

Governor Election and Political Participation in East Java

Agus Sukristyanto

Faculty of Social , Universitas 17 August 1945 Surabaya

agusukris@yahoo.co.id

Abstract. The election of the governor in Indonesia had been done directly since the Law No. 22 of 1999 on Local Government. The political participation was 64.23%. This article is written to describe the context of regional elections related to East Java Governor Election. To what extent was the level of voter participation in East Java Provincial Governor Election 2008, and 2013. The approach of the paper used qualitative study to see secondary data that had been documented at BPS, KPUD and the media surrounding the election of governor. The Election of East Java Province Governor 2008 were five candidates. They were Khofifah-Mudjiono, Soenarjo-Ali M Moesa, Soekarwo-Syaifullah Y, Soetjipto-Ridwan H, Achmady-Soehartono. This election came in the 2nd round which was won by Soekarwo-Syaifulah Y. In the first round Soekarwo-Syaifulah Y. has a high electability compared to Soenarjo-Ali M Moesa, but it was finally won by Soekarwo-Syaifullah Y. in second round with a participation rate of 60.8% (Jayamahe, 2017). The East Java Province Governor Election 2013 the participation rate was 58.96% (LSI), (Mujib Anwar, 2013). The electability and political participation was above 55%, the Governor of East Java Province can adopt policies and implement well supported by professional and strong stake holders.

Key Words: Governor Election, Political Culture, Political Behavior, Political Participation

Introduction

The election of governor, district, and mayor in 2018 will be held in 171 regions. This is the first regional elections that has been held simultaneously in Indonesia since the enactment of Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government. This paper focused on the selection of East Java Provincial Governor in 2008 and 2013. Although Law 22 Year 1999 on Local Government has emphasized the direct election, The Election of Governor of East Java Province 2003 had been done by DPRD.

The victory of Imam Utomo-Sunarnyo was quite loud with 63 votes compared to Kahfi-Ridwan who earned 34 votes. Abstain 1 votes and 2 broken votes from 100 members of East Java Provincial Legislative Council. The vote result can be elaborated 31 votes from FPDI, 15 votes from the Combined Fraction, 10 votes from FTNI / Polri, and added votes from FKB who defected as many as 7 votes (www.nu.or.id/post, January 10, 2017). The victory of Imam Utomo-Sunarnyo were not surprising for East Java residents and scientists, because the couple were an incumbent that had good track record, the more important of the election process had done by legislators, East Java Provincial Parliament.

Literature review

Law No. 22 of 1999 on Local Government was conducted directly. Direct local elections have upheld the principles of democracy. Amien Rais (1986), which includes; (1) participation in decision making, (2) equality before the law, (3) equitable distribution of income, (4) equal

educational opportunities, (5) four kinds of freedom; freedom of expression, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom (7) heed fatsoen, (8) individual freedom, (9) the spirit of cooperation, (10) the right to protest. Dirdjosanjata and Kana, ed, (2006: 5-8); (2) the trap of formal democracy-procedural, (3) the trap of electoral democracy, (4) the trap of formalism in interpreting the sovereignty of the people, (5) democratic democracy. In democracies also related to political culture, political culture is related to voter behavior, as Afan Gaffar (1999) argues that this democratic political culture concerns a collection of belief systems, attitudes, norms, perceptions and the like, which sustains the realization of participation. Thus the political culture will form a individual's political beliefs and attitudes, which will determine the political behavior of the individual. Political culture is an individual's attitude to the political system and its components, as well as the individual's attitude to the role that can be played in a political system (Afan Gaffar, 1999). Political culture is a psychological orientation to social objects, which is the internalized political system that is cognitive, affective, and evaluative. Such as the voter behavior, voter behavior can be explained using four models.

The first Sociological Model. This model explains that social characteristics and social groupings have a great influence in determining the behavior of choosing a person. Social characteristics (work, education etc) and sociological background (religion, region, gender, age, etc.) are important factors in determining political choice.

