

# *Kalimantan Province: The Incompetence Of Incumbents In The Contestation Of 2015 Regional Head Elections In The Central Hulu Sungai Regency Of South*

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**Abstract:** This study aims to determine the causes of incumbents in the contestation of 2015 regional head elections in the Central Hulu Sungai Regency of South Kalimantan Province. This research uses a qualitative method approach with an explorative descriptive type. Purposive technique was used to determine the informants in this study. In this study interviews and documentation were sources of data and data collection techniques. The result of the research on the causes of incumbent are divided into two factors. The first factor is internal factors such as the lack of a solid team in collects support both at the campaign stage voting and counting, lack of relations or networks that are built up to increase public trust, inadequate fund campaign of incumbent candidate with the opposite candidates, the influence of the character or nature of the wife of the incumbent such as following the birth of policies in the government and the excessive position of herself as the wife of the head of the region resulting in a decrease in the electability of incumbent in the community. The second factor is external factors, factors that become a threat to incumbent candidates such as opposite candidates get support from religious leaders in the area. Most Hulu Sungai Tengah people in making political choices still adhere to the choice of the ulama and habaib. There was a negative issue made by the opposition about the incumbent's leadership during his tenure. Based on this, the suggestion for incumbents who want to try again in the contestation of regional head elections not to allow the role of others in determining policies in the government and still maintain popularity and electability in the community while leading the region.

**Keywords:** *Election, Incumbent, Modality*

## I. INTRODUCTION

After the implementation of the rule of law about the direct election for head of region in regency and province level in Indonesia, the dynamics of local politics become an attention for political scholar. Political study become wider not only about freedom of expression but also about people power and local election for political leader. The rights to vote and general election for choosing the people leader. The issue of the Election for Regional Head is not only about freedom of choice, but also the freedom to be chosen, elite contestation, and including the opportunity for incumbents or incumbents to take part in the elections and be re-elected. The issue of incumbents will never be separated from the election issue as long as there are rules that allow a person to be in the same position (Governor / Deputy Governor, Regent / Deputy Regent, and Mayor / Deputy Mayor) for

more than one period or a maximum of two periods.

When incumbents returning to compete in the contestation of elections, the arena will give more benefit to their position. That is because incumbents have the opportunity earlier in conducting soft campaigns (soft campaign) if they decide to fight again in the contestation of regional head elections. Incumbents also have advantages such as broad relationships, ranging from community leaders, religious leaders and the bureaucracies they lead. The advantages of this incumbent are not shared by other candidates. The progress of incumbents in regional election contestation is a distinct color in a democratic party at the local level.

In 2015, Indonesia was held the first period of simultaneous local election (*Pilkada*) and one of the provinces that held the election was South Kalimantan Province which was participated by seven districts / cities and the election of governors and deputy governors. Seven districts / cities that include Hulu Sungai Tengah, Balangan, Banjar, Tanah Bumbu, Kotabaru District, Banjarbaru and Banjarmasin held simultaneously on December 9, 2015.

"*Pilkada*" in South Kalimantan also there are seven incumbents who nominate themselves in the election of the Governor / Deputy Governor, Regent / Deputy Regent and Mayor / Deputy Mayor. Based on KPU data (2016), there were three incumbents successfully selected in the election such as H. Rudy Resnawan which is an incumbent of Deputy Governor advanced again to accompany H. Sahbirin Noor as governor. And another incumbents who successfully re-elected is Ansharudin from Balangan and H. Mardani maming of Tanah Bumbu. While there were four incumbents who were not selected in the 2015 regional election contest, namely Hulu Sungai Tengah Regent H. Harun Nuraidin, Banjarbaru Mayor Ruzaidin Noor, Kotabaru Regent H. Irhami, and Deputy Banjar Regent H. Fauzan Saleh who previously accompanied Banjar Regent Prince Khairul Saleh.

