Political Segmentation in Local Political Dynamics

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Abstract. Since the reform in 1998 with the existence of Law no. 23/2014 concerning regional government, reopens opportunities for regions to determine leaders independently as a form of people's aspirations which are carried out through political contestation at the local level. Local political phenomena are often colored by conflicts of interest. so that political practices that take place are often inversely proportional to the ideal level. This study discusses political segmentation in Central Kalimantan which is formed naturally and plays an important role in political dynamics in Central Kalimantan. This type of research is descriptive qualitative, the data collection method in this study combines library methods and field research. The results of the study show that there are four political segments in Central Kalimantan which play a very important role in the victory of a political contestant so they are often the targets for their support to be fought over. The four segments are ethnic segmentation, religious segmentation, local elite segmentation, and mass organization segmentation.

Keywords: Political Segmentation · Local Politics · Political Phenomena

1 Introduction

The implementation of the principles of regional autonomy and administrative decentralization is not a new discussion as happened in the 1998 reform [1]. Law number 23 of 2014 concerning regional government, reopens opportunities for regions to determine leaders independently as a form of people's aspirations which are carried out through political contestation at the local level. This desire was a desire that had been hidden for a long time during the New Order regime which became an obstacle for local sons to occupy positions as regional heads [2].

Local political phenomena are often colored by conflicts of interest [3], so that political practices that take place are often inversely proportional to the ideal level. Political competition at the local level is often dominated by certain circles. Domination of power at the local level by local elites is almost in various regions in Indonesia, it can be seen that local elites are returning to power in areas such as the political family of Ratu Atut Choisiyah in Banten [4], Abdullah Tuasikal in Maluku, Fadeli in Lamongan,

Sjahroeddin in Lampung, Zulkifli in Jambi, Sutrisno in Kediri and in several other areas spread throughout Indonesia [5].

Political contestation at the local level shows the ambitions of local elites to gain power, not to mention the support from the center (political parties) which also plays a role in winning their candidates. Support for political contestants is not only political support but also financial [6]. One of the political strategies that is often used is the segmentation strategy, this study has been carried out by many researchers. [7] states that political segmentation is defined as a process of mapping or identifying and classifying people into groups that have their own political agendas and goals [8].

Several studies that examine political marketing (segmentation) include research conducted by; [9] Segmentation of Beginner Voters Based on Access to Political News Through Social Media in Bogor Regency; research conducted by [10] Political Marketing of the Gerindra Party DPP in the 2014 legislative elections; research conducted by [11] Political Marketing Analysis of Anies-Sandi's Victory in the Second Round of the DKI Jakarta Governor Election 2017–2022; and research conducted by [12] Political Marketing Strategy for Independent Candidates in the 2017 Simultaneous Local Election Contest in South Buton Regency. The several previous studies above, of them, point to the focus of the segmentation political marketing strategy carried out by political contestants together with their teams. This research will also discuss political segmentation, however, what distinguishes previous research lies in the segments in society. In general, the segmentation strategy that is carried out in every political contestation refers to [13] presents several segmentations in political marketing, namely; Demographic segmentation, religious segmentation, geographic segmentation, and Psychographic segmentation. In this study, the segmentation in question is social groups that are formed naturally. This group includes ethnic groups, religions, local elites, and mass organizations, so the purpose of this research is to see how these groups or segments play a very important role in the dynamics of local politics in Central Kalimantan.

2   Research Methods

Political segmentation research is a descriptive-analytical research type. Qualitative research in the dynamics of local politics here has an interest in understanding the existing segments in society, and how these community groups try to be persuaded by political contestants to gain support. Meanwhile, the data collection method in this study combines library methods and field research [14].

Field research was conducted by means of in-depth interviews with several actors who had been involved in political contestation in Central Kalimantan. These parties are involved in extracting data as a source of informants with the aim of obtaining filtered information with an accuracy level so that a balance of information can be obtained.

While the library method is done by collecting important documents such as newspapers, magazines, and so on. The unit of research analysis emphasizes actors who have been involved in local political contestations, either as individuals, representing certain political forces, be they political parties or organizations. The unit of analysis is limited to local elites, non-political party elites, and the public who have been classified in political segmentation for their role in practical politics.