Second, the Model of Psychology. The central concept of the voter behavior model is partiality, designed as a psychological connection, a stable and lasting relationship with a political party that does not have to be translated into real links, registration, or consistent voting and systematic militancy with the party. This approach explains one's attitude as a reflection of one's personality, a decisive variable in influencing one's political behavior.

Third, the Rational Choice Model. This is an attempt to explain the political economy that relate economic parameters-resources, goods and technology-with a political outcome or choice. There are situational factors that play a role in influencing one's political choices. The voters are not only passive but also active, not only shackled by sociological characteristics but also freedom of action. Situational factors are either political issues or nominated candidates. Political issues are important consideration.

Fourth, the Dominant Ideology Model is a model of voter behavior that shows voters are persuaded by dominant groups and institutions in society, such as governments, political parties and business interest groups to accept an sympathetic ideology to the interests of the dominant group. The dominant ideological model shows that dominant groups and institutions tend to use mass media to communicate dominant ideologies, and rely on mass media to sympathize with the dominant ideology. In this view, the mass media is able to distort the flow of political communication, organize debates and build public sympathy.

Regional Election

The regional election according to Law Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government, among others, regulates the direct, general, free and confidential elections in a democratic atmosphere. The direct local elections has upheld the principles of democracy. Amien Rais (1986), said the criteria of democracy are include; (1) participation in decision making, (2) equality before the law, (3) equitable distribution of income, (4) equal educational

opportunities, (5) four kinds of freedom (freedom of expression, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom (7) heed fatsoen, (8) individual freedom, (9) the spirit of cooperation, (10) the right to protest.

The understanding of democracy as mentioned above is a form of procedural democracy, in fact there are further values to be achieved that is from the side of participation and wider community involvement in political processes. Therefore, institutionalizing democracy is a gap in understanding and practicing democracy. As proposed by Dirdjosanjata and Kana, ed, (2006); (2) the trap of formal democracy-procedural, (3) the trap of electoral democracy, (4) the trap of formalism in interpreting the sovereignty of the people, (5) democratic democracy.

Political Map of Governor Elections In 2008

The implementation of governor election in East Java had been done previously through the electoral mechanism by the legislature in 2003. The election of East Java governor directly conducted since 2008. The New Order dominated Golkar, with averaged 62% of votes, but in the 1999 election the Golkar Party won 12.66% of the votes. The 1999 election has shifted the Golkar Party votes dominated by the PKB with 35.48% of the votes and the PDI-P with 33.81 votes. In the 2003 governor election through the legislative body, the winner was by the PDI-P and the Golkar party.

Geographically the area of East Java is divided into two, namely; *First*, the “*tapal kuda*” area that includes Tuban, Lamongan, Gresik, Pasuruan, Madura Island, to Banyuwangi. In other words, this area is located around the coast with cultured santri, which is the political bike of NU. In 1955 the election gained 34.14% of the vote, NU is now represented by PKB, which in the 1999 election gained 35.48 %. *Secondly*, “*Mataraman*” area whose territory is located in the hinterland away from the party's coast, they have “*abangan*” culture which is represented by political affiliation of PNI and PDI-P, PNI which in the 1955 election gained 22.80% of the votes and in 1999 PDI-P election gained 33.81% of votes.

Based on the description above, the governor election in 2008 will be contested by three major parties; Golkar Party, PDI-P and PKB. While the Partai Demokrat which won the presidential election in 2004 might not be the same in the governor election compared to the three major parties, because the Partai Demokrat does not have strong support these period, and also does not have a strong leadership figure in East Java.

Therefore, for the governor election of East Java there are 3 (three) alternatives to win it; The first alternative is the coalition between big parties, the PKB with the PDI-P, the PKB with the Partai Golkar, and the Partai Golkar. PDI-P, in the case of a coalition like this, the odds are above 60% to win.