The number of incumbent participants in the local election was not symmetrical with their re-election. *Pilkada* in South Kalimantan were dominated by incumbent candidates but from 87.5% of incumbents who ran for re-election, 37.5% of them succeeded in winning the elections and 50% of incumbents are fail to be elected. One

incumbent who advanced in South Kalimantan 2015 elections in Hulu Sungai Tengah is H. Aaron Nurasid paired with Oktafiandi Aulia, the stretcher by five political party, the PDI-P, PKPI, Hanura, Nasdem Party and PAN. Although the

pair was supported by five coalition parties, H. Harun Nurasid as incumbent Regent could not defeat the pair of challengers namely Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah who were only supported by three Parati coalitions namely PKS, PBB, Gerindra Party. The votes for the pair Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah amounted to 84,297 (60.41%) while the votes obtained by the couple H. Harun Nurasid and Aulia Oktafiandi amounted to 48,682 (34.90%), while 6,542 (4.69%) votes were received by the pair Andi Mahdi and Anwar Effendi, who ran as an independent candidate [1].

The unelected of incumbents in Pilkada has been attracted the scholar attention. In the most of political study, incumbents have strong opportunity for winning the elections and already have strong capital like governments facilities as incumbent regent, more time to communicate with the people earlier, policies support and financial resources from APBD, private funding, and some sponsors which tends to support potential incumbents [2]. With strong capital, incumbents should be able to maintain their victory, but in Pilkada of Hulu Sungai Tengah District in 2015 the incumbent was defeated by a candidate who was a new comer candidate that had not yet been tested as a regional leader.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### A. *Democracy*

In several of democracy concept, Abraham Lincoln has been define democracy in a simple sentence. According to Abraham Lincoln definition, democracy is a government that comes from the people, by the people and for the people. This understanding brings the ideal conditions that everyone dreaming. It's also making democracy be a dream for many countries. Democracy give the people rights to speak for their own self interest, choice their own representatives, and also determine their political leaders both at the regional and national level. So that the executive and legislative in democracy system was formed to represent the needs of the people [3].

### B. *General Election*

In political science literature, general elections oftenly interpreted as a bridge of peace way to make changes for political power. Elections become an instruments of people power transfer, because of are placed as a means to transfer power. Through elections people hoped that there will be a peaceful change of power in every five-year cycle. This concept was understanding for political practice of organizing democratic governance and elections are believed to be the best way to choose public officials who will sit in the legislature or as leaders in the executive [4].

### C. *Election Of Regional Heads*

To strengthen democracy at the local level, Pilkada are the mechanism to sirculated regional governments that are capable to do accountability in their regions, equality for citizens in politics and for strengthening national democracy.

Through the democracy at the local level, people will seek political leaders who have integrity, populist, close to the society, a listener for people aspirations, and understand to the potency of their regions to strengthen local autonomy.

Some study and cases have been indicated bigger connection between the qualities of local political leaders with the successfull of regional autonomy. So, the more qualified leaders was elected in Pilkada for regional heads and deputy regional heads simultaneously, stronger function of autonomy can be realized [5].

## III. SWOT THEORY

SWOT is an acronym of Strength, Weakness, Opportunities, and Threats which means SWOT theory will help systematically analyze the internal factors which consist of strength (strength) and Weakness (weakness) and external factors which consist of Oppurtunities (Threats) (Threats) [6].

The relation of unelected incumbents and SWOT Theory to analysed the incompetence of incumbent from internal and external factors. SWOT theory has function to separated information and analysis of internal problems situation (strengths and weaknesses) and external problems situation (opportunities and threats). These are some of the considerations that need to be faced according to the SWOT analysis, namely:

1. Strength (Strength) is an advantage from candidates to compete in political contestation
2. Weakness is a limitation or shortcoming inside of candidates which is a barrier to progress in political contestation
3. Opportunities are various situations and possibilities that can be faced by candidates in political contestation
4. Threats (Treats) are disadvantage factors for candidates that run for political contestation. The threat is the main disruptor for the candidate's position to win a contest.

The SWOT theory in this study will be used to see the incompetence factor of incumbents in the contestation of 2015 regional elections in the Central Hulu Sungai Regency of South Kalimantan Province. There are internal factors (strengths and weaknesses) and external factors (opportunities and threats) in the political, social and economic arena that faced by the incumbent regent.

## 5. CONCEPT OF MODALS

The incompetence of incumbents in Pilkada of Hulu Sungai Tengah not only analized by SWOT theory but also by the concept of modals. This study will focuses on political

capital, social capital, and economic capital that had seen in every stages of the campaign as well as the stages of voting and counting owned by incumbents and competitor.

