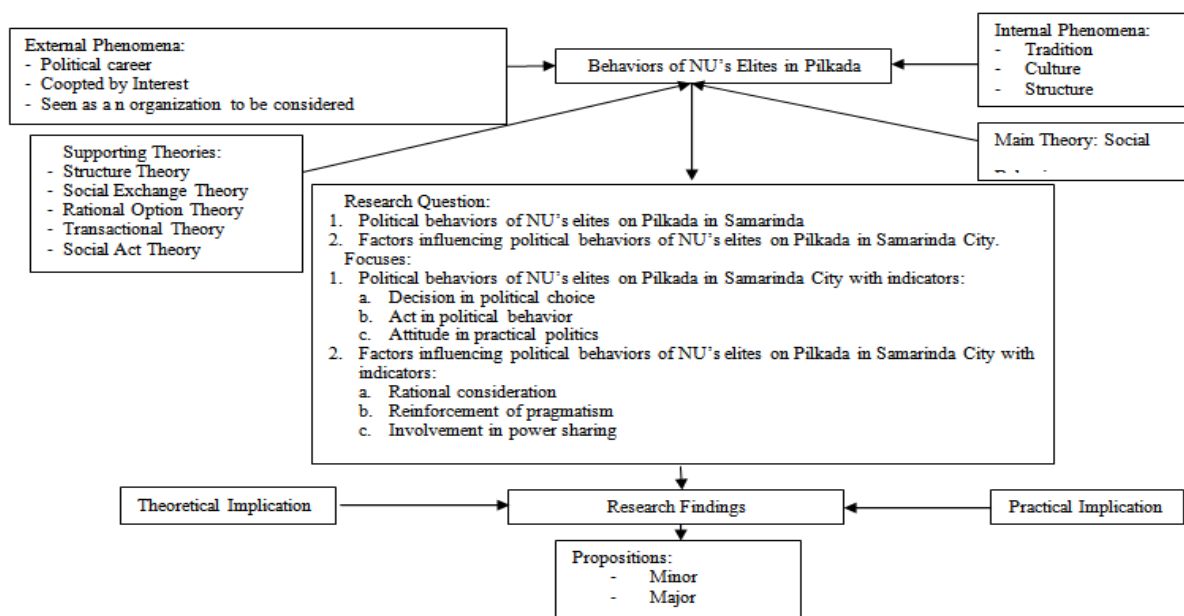
The historical root of Nahdlatul Ulama's struggle laden with ups and downs in old order and new order government placing Nahdlatul Ulama in a less advantageous condition is an essential moment for it to show its existence as a big organization. The essential moment is utilized by Nahdlatul Ulama (especially its elites) when it becomes a religious organization, political party through its fusion with Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) or when returning into a religious organization after stating that it refers back to Khittah 1926. The dynamics of Nahdlatul Ulama's struggles intersecting with religious and national interests can be tracked from the events before the independence of Indonesia to transitional era. The contribution of Nahdlatul Ulama's political struggles before the independence can be made as consideration by Nahdlatul Ulama to start its political career. Since the early independence, Nahdlatul Ulama played an important role in driving invaders out called holy war (jihad resolution) motorized by Islamic school clerics (Patoni, 2007: 30).

The act to combat invaders is the radical act of Nahdlatul Ulama as a pioneer of mass struggles against invaders (van Bruinessen, 2004: 60). The pioneer act of Nahdlatul Ulama in national perspective can also be tracked from its involvement in the revolt of Partai Komunis Indonesia. Nahdlatul Ulama as one of national powers cannot stay silent and participates in annihilating Partai Komunis Indonesia's movement. The consistency of Nahdlatul Ulama's pioneer act as a religious organization which is aware with national issues occurs in new order era when Nahdlatul Ulama is pressed by the government. Instead, Nahdlatul Ulama becomes a pioneer in acknowledging Pancasila as a sole principle. Whereas, refusing or accepting this sole principle is a hard option for Nahdlatul Ulama since at the time, social organizations still question about the sole principle.

2.3. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual frameworks of this research shows focus and structure of study, the use of concept in research, reflects theoretical assumptions and adopted concepts and reflects expectation to the relationship among the concepts to be studied.

The conceptual framework of this research is explained as follows:



III. RESEARCH METHOD

3.1. Research Approach

This research uses a qualitative research approach since it studies the political behaviors of the elites. This research focuses on first, the political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in 2015 Pilkada, with these indicators: (a) Decision in political choice, (b). Act in political behavior, (c). Attitude in practical politics and second, the factors influencing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda on 2015 Pilkada with these indicators: (a) Rational consideration, (b) Reinforcement of pragmatism, (c) Involvement in power sharing. Data is collected through observation, in-depth interview, and documentation. The collected data is described, analyzed, and interpreted based on the analysis technique developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) with grounded theory principle.