The second alternative is a coalition of large parties with small parties, such a coalition has a chance to win the governor's proportion 50%. The third alternative is a joint coalition with several small parties, a coalition like this has an opportunity under 40%.

East Java Province Governor Election 2008

East Java Election Commission has appointed five candidates for governor and vice-governor to compete in the 2008 East Java governor election. First, Khofifah-Mudjiono (Kaji), which uses PPP political supported by small political parties such as; PPNUI, PNI-Marhaen, Partai Merdeka, Partai Pelopor, PIB, PNBK, PKPI, PBR, PDS, PKPB, and Patriot Party.

Overall the force is around 16.72 percent of the vote. Second, Sutjipto-Ridwan Hisjam (SR), using a PDI-P with 21 percent of the votes, supported by the Kosgoro mass organization in 1957 and supported by Megawati S. Third, Soenarjo-Ali M Moesa (Salam) used by the Golkar Party with a power of 13.16 percent of the vote. Fourth, Achmady-Soehartono (Achsani), a political used by PKB with a great power of 30.55 percent of the vote, but the PKB split into three, Achsan's strength was only about 14 percent. Fifth, Soekarwo-Saifullah Y (Karsa), using the Partai Demokrat political, PAN, and PKS. The accumulation of power is 15.31 percent of the vote.

The election of East Java Governor First Round was conducted on Wednesday, July 23, 2008 which was attended by 29,061,718 East Java residents by choosing five of candidates for governor and vice governor. According to Article 107 of Law Number 12 Year 2008 regarding the Second Amendment of Law Number 32/2004 states, if there is no candidate who get votes more than 30 percent of the total valid votes. The second round of election is followed by the first winner and the second winner. In this first round, none of the five couples fulfilled the 30 percent quota. According to the LSI and JIP the Karsa topped the list with a voice percentage of 26.29 percent. After Karsa is Kaji with 25,12; SR 21.39; Greetings 19,55; and the couple Ahsan 6.65. This calculation is already 92 percent of 400 TPS samples (Nana Sudiana, 2008).

The election of the Governor of East Java Province, the Second Round was held on November 4, 2008 which was followed by two partners, namely; Soekarwo-Saifullah Y (Karsa) and Khofifah-Mujiono (Kaji). The result of the Recapitulation of East Java Provincial KPU states that the Karsa got 7,729,944 votes or 50.20 percent, and the Kaji got 7,669,721 votes or 49.80 percent. Acquisition is only 60.223 votes or 0.4 percent, and 506,343 votes are removed as invalid (Zain Zain, 2008). In the second round, the couple Kaji filed a lawsuit at the Constitutional Court, because its consideration of cheating, especially in four districts on the island of Madura. The lawsuit was granted and re-election in the third election for Madura region.

In the third round on December 28, 2008, a quick calculation for Pamekasan Regency was won by Karsa with 216,293 votes and Kaji with 195,117 votes. Similarly in Kabupaten Bangkalan and Kabupaten won by Karsa partners with 4459,616 votes or 60.32 percent, while the pair Kaji 302.348 votes or 39.68 percent (Indra Jaya Rajagukguk, 2009). The election of East Java Governor in 2008 to enter three rounds was cost and enormous energy in the process of democracy.

The Election of the Governor of East Java Province in 2013

The election of the Governor of East Java Province was held on Thursday, 29 August 2013. Approximately 30 million East Java residents have the opportunity to vote on that date who elect leaders for the period 2013-2018. There are four candidates for governor and vice governor. **First**, Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf (Karsa), the couples were promoted by the big parties, such as the Partai Demokrat, Partai Golkar, PKS, and a number of small parties that did not exist in the East Java parliament. **Secondly**, Eggi Sudjana-Mochammad Sihah (Beres) are couple advanced from the individual or independent path. **Thirdly**, Bambang Dwi Hartono-Muhammad Said Abdullah (Thumb) are nominated by the PDI-P with a single party force. Fourth, Khofifah Indar Parawansa-Herman is carried by PKB, PKNU, and a number of other small parties.

