Local election: does bureaucracy become one of main political power?

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Abstract. This writing aims to analyze the emergence of bureaucracy as one of political power in local level after the local election is held in Indonesia. Due to information authorization, media network, and stable structure, the bureaucracy soon transforms into political power which can compete with the other political power at the local level. In Medan local election in 2010 and 2015 has evidently proven the power of bureaucracy network in winning the bureaucrat-background candidates. As methods of the research, the researcher held a Focus-Group Discussion (FGD) and had an in-depth interview with ten bureaucracy elites in Medan and local political elites. The observation and Focus-Group Discussion (FGD) are analyzed using qualitative analysis technique typology. The result states that the bureaucracy network in Medan has been used in a massive way as the political power of winning. The structure of bureaucracy – from the top to the low – is involved in the winning. The most governmental programs were applied to attract the mass’ sympathy toward the candidates. The bureaucratic proximity to media network is also used to do a campaign in a massive way. The conclusion of the research is that bureaucracy emerges as a new, massive, effective local political power in the local election.

Keywords: local election; political power; bureaucracy

1. Introduction
Post reformation, the regional autonomy application has given significant effect towards political development in Indonesia. Reformation has brought political constellation nationally and locally to become more democratic and dynamic than before [1]. One of them is by holding a direct local election for governor. The substance of direct election is a form of sovereignty of people. Direct local election also creates a strong politic legitimacy building to the chosen leader through the process.

On the other side, direct local election also creates a tight competition between political actors in region. This marked by the appearance of new political elites (entrepreneur, civil-society practitioners, academics, bureaucrats) who are more independent from central influence, also the birth of a dynamic and changeable election act pattern of society.
Direct local governor election has been conducted since the middle of 2004 in Indonesia. In this election, many of government official or bureaucrats participated. From the result of direct election since June 2005, almost 40% won by participated bureaucrat [2].

It is hard to differentiate bureaucracy with political process and activity. Political room is an activity room of people who act and do politic (consist of people acting politically). Though a bureaucrat not participated in election (join the practical politic), government bureaucracy will be directly or not related to the interest groups in society, which means they will always in touch with political room [3].

Rahudman Harahap and Dzulmi Eldin are Mayors born through direct election in 2010 – 2015 and 2015 – 2020. Both are actors who come from bureaucrat. Internally, Rahudman Harahap and Dzulmi Eldin dominate the sources of bureaucracy formal force, domination of information source, domination of fund also structural authority in the make of strategy policy during service.

Moreover Media Network, local elites and control of society actors are political power which used during election. Other supportive factors, such as a bearer political party, campaign strategy, local elites and political mobilization, more likely a reinforcement of owned political capital internally. That huge resource of power attracted the writer to study deeper on how the winning political strategy implemented, relate to the shape of winning strategy and also bureaucracy power to become political machine to win the candidate pair.

To win an election, a well-measured, systematic, and applicable winning political strategy is needed. Political strategy meant as a whole approach applied in a campaign. In brief, an approach which taken to aim a specific condition and conducted based on an assigned problem analysis [4]. Patrick J. Sellers consider that political campaign is an application of art strategy more than knowledge in getting votes. The main output of campaign is getting people’s sympathy utmost during political campaign [5]. Xandra Kayden reaffirmed that political campaign is a simbolic need which owned by society to become a part of something. A campaign is a symbol in sensing on what the voters feel or want [6].

In the context of 2010 and 2015 election in Medan, besides the winning political Strategy through party instrument and other party supports, Rahudman Harahap and Dzulmi Eldin also maximized the elite bureaucracy potential and local elites in Medan.

Quoted from Lipset and Solari, they stated that elites are those who fill in a certain position on top of important social structures, they are a high position in government, military, politic, religion, education and professionals. This stated along with quotation from Czudnowski that elites are those whom arranging everything, or key actors whom act as main functional and structured actor in any institutional, religion, military, academic, industry, communication area etc [7]. Moreover about the nature of bureaucracy, Weber stated that bureaucracy has a well meaning of orderly, organized, neat organization in a tiered work relationship and also has a procedure in an organization arrangement. Main feature of weber bureaucracy model is a systematic job division, whereas the ideal features are:

1. A hierarchical structure involving delegation of authority from the top bottom organization;
2. A series of officials positions each having prescribed duties and responsibilities;
3. Formal rules, regulations and standard governing operations at the organization and behavior of members;

It can be said by bureaucracy in this context means the whole government organization which run the nation tasks in every unit of government organization, under department and non-department institutions, in central or region, as in province, regency, subdistrict or villages [8]. Bureaucracy is a political machine which conduct the political policy made and decided by the political officials. Bureaucracy as state officer under political official, or state officer in executive subdivision.