3.2. Political Behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's Elites on Regional Head Election in Samarinda City in 2015

This research shows that in terms of institution and organization, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites during regional head election in Samarinda City, in meetings and internal meetings of Nahdlatul Ulama, always ask to support one of regional head candidates. However, in terms of institution and organization, they have to remain independent.

Nahdlatul Ulama's elites have a collective meaning which means every opinion and decision in political choice on behalf of organization is always through deliberation mechanism within organization. It can be understood after referring to political facts as long as it does not harm organizational interests. It means policy formulation and implementation are conducted collectively since the elites are within mechanical solidarity. It can be said that every orientation of attitude and act on behalf of organization is always discussed among the elites.

All decisions of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are accepted by Nahdlatul Ulama people since the decisions are made collectively. The information provided by Nahdlatul Ulama's elites against the decisions about political choice is always through the management's meeting process. It is conducted so the decisions can be accepted by all elements. Organization's independence remains maintained even though the political decisions of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites support one of regional head candidate pairs even though the decisions related to political choice of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are collegial in nature decided through the management's meeting. However, the independence of an organization still has to be prioritized as it is related to institutional prestige in front of people and its followers.

Related to regional head election, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites support one of regional head candidate pairs by organizing Koran recital activities while presenting the regional head candidate in person. Moreover, they also perform indirect face-to-face activities through candidate socialization to people. Such acts, according to Max Weber, are the acts based on goals and values deemed to possess truth. Besides to achieve organizational goals collectively formulated, sometimes it contains certain motives which are only known by Nahdlatul Ulama's elites themselves.

The involvement of an individual, a Nahdlatul Ulama's elite in this case, in a political field still contains interests from the issues about social, justice, social empowerment, and people's life improvement to subjective interests of the actors. The changes of political acts of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites within social act perspective in performing their political acts are related to their awareness, goal, and belief. Therefore, it becomes a new stage in social acts of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites which also leads to change of thought based on rational choices.

However, the political acts of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are supported by Nahdlatul Ulama people. It means they support until to what extent the interests of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites will be met even though the interests have social values, especially if the interests are for organization and its people. In general, the acts performed by Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are sufficiently accepted and meet the expectation of Nahdlatul Ulama people since the performed acts are the expectation and great intention of Nahdlatul Ulama people. Therefore, in exchange theory perspectives about all acts conducted by an individual, the more frequent an individual's specific acts are awarded, the greater the possibility for people to perform the acts. Commonly, the behaviors which are suitable with the proposition of success cover three stages, namely: (1) individual's act; (2) generated award; (3) repetition of original acts or at least similar acts in certain matters (Upe, 2008: 99).

The political acts of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are conducted directly or indirectly and through conventional and non-conventional ways to obtain supports from Nahdlatul Ulama people. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites conduct gatherings through Koran recital events while introducing and socializing regional head candidates. It is conducted to obtain supports from Nahdlatul Ulama people since Koran recital events are not only attended by Nahdlatul Ulama people but also common people. Therefore, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites conduct regional head candidate socializations which will be supported by people.

The political acts of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are accepted and meet the expectations of Nahdlatul Ulama people. By conducting regional head socializations which will be supported, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are able to convince Nahdlatul Ulama people that the supported regional head

candidates are the best candidates so Nahdlatul Ulama people can accept and meet the desired expectation. Therefore, the form of supports obtained either directly or indirectly shows that the political acts of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are accepted and meet the expectations of Nahdlatul Ulama people.

Essentially, to ease and succeed regional head election process, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites support one of regional head candidates. Therefore, the elected candidates will be able to build Samarinda City properly. Moreover, Nahdlatul Ulama can give input to Samarinda municipal government either asked or not. Principally, for the sake of people and Nahdlatul Ulama, it always gives constructive input.

The attitudes of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda City in struggling the interests of people especially Nahdlatul Ulama people are conducted by encouraging and supporting regional head candidates deemed capable of making changes and meeting the interests of Nahdlatul Ulama people. Inclusive political attitudes of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda City still become the best choice for Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in articulating their social roles. The political attitudes of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are ideal and tend to be cooperative with the government as long as the government does not conduct unjust and unfair acts. This is Nahdlatul Ulama's government-monitoring attitude which is legitimate according to constitution.

The political attitudes of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites, besides achieving organizational goals, are also laden with other motives. It certainly has been agreed by Nahdlatul Ulama's elites since principally, the involvement of an individual or an elite in a political field still contains interests, from the issues of social, justice, social empowerment, and people's life improvement to the subjective interests of the actors.