In this election with 30,034,249 permanent voters list scattered at 71,036 polls, the Sukarwo-Saifullah Y won the governor and vice-governor elections by winning 8,195,816 votes or 47.25 percent. The amount of votes that has been obtained almost all areas of East Java, from 38 districts/ cities. The couple won in 27 districts/ cities. The city of Malang, the city of Probolinggo, the city of Pasuruan, the city of Malang, Mojokerto City, Madiun City, Surabaya City, and Batu City. Incumbent lost in 11 areas namely Blitar, Jember, Banyuwangi, Probolinggo, Sidoarjo, Mojokerto, Tuban, Lamongan, Gresik, Pamekasan and Sumenep.

The second position is Khofifah Indar Parawansa-Herman S Surnawiredja with 6,525,015 votes or 37.62 percent. The third position is occupied by Bambang DH-Said Abdullah with 2,220,069 votes or 12.69 percent. While the fourth position occupied by the couple Eggi Sudjana-Muhammad obtained the lowest susra 422,932 votes or 2.44 percent. Thus the couple Sukarwo-Saifullah Yusuf are leads back the second time East Java Province for the year 2013-2018.

Discussion: political culture, and voting behavior and political participation

Political culture is linked to voter behavior, as Afan Gaffar (1999) argues that this democratic political culture concerns a collection of belief systems, attitudes, norms, perceptions and the like, which sustain the realization of participation. Thus the political culture will form a person's political beliefs and attitudes, which will determine the political behavior of the person. Political culture is an individual's attitude to the political system and its components, as well as the individual's attitude to the role that can be played in a political system (Afan Gaffar, 1999). Political culture is a psychological orientation to social objects, namely the internalized political system that is cognitive, affective, and evaluative.

The understanding the political culture in East Java can be divided into three regions. *First*, the area of *mataraman* or *abangan/ kejawen* and nationalist influenced from Central Java culture. The cultural region included in this *mataraman* overs areas in the western part of East Java, namely Ngawi Regency, Regency and Madiun City, Pacitan Regency, Magetan Regency, Regency and City of Kediri, Nganjuk Regency, Tulungagung Regency, Blitar Regency and City, Trenggalek Regency, Tuban District, Lamongan Regency, and Bojonegoro Regency, with a percentage of 40 percent. *Secondly*, the area of *arekan*, the region with the character of its citizens is a combination of elements Islam, Java, and coastal areas. Includes Surabaya, Malang, Jombang and Mojokerto, with a percentage of 27 percent. *Third*, *pandalungan* region where the region is a combination of Madurese culture with Javanese culture, the area includes the island of Madura and *tapal kuda* areas such as Pasuruan, Situbondo, and Banyuwangi, with a percentage of 33 percent.

Soekarwo-Syaifullah Y. depicts the representation of *mataraman* and *tapal kuda* figures who obtained East Java voter place compared to other political configuration in governor election of 2013. Soekarwo representation of *mataraman* figure who almost won 100% in the area, only in Blitar regency lost. *Mataraman* area identified fish as nationalists, secular national groups who admire the teachings of Sukarno, it turns out this group dropped his choice at Soekarwo, not on Bambang DH carried PDIP. While Syaifullah Yusuf representation of the *tapal kuda* figure, which is more easily seen in the implementation. Soekarwo-Syaifullah Yusuf with Khofifah-Herman is relatively balanced, compared to Bambang DH-Said Abdullah

and Eggi-Sihat who can barely afford a place in the *tapal kuda* and West Pantura area of East Java.

The behavior of voters can be explained using four models. *The first Sociological Model*, this model explains that social characteristics and social groupings have a great influence in determining the behavior of choosing a person. Social characteristics (work, education etc.) and sociological background (religion, region, gender, age, etc.) are important factors in determining political choice. This model links the behavior of voters with membership in groups who tend to take a pattern that reflects the social and group conditions that are part of it. Including formal social groupings, such as denominations, professional organizations, and informal groupings such as family, friendships, or other small groups have a major role in shaping one's attitude, perception, and orientation, later on as a basis or preference in determining political choice. In addition, the geographical aspect has a relationship with the behavior of choosing. The presence of a sense of regionalism affects one's support for a political party.