2. Research Method

This study conducted with qualitative approach, since it was not only to describe a variable, symptoms or situation as it is and not to test any hypothesis [10]. The data used as research materials are the related documents and also by conducting an in-depth interview with relevant resources. Moreover, a focus group discussion was also conducted with bureaucracy elites, political party elites, and also youth and public figures in Medan.
An analysis-descriptive method is also a problem solver which investigated by describing or portraying a subject or research object (person, institution, society, etc), at this time based on the visible facts or as it is. There are two features of descriptive method: first, centralize the focus on the problems accured during the research or actual problems; second, describe the facts about the investigated problems as they are, along with a rational interpretation.

3. Result and Discussion
The winning strategy conducted by Rahudman Harahap in 2010 and Dzulmi Eldin in 2015 actually not so different with the strategy model and form of the candidate pair at the any election generally. But the interesting part of this pairs’ winning strategy was the mega supports and involments of bureaucracy elite majority in Medan in every winning steps and it implied to the strenghten of society and other elites support.

In today’s election context, bureaucracy tends to show the political practices which adopted the bureaucracy roles in the new order (Orde Baru). Quoted from Chusnul Mar’iyah, that non-democratic practices occured nowadays is as in Soeharto era in election context. Changing process from centralized to decentralized is not followed by the change of political actors role nationally or locally in electoral manipulation context right away [11].

In election context, the tendency of manipulation done nationally by poltical actors run through bureaucrats in regional is same as those practices done in New Order. Quoted from Castles, bureaucracy in Indonesia patrimonial system means a relation between client and patron or a relation between gentry and proletar in ancient Java monarchy. Besides that, bureaucracy in Indonesia has a great power and uncontrollable, this caused by an extra power of bureaucracy. That will hard to control any abuse or misuse [12]. So it is very possible that political practices occure in bureaucracy mostly happen when the bureaucracy elite in one region become candidate of the election.

It can not be denied that during election, bureaucracy coopted by elite interest in one region. Ideally bureaucracy to become a tool of governor to succeed the government, but not only that, bureaucracy oftenly used as the most effective political machine to win the incumbent pair in election. In next step, regional elite who has got formal power also compete to use bureaucracy as a political machine, cause implication to an un-healthy bureaucracy order and regeneration internally, and to non-democratic election externally [13].

In 2010 and 2015 election in Medan, in every winning step, bureaucracy elite power became an important aspect in every winning activity programs. The bureaucracy elites started from head division, Head district and village gave a significant support directly or indirectly. This could be traced started from political campaign until the mass mobilization during campaign and voting.

One of that become the power of bureaucracy was the control of data and information network. By data means those related to the number of people and characteristic of people in certain region, public figures in the area of village until districts, also which channels used by people in getting information. Bureaucrat through official institution or district offices, village offices has gotten those needed data fully. So that, the resources owned by those bureaucrats from Head division, Head districts until Head village were big enough to support an election winning process which nowadays based on data and information.

Besides that, Medan has the lowest government support structure which called Head of neighborhood (Kepala Lingkungan). These Head of neighborhood structurally placed under the Head of village. With 2004 personels in 151 villages, these head of neighborhood in Medan organizationally become government officer whom approach the society door to door at their own neighborhood. The head of neighborhood also got a significant role as one of the information supplier related to the society condition where he charged.

Besides that, the information network and data validity obtained from the bureaucrats become one of the factors in creating an efficient and effective winning strategy such as the mapping of total voters in every voting station, the mapping of sung candidate supporters basis or other candidate, the mapping of voting witness in every voting station, etc. In this regard, the use of networking information and data
through this bureaucracy network can also be called as communication and information source alternative, aside from any sources owned by political parties formally. Factually, this kind of information has more complete element and also high validity.

Aside from providing convenience in accessing data and information of Medan citizen, these bureaucrats also have role to encompass every local mass media (especially printed media) to campaign any positive features of the sung candidates. The closeness of the elites with the owner of local mass media through institution cooperation, has given the bureaucrats a direct access and convenience in using the wanted facilities in related media. In this case, a power accumulation arisen, between politician in suppotive party and bureaucracy elites in Medan government environment, so that the local powers, religion figures, public figures, and media figures can be easily controlled as wished.

Conclusion
This study concluded that after reformation, bureaucracy has risen as a local political machine, especially in local election. The candidate with bureaucracy background, could mobilize bureaucracy machine effectively and also conducted a method of political campaign and political movement which supported by elite bureaucrats network as the main power for the whole winning activity and great support from local political elites.

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