Political attitudes of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites to support one of regional head candidates are for organizational interests since basically in the implementation of direct regional head election, each regional head candidate wants to get supports, one of them is from social organization. Nahdlatul Ulama is one of social organizations which attract regional head candidates to get votes. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites see that they should not miss this momentum and have to be involved in it. Therefore, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites participate in supporting one of regional head candidates which is certainly based on organizational interests. Therefore, Nahdlatul Ulama as a religion-based social-religious organization monitors government which is legitimate based on constitution.

Nahdlatul Ulama as a social-religious organization feels responsible against the implementation of a government. If a legitimate government and constitution run properly, program implementations and people's interests will be fulfilled. In this matter, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites refer to religious propositions that supporting a legitimate government and constitution is a must.

Related to the reality, the changes in political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in selecting regional heads remain considering vision, mission and working program of the regional head candidates – whether the programs support the interests of people especially Nahdlatul Ulama people. Moreover, another important thing to consider is to see regional head candidates' figures.

The factors influencing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are determined by Islamic values and organizational goals. Political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are really influenced by certain factors. After interacting with regional head candidates and holding dialogues, they will select regional head candidates. As a religion-based social organization, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites supporting certain regional head candidates have particular values and purposes.

Vision, mission, working program, and figure are the factors determining political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites. They support one of regional head candidates through various considerations. Therefore, vision, mission, working program are the main motivations to support regional head candidates. However, another important thing is to see how attractive the regional head candidate's figure is. Therefore, vision, mission, purpose, and figure in line with Islamic values and organizational goals are considered in supporting regional head candidate pairs.

Nahdlatul Ulama's elites give supports to regional head candidates while expecting rewards, either directly in form of items or indirectly in form of services or promises which will be asked after the candidates were elected. It is very relevant with social exchange theory. Social exchange theory is every act conducted by an individual is based on an elementary economic transaction principle. People provide items or services but not all social exchanges can be traded with money since the provided compensation is not a real thing (Budiyatna, 2015).

Political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are not standalone realities, not also the behaviors located in an empty space. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites give supports to regional head candidates since they receive compensation in form of an operational car. Another informant also states that Nahdlatul Ulama's elites give supports to regional head candidates since they will be compensated with the establishment of a Samarinda-Branch Nahdlatul Ulama Secretariat Office. It is also relevant with the criteria determined by Blau. First, the actors have goals which can only be achieved through interaction since without interaction, others cannot obtain compensation. Second, the acts aim to obtain reward which is an operational car, secretariat office, or other facilities.

The result of research shows that pragmatic attitudes and behaviors are highly influential factors for Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in giving supports to regional head candidates. The pragmatism stated above is in form of voting behaviors based on temporary interests which are rationally advantageous. Therefore, according to the researcher, the shift in political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites is a shortcut they use to benefit from the supports they will give to regional head candidates.

Therefore, in social behavior theory perspectives, Reinforcement defined as reward is determined by prize (enhancer) and fee (punishment). Prize is determined by its capability to reinforce behaviors while fee lowers the possibility of behaviors.

Economic transactions are the bases in supporting regional head candidate pairs. One of factors shifting political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in supporting certain regional head candidates is through reciprocal relationship. It means Nahdlatul Ulama's elites support regional head candidates through economic transactions. It is certainly for organizational interests. Economic compensation is the factor influencing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites. It has been an ordinary thing for a regional head election process that supports are always based on beneficial mutual needs. Therefore, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites support regional head candidates due to compensation. According to that matter, the political acts of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are based on economic considerations.

Referring to Nahdlatul Ulama's elites directly involved in giving supports to direct regional head election in Samarinda City in 2015, the researcher obtains overview about the changes in political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites. Nahdlatul Ulama's elites determine their choices as they really expect to monitor the implementation of regional government's policies. It needs the involvement of elites in evaluating the performance of policies to know to what extent the policy planning will support the people so public will enjoy it.

Moreover, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites cannot be separated from Nahdlatul Ulama's structures. Therefore, Giddens states basically structures and individuals-actors interact in institutional production and reproduction processes and social relationships. It means actor is the outcome and structure, but actor also becomes mediation for the establishment of new structures (Wirawan, 2012: 294). In social behavior theory perspective, actors' political behaviors aim to obtain facilities for the achievement of certain goals. The desired goals can be in form of intrinsic rewards such as affection, satisfaction, honor, or extrinsic rewards such as money, item, or service.