Those Three capitals are independent and not related each other. But, among them are influence between one another. That means the candidates who could accumulate three of basic capital, then the opportunity of chosen will be greater. So in Pilkada, the candidates who did contestation should maximalized their capital and use all of capitals to create more opportunity to be elected as political leader<sup>7</sup>. Kacung Marijan has been explain three capital in politics, such as[5]:

- a. Political Capital such as political office, the experience of organizing time, descendants of nobility or businessmen, the strength of public decision making, reputation and legitimacy.
- b. Social Capital such as networks (inside and outside the region), status in society (religion, education, etc.), power of influence in society, and administrators of large and respected organizations.
- c. Economical Capital, like wealth in the form of financial or material.

#### IV. RESEARCH METHODS

This research used qualitative methods<sup>8</sup>, this method used to find out the reality / phenomenon comprehensively. In this case, the incompetence of incumbents in the contestation of 2015 regional elections in Hulu Sungai Tengah District need to analyzed clearly and factually. The type of research used in this study is an exploratory research<sup>9</sup>. Exploratory research was used by researchers to discover deeper analyses why the incumbent regent was not elected in the contestation of 2015 regional elections in the Hulu Sungai Tengah District of South Kalimantan Province.

The purposive techniques used to identify the informant for this research<sup>10</sup>. Informants has Determined based on knowledge and insight about the subject of research so that informants are expected to be able to provide complete information about the subject of research and information provided by informants can be accounted for. The sources and techniques of data collection used interviews and documentation. Interviews were conducted with pre-determined informants such as the leader of the winning team, members of the winning team, leaders of political parties, bearers, academics, community leaders and youth. As for documentation such as data from the results of recapitulation of votes, regent profile data, campaign finance reports, the structure of the winning team and campaign props. The data analysis used interactive analysis through three activities that occur simultaneously such as namely, data reduction, data presentation and conclusion / verification.<sup>11</sup>

##### A. Pilkada Of Hulu Sungai Tengah Regency In 2015

Pilkada in Hulu Sungai Tengah was held on December 9, 2015 which was attended by three pairs of candidates. Those three pairs of candidates which attended Pilkada were a pair of Andi Mahdi and Anwar Efendi who advanced as Independent candidates, a pair of Harun Nurasid and Aulia Oktafiandi who were carried out by five political parties consisting of PDI-P, PKPI, PAN, NASDEM, HANURA and a pair of Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah who carried three coalition parties namely GERINDA, PKS, PBB and two supporting political parties that were not incorporated in the coalition namely the GOLKAR and PPP parties because of the dualism of management at the central level.

In Pilakada of Hulu Sungai Tengah District at 2015, based on KPUD data, there are total number of permanent voters was 195,505 people that divided into 96,544 men and 98,961 women plus 325 disability voters which spread into 11 sub-districts in Hulu Sungai Regency. In Pilkada of Hulu Sungai Tengah regency also have total number of 638 polling stations (polling stations) with a total of 169 voting committees (PPS).

According to the recapitulation results that has been set by the Election Commission, the pair Harun Nurasid and Aulia Oktafiandi could obtained 48,682 votes (34.90%) while the pairs Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah obtained 84,297 (60,297%) and Andi Mahdi and Anwar Effendi's votes as many as 6,542 (4.69%). There were 139,521 valid votes and 10,478 invalid votes.

##### B. Political Capital

Internal factors that caused the incompetence of incumbents in the contestation of the 2015 regional head elections in Hulu Sungai Tengah District were located on the winning team of Harun Nurasid who was not solid both from the winning team itself and the coalition party that support the pair of Harun Nurasid and Aulia Oktafiandi. Conflicts between political parties management from officials in national level to the village administrators give the bad impacts to the performance of the winning team in garner votes from the campaign period till the stage of voting and counting in Pilkada of Hulu Sungai Tengah District.

External factors which threat Harun Nurasid as incumbent candidates was the role of religious figure thas has been supported a couples of Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah. Cause the religion figure have massive influence that makes the most of the people in Hulu Sungai Tengah District in making decision adhere to the choice of the ulama and habaib. Abdul Latif as new comer try to approach ulama and *habaib* to gained a voice and support in society and be a leading in getting votes for Pilkada in Hulu Sungai Tengah at 2015.