Second, the Model of Psychology, the central concept of the voting behavior model is partiality, designed as a psychological connection, a stable and lasting relationship with a political party that does not translated into real links, ie registration, or consistent voting and systematic militancy with the party.

This approach explains one's attitude as a reflection of one's personality, a decisive variable in influencing one's political behavior. Psychological approaches consider attitudes as the main variable in explaining a person's political behavior. This model identifies the psychological ties with a particular party, which manifests partisanship, and voter behavior as a form of election. Partisan alignment tends to last a long time that can give rise to the phenomenon of identity politics.

Third, the Rational Choice Model, this theory refers to rational choice theory. There are situational factors that play a role in influencing one's political choices. The voters are not only passive but also active, not only shackled by sociological characteristics but also free to act. Situational factors are either political issues or nominated candidates. Political issues are an important consideration. Voters make choices based on their judgment on the political issues and proposed candidates. They see an analogy between market (economy) and voting behavior (politics). The rational choice approach sees selecting activities as a product of profit and loss calculations.

Fourthly, the Dominant Ideology Model is a model of voter behavior that shows that voters are persuaded by dominant groups and institutions in society, such as governments, political parties and business interest groups to accept an ideology sympathetic to the interests of the dominant group. The dominant ideological model shows that dominant groups and institutions tend to use mass media to communicate dominant ideologies, and rely on mass media to sympathize with the dominant ideology. In this view, the mass media is able to distort the flow of political communication, organize debates and build public sympathy. The doctrine of an ideology makes power within the party.

The Regional Election of East Java in 2008 counted as 6.669.592 or (39.2%) of votes registered as voters in the DPT did not vote in the regional head elections, it could be an indication that the participation rate in East Java is not good enough because almost half of the number of Daftar Pemilih Tetap (DPT) is 29,045,722 (100%) votes from 37,070,731 East Java

residents, recorded only 17,014,266 or (60,8%) of the number of legitimate voter lists that cast their vote (Jayamahe, 2015). The rest of 6,669,592 or (39.2%) did not vote. Thus, seeing the results of governor election in 2008 won by Soekarwo-Syaifullah Yusuf which lasted three rounds. The first round of voting percentage was 26.29 percent, second place was the percentage of voice 50.20 percent with 7,729,944 votes, until third round costly the APBD.

In East Java Election of 2013 was won by the Soekarwo-Syaifullah Yusuf with vote of 8,195,816 or 47.25 percent, thus the pair won most votes and declared the winner of the governor election in 2013. In the 2013 governor election reflected psychological or party identification and sociology model applies to the Sokarwo-Syaifullah Yusuf, they win almost all Mataraman area except Blitar District. They are acceptable in that region, which is almost one hundred percent winning in the 2013 gubernorial election. In the *tapal kuda* area with strong NU culture constituents such as Sidoarjo, Gresik, Lamongan and Tuban districts, Soekarwo-Syaifullah Y won the election.

The Golongan Putih (Golput) has declined in a decade that has held two governor and vice governor elections in 2008 and 2013. In 2008 the number of golput reached 48 percent. In 2013 the number of golput reached 36.62% of the list of voters. Although the election of governor has been running for twice but the number of golput is still quite high. There are three main factors causing high number of golput in East Java Pilgub 2013: (a) lack of socialization about East Java governor election; (b) society is more concerned with economic needs; (c) an attitude of apathy towards the election of the governor.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, the 2013 governor election still represents a psychological model and a sociology model that interacts with the culture of the community seems to be repeated in the 2018 governor election. However, the higher education and modern thinking of the constituents will make them more independent and tend to use the rational choice model as the basis of political behavior.

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