3   Results and Discussion

3.1   Local Political Dynamics in Central Kalimantan

Local political dynamics is defined as the performance of the local political system. How is democratic life carried out on a local scale, how is power regulated on a local scale, or how is democracy manifested in the life of society - nation - and state at the local level [15]. Central Kalimantan as a province is included as one of the regions with very prominent political dynamics. It is noted that the governor's position requires that it be filled by a local son. For four periods from 1957 to 1978, the position of governor of Central Kalimantan was held by a native of Central Kalimantan, namely Tjilik Riwut, Reinoul Silvanus and W.A. Gara. However, from 1983 to 1999 the position of governor was no longer easily held by local people. 1983–1999 there were five periods of governorship held by ethnic Javanese in accordance with instructions from the central government. It must be remembered that during the New Order regime, when it implemented a system of strong control over civilians, uniform political life from the central level down to the villages, and strengthened Golkar's monoloyalty and reduced as much as possible the activities of other political parties (PPP and PDIP).

Since March 8, 2000, the position of governor has again been held by a native of Central Kalimantan. Continuing after the policy of implementing regional autonomy, the political contestation in Central Kalimantan is increasingly colored by strict political dynamics where the position of governor requires that the son of the region. Local elite competition is increasingly visible after local elites become aware of the segments of Central Kalimantan society. Political groups/segmentation leads to groups that are very vulnerable to conflict. If one pays attention to the segmentation or groups of people who are targeted by political contestants in Central Kalimantan, they are groups that are different from political segments in other regions. The diversity of people in Central Kalimantan also creates various political segmentations. The strength and influence of groups in society that make the political dynamics in Central Kalimantan also strengthen, each group or segment competes for power in the practical political arena.

3.2   Tribal Segmentation

As previously stated, Central Kalimantan is filled with a diverse population, among the diversity of tribes can be seen in the Table 1.

Based on the data above, it shows that apart from the indigenous people of Kalimantan, there is a Javanese tribe that ranks second as the largest population in Central Kalimantan. So that in the political contestation in Central Kalimantan, the Javanese are quite a calculated voter because they are considered to be the owner of a large number of potential voters. Apart from that, the strategy that was also carried out to gain support from the majority of the Javanese tribe was by making figures from the Javanese tribe enter the shutter as contestants. Then, the next step is segmentation of other tribes by carrying out various other political strategies.

Table 1. Total population data by ethnicity.

Number	Ethnic Group	Total (2010)	Concentration (2010)
1	Native to Kalimantan (outside the Dayak Tribe)	588.650	26,67%
2	Jawa	478.434	21,68%
3	Banjar	464.260	21,03%
4	Dayak	450.682	20,42%
5	Melayu	86.322	3,91%
6	Madura	42.668	1,93%
7	Sunda	28.565	1,29%
8	Asal NTT	15.370	0,70%
9	Batak	12.324	0,56%
10	Bugis	8.040	0,36%
11	Bali	7.362	0,33%
12	Tionghoa	5.130	0,23%
13	Other Tribes	19.560	0,89%
Total		2.207.367	100,00%

3.3 Religious Segmentation

Segmentation based on religion is not always identified with fanatical masses, but cohesiveness and loyalty based on arguments that have been built in the community. Each religion views that political activity is related to religion, for example in the Islamic religious belief that determining a leader must know and be sensitive to religious affairs and human affairs in general. In Central Kalimantan, religious segmentation is also a concern for politicians every time a political contest is held. The loyalty and cohesiveness of every religious group in Central Kalimantan has shown its integrity in providing support, it would not be wrong if this was used as part of efforts to gain support.

In addition to the data in the table 2, there are also Catholics as many as 86.7 thousand people or 3.28%. While the population who are Buddhists is 2.81 thousand people or 0.11%. There are also 176 people or 0.01% of the population of Central Kalimantan who are Confucianists, and there are 869 people or 0.03% of the population of Central Kalimantan who adhere to this belief.

Table 2. Population by religion.

Number	Religion	Followers	Percentage
1	Islam	1,96 million	74,13%
2	Kristen	439,81 thousand	16,66%
3	Hindu	152,65 thousand	5,78%

The data above shows that Islam is followed by Christianity as the majority religion in Central Kalimantan. Therefore, local political actors in Central Kalimantan gain support from segments based on religion, namely by nominating pairs of candidates between Muslim and Christian candidates. This effort was made because the actors in the political contestants understand how the strength of the religious segment.

3.4   Local Elite Segmentation

As it is known that post-reform local elites have again taken overpower at the regional level. The Central Kalimantan region is also a region where local elite competition is very tight in fighting for power. One of the concerns of every political actor in Central Kalimantan to gain support in political contestation is the local elite group (local elite segmentation). Local elites are always approached by political contestants in order to gain support. Support by local elites is very valuable because the support of local elites will bring support from sympathizers of these elites. Local elites in Central Kalimantan are also influential people/figures, so their support will involve many people.

In political activities, influence (influencers) can be categorized into two forms. First, active influencers, namely individuals or groups who actively carry out activities with the aim of influencing prospective voters. They are activists on certain issues or groups with certain interests who carry out a series of concrete activities to influence voters. Second, passive influencers are individuals or groups who do not actively influence voters but become voters' references. This group is a reference or role model for the community, so that its support is very influential to be able to win.