##### C. Social Capital

The internal factors that caused the incompetence of incumbents in the contestation of Pilkada in Hulu Sungai Tengah were the lack of relations that Harun Nurasid had built network in society as a potential incumbent. The composition of the winning teams of Harun Nurasid and

Aulia Oktafinadi only filled by people from the internal national organization. Less of social capital has caused Harun Nurasid to have problems in moving to gain the support and vote for the 2015 regional head elections in Hulu Sungai Tengah District.

The external factors that threat to Harun Nurasid are the networks that Abdul Latif built as potential challengers. This can be seen from the composition of Abdul Latif the winning team which is filled by people who have big influence such as businessmen and members of the Regional Representatives Council in Hulu Regency Sungai Tengah. The network Abdul Latif also there were in various organizations and in some of them he's not just become member but also leaders that giving bad impact to Harun Nurasid as incumbent in mobilizing mass support.

#### D. Economic Capital

The internal factor economic capital that also caused the incompetence of incumbents in Pilkada of Hulu Sungai Tengah was in the amount of campaign funds which is less than another the candidates. Harun Nurasid as incumbent candidate have spend money to campaign not as much as his challenger Abdul Latif. Based on KPUD Report the financial capital Harun Nurasid's for political cost in campaign is Rp. 700,000,000 (Seven Hundred Million Rupiah). But according to incumbent's internal team that become informants in this research, the campaign cost of Harun Nurasid and Aulia Oktafiandi were approximately Rp. 2,000,000,000 (Two billion Rupiah). The funds consist of 5% donations from donors for political campaign and the rest of all come from Harun Nurasid's personal funds. Even the donors were from the business community and the closest family of Harun Nurasid.

The external factor that threat to Harun Nurasid was from economic capital of Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah as challengers. Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah had cost much more than incumbents candidate for political campaign. According to KPUD data, Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah reported their fund for campaigns was Rp. 695,000,000 (Six Hundred Ninety Five Million Rupiah). But according to informants from the internal winning team Abdul Latif and Ahmad Chairiansyah said that the campaign funds for Abdul Latif in the 2015 regional head elections in Hulu Sungai Tengah Regency amounted to approximately Rp. 23,000,000,000

### V. THE RESULTS OF RESEARCH

This research has been found the factors Apart that caused not re-elected of Harun Nurasid in the 2015 regional head elections in Hulu Sungai Tengah District. Those factors were exist by the combination between SWOT analyses and Capital influences, so the factors that caused incumbents be incompetent candidates, such as:

#### 1) Community and social Factors

The incompetence of incumbents in the 2015 regional head elections in Hulu Sungai Tengah Regency was

caused by the low level political education in society, especially in the Hulu Sungai Tengah District. The community only sees the value of the Rupiah given by regional head candidates regardless of the performance and programs offered by prospective regional heads.

#### 2) Factors of the Winning Team

The decrease in solidity of the incumbent's winning team that cause by conflict with interest of political parties and volunteers. Basic caused of not solidity of team were lack of sense of distrust and unsatisfy of political parties with the managements of incumbent in winning team. Those kinds of factor give direct implications for the weakness of performance during political campaign and even in injury time the winning team of incumbents signaled the split in supporting their candidates.

#### 3) Personal Incumbent Factors

The factor that caused of incumbents not elected in regional head elections in 2015 in Hulu Sungai Tengah regency according the information from research informants said that there was a high level of confidence (incumbent) that tends to arrogance of personal as incumbent candidates. Incumbents had assumed that he has potencial social capital that was expected to be able make voters trust back support for incumbents. As a result, incumbents only hold on to that confidence without maximizing the performance of the winning team or the supporting party coalition.

#### 4) Public opinion for leader

The incumbent who felt intensive in building communication with his people but neglecting in making good impression and opinion in public. Incumbent's has expected that he already has good opinion in society such as a person who has experienced, has giving good program for people and been approved his leadership for society, but in reality he is lack of produce the positive opinion in public and fail to strengthened himself to lead again in local government.

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