Nahdlatul Ulama's elites have spacious political spaces. Political interactions between regional head candidates and voters are very intensive including the elites. In this case, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites have spacious political spaces. Orientation to aspect is involved in power sharing. Moreover, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are supported by Nahdlatul Ulama's structures. The factors influencing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in supporting regional head candidates are certainly through an institutional process so the regional head candidates supported by Nahdlatul Ulama's elites obtain supports from organizational structures. Therefore, supported by Nahdlatul Ulama's structures, Nahdlatul Ulama's elites have political spaces. Overall, political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in 2015 Regional Head Election are not only laden with decision, act, and attitude but also politics so they are coopted by individual and organizational interests.

IV. CLOSING

The explanations above can be concluded that: First, political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in regional head election in Samarinda City are shown from decisions in political choices, acts in political behaviors, and attitudes in practical politics; (a) political decisions of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda City show that the decisions are made collectively; (b) remains institutionally and organizationally independent; (c) political acts of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites are conducted directly or indirectly and through conventional and non-conventional ways to obtain supports from Nahdlatul Ulama people, (d) political acts conducted by Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in general can be accepted and meet the expectation of Nahdlatul Ulama people, and (e) political attitudes of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites to support one of regional head candidates are for organizational interests, Nahdlatul Ulama as a religion-based social-religious organization monitors a legitimate government based on constitution. Second, the factors influencing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda City during regional head election are (a) having certain values and goals, (b) still prioritizes consideration of vision, mission, working program, and figure, (c) elites' acts are based on economic transactions, due to compensation, elites have public spaces and they are supported by Nahdlatul Ulama's structures.

After analyzing everything related to political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites and the factors influencing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites on regional head election in Samarinda City in 2015 as specified above, the following constructive suggestions are recommended:

This research studies political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites and various factors influencing political behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's elites during regional head election in Samarinda City through social

theory analysis with Social Behavior theory as the main theory. Therefore, the result of this research reveals several matters with findings using Social Behavior Theory from B.F. Skinner and Peter Blau.

According to Skinner, an individual's behavior within its relationship with environmental factor will generate consequences or changes in environmental factor, leading to behavioral changes (Ritzer, 2005: 82). Reinforcement, according to Skinner, is determined by prize (enhancer) and fee (punishment). Prize is determined by its capability to reinforce behaviors while fee lowers the possibility of behaviors. In line with Skinner, Parson (in Zamroni, 1992: 27) states behavior including how an actor makes decisions about the ways they will use to achieve goals is influenced by ideas and existing situations and conditions.

Meanwhile, according to Peter Blau (in Budiayatna: 2015), in understanding that social networks in power can be approached through, one of them, is social exchange, believes that even though individuals serve and leave the power, distribution of power remains in similar positions.

The result of this research supports structuring theory from Giddens, exchange theory from Peter Blau, social act theory, and rational choice theory from Coleman. Reviewed from rational choice theory, the choices conducted to support one of regional head candidates by Nahdlatul Ulama's elites in Samarinda City occur since they are influenced by a certain goal and interest. Meanwhile, rational choice acts by selecting one of regional head candidates are in line with Coleman's opinion (in Wirawan: 2013) in which an individual's acts lead to a goal and the goal is determined by values of preferences. It needs rational actors whose acts can maximize their uses or satisfy their desires and needs.

Weber states that social acts are meaningful acts becoming the basis or orientation of an individual's acts. Moreover, Weber adds that a rational act occurs when an individual is trying to achieve certain goals by selecting the means deemed appropriate to achieve them based on existing situations (Upe, 2008).

Therefore, the stress lies on human as individuals. Human can make actions against nature and their surrounding societies. They can behave based on other people's expectations. Therefore, the result of this research supports structuring theory, social exchange theory, and rational choice theory.

In this research, the researcher uses a sociology approach. In collecting data for analysis, the researcher has made optimal efforts but realizes that the result of this study still has yet to cover all aspects in political behavior dimension. Therefore, to develop knowledge treasure, other researchers have opportunities to research the issue of Political Behaviors of Nahdlatul Ulama's Elites in the next direct regional head election.

Based on research findings that political behaviors are still laden with pragmatic behaviors, the following suggestions are delivered to be practical contributions in this research:

1. Political education is necessary for people. Moreover, revitalization of local political culture is specifically necessary to establish local culture-based political etiquette. Therefore, people can act wisely, rationally, and have high moral value. Political education is certainly expected to be conducted by all stakeholders including Nahdlatul Ulama's elites.
2. Political education with positive implication against low money politics practice during direct regional head election is necessary. Therefore, the improvement of voters' qualities will determine the election of regional heads. If voters especially Nahdlatul Ulama people are more rational in electing their choices based on direct Pilkada spirit, they will not be easily influenced by elites.

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