The patronage of the local elite in Central Kalimantan can be divided into three groups of elites namely, the intellectual elite, the economic elite, and the cultural elite. More simple can be seen in the Fig. 1.

The intellectual elite are figures who have intellectual influence among the public because of their work in Higher Education. So that the thoughts and concepts are widely used as references by the community. Such a position becomes very strategic in the eyes of political contestants. The economic elite in Central Kalimantan are generally entrepreneurs engaged in the palm oil and mining sectors. The cultural elite in Central Kalimantan can be divided into two, namely Alim Ulama Kaharingan and Demang Adat Dayak. In Central Kalimantan's religious culture, Kaharingan is the original religion of the Dayak tribe, although it is not recognized as an official religion by the state.

Intellectual Elite	Economic Elite	Cultural Elite
- College Figure - Political Party Leader	Palm oil and mining entrepreneur with Jakarta network	- Kaharingan Clerics - Adherents of Kaharingan - Dayak Customary Fever - Dayak Tribe

Fig. 1. Local elite patronage in Central Kalimantan.

Since 1981, Kaharingan religion has been affiliated with Hinduism. In addition to the Alim Ulama Kaharingan within the cultural elite, there is also the Demang Adat Dayak, namely the highest leader in the Dayak tribe who understands the customary rules and history of the local area, so that they are used as a reference by the Dayak people when facing customary problems. The two cultural elites in Central Kalimantan have a very important role, they can even influence a political decision. For example, during the 2000–2004 election for the governor of Central Kalimantan, the Demang Adat Dayak demanded that the election for the governor be postponed [2].

3.5 CSOs Segmentation

There are mass organizations that play an active role in the practical political arena in Central Kalimantan, including religious organizations, traditional/cultural organizations, youth organizations, and so on. The existence of mass organizations is one of the strengths in the dynamics of local politics in Central Kalimantan, solidarity and loyalty is firmly held by members of the organization. The instructions of the leadership of the organization become an absolute decision that must be followed by members of the organization. It is not surprising that the segmentation of mass organizations in Central Kalimantan has become a bone of contention for political actors/contestants to gain support. The form of mass organization power can be seen, for example, in [16] where the role of the clergy as a representation of Islamic mass organizations is needed to maintain political stability in the 2019 presidential election, as well as in [17] namely harmony in Central Kalimantan is strongly influenced by religious harmony and other cultures.

The masses of mass organizations are often seen clearly in political activities, especially before elections, for example involvement in political campaigns. This certainly has a positive impact on political contestants, with the presence of mass organizations in political campaign activities carried out by candidates, of course there will be masses who gather and this will show the public so that what is embedded in the minds of the wider community, namely, a political candidate/contestant gets support a lot.

The struggle for political segments, especially in the ethnic, religious, local elite, and mass organization segments, has always colored the dynamics of local politics in Central Kalimantan because the strength of these segments has become the target of competition for support by political actors.

From the Fig. 2, it can be analyzed that local political actors always play a role to gain as much support as possible. Various efforts have been made to gain support, for example with a political positioning marketing strategy, namely instilling a good image and offering future programs that will be implemented if elected.
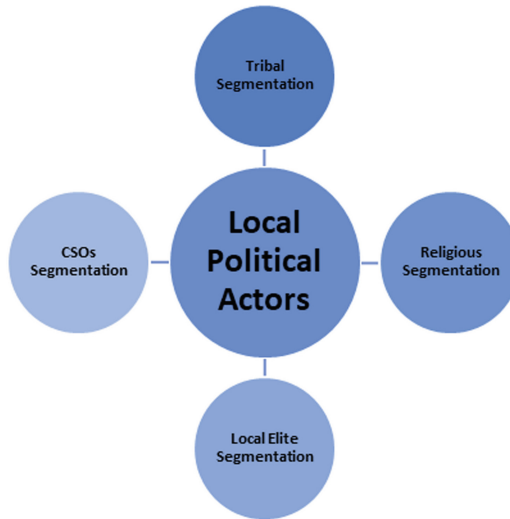
Fig. 2. The dynamics of the political segment in Central Kalimantan.

4   Conclusion

Based on the results and discussion above, it can be concluded in this study that segmentation of community groups has always colored the dynamics of local politics in Central Kalimantan. Competition among local elites or actors for power is intense. Political segmentation which is a strength in every political contestation can be divided into four segments, namely, ethnic segmentation, religious segmentation, local elite segmentation and mass organization segmentation. Political actors or potential contestants always make efforts to gain support from the four segments.

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