Maintaining Identity Political Culture In Indonesia

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Abstract. This study investigates the portrayal of traditional political cultures in West Kalimantan Province, a growing of election process. Results showed that Political life in Indonesia leads to modern political culture after experiencing a change of paradigm of political life. Political life in Indonesia leads to modern political culture after experiencing a change of paradigm of political life. Beginning Indonesia's independence in the Old Order Phase, the politics used using the ideological paradigm, subsequent to the New Order Period used the political paradigm of unification and simplification of political parties but in practice it became the strategy of the State's rulers to facilitate subjugating its citizens. After entering the reform era, several phenomena of political culture are displayed, some are using modern paradigm by giving women the widest possible role in political parties, and so on. Besides that there is the opposite of displaying and practicing traditional political culture, this is as it runs in West Borneo Province. The change of political culture in the modern direction is different from the political culture of the citizens in terms of who will be chosen, most West Borneo Province residents determine their political choice by using traditional patterns.

1. Introduction

This regeneration of local government leadership is a practice of local democracy in Indonesia, implemented every five years. Leadership regeneration is called the Pilkada (election of regional head) by presenting some candidates of regional head, some are newcomers, and incumbent candidates. This election bring a phenomena that local tradition will influence to contestation, and usually makes a winning. I don’t read research like this theme, but more of research about incumbent.

Incumbent and challenger will have equal opportunity to be the winner in Pilkada (election of regional head) if seen from chance and opportunity. However, the calculation of experience that the incumbent for re-election has more opportunities as the results of research Kartik and Weelden, [1] although it needs a rational explanation about the victory of incumbent, so that if there is a incumbent who lost the contest elections it will be easy to accept the reasons and causes of defeat. The connection between income effects and voting behavior, in particular linking negative income shocks to the decision of shifting electoral loyalties toward the incumbent.[2] Incumbent as a candidate in Pilkada (election of regional head) contest, has fewer weaknesses than a new challenger because it has been fighting over its own weakness [3] in leading during the first government. So incumbent have a chance to win. Each incumbent has a winning pattern and strategy, which he can not equate between a single incumbent candidate with another incumbent candidate in a different area.
2. Methodology
Researchers use qualitative methodology to conduct research in West Borneo Province. Qualitative is chosen because researchers want to find information about local elections in depth to obtain field data that can answer the needs of research. Researchers used in-depth interviews on each interview because they were interviewed by stakeholders in West Borneo Province.

3. Results and Discussion
The selection of leaders in the regions has a variety and variations in the implementation of elections in various regions in Indonesia. In the elections in West Borneo Province there are two main findings, namely traditional links running on modern democracy and identity politics that influence the victory and defeat of a candidate for regional head.

3.1. Traditional Link to Modern Democracy
The selection of leaders in the regions has a variety and variations in the implementation of elections in various regions in Indonesia. In the elections in West Borneo Province there are two main findings, namely traditional links running on modern democracy and identity politics that influence the victory and defeat of a candidate for regional head.

Incumbent has a chance to win more than the prospective challengers [4] when the incumbent can take advantage of incumbency advantage by placing it in the right position [5]. The positive outlook on incumbent profits confirms that the old players succeed because they are, quite simply, clever in what they do - campaigning, commanding, and / or representing voters demands. Incumbent is a sign of being a high quality competitor[6]. The election process is designed to select strong candidates who tend to win and maintain their strength in the next contest. Holders of power and challengers are not the same type of candidates when viewed from political capital.

The political innovation which became the first finding was the change of function of political party as cartel party,[7] that the victory was caused by the factor of the circle, the use of links, if in West Borneo Province supported by the political identity circle, so it turns out in Indonesia that the links are used by candidates making electability of victory, for example links based on identity, emotional,[8] identity politics, all can be for the winning of candidates for regional head.

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Candidates still use traditional links,[9] it is still relevant in the midst of formal democracy in the modern era, if in Jakarta and Central Java can lead to the burden of candidates can be different, can be the aspect of leadership that is exploited his political opponent, this as link that can benefit incumbent like Pak De Karwo and Cornelis, but those who fail to use will find destructions. The existence of tribal heterogeneity in West Borneo Province should be an open political picture, unrestricted by tribal, group or other divisions, as they have been able to coexist in building West Borneo Province. In fact during the Pilkada (election of regional head), the theme of the Dayak and the Malay Tribe became a tool to win the candidate pair of regional head. All of them make the tribe an interesting issue to get voting support from voters.

Cornelis as Chairman of the party that brought the nationalist theme of the PDI Perjuangan, in his candidacy using the PDI Perjuangan as one of the strong party to carry it, but in the struggle for winning, Cornelis still more to use the approach to voters with tribal symbols, that is because as Chairman of Dewan Adat Dayak (Embassy of Dayak Tradition) and the Dayak president.

Cristiandy Sanjaya as a candidate for the deputy governor of Cornelis, who was raised by the Democratic Party, did not make it neutralize the pattern of support that should be in modern ways.
Cristiady with Chinese ethnicity made her identity as a reinforcer for Cornelis's voice, for she was the only Chinese tribe nominated as a candidate for leader in West Borneo Province.

3.1.1. Political Strength of Identity in West Borneo Province

Identity politics in West Borneo Province is sorted according to the existing ethnicity as the origin of West Borneo Province's identity, with a balanced composition of the Dayak and the Malay ethnic groups. Both tribes can coexist without any significant conflict in bringing up West Borneo Province as a province bordering Malaysia's neighboring country.

The existence of the two tribes above, there are some, for example Bugis, Batak, Ambon, Madurese and others, but to make it easier to calculate, they are categorized into parts of the Malay Tribe. The number and percentage of the number of people per tribe, based on the 2010 census, the most dominant ethnic in West Borneo Province, the Dayak (49.91). The existence and number of adherents of each tribe in West Borneo Province are considered in the table below:

| Tribes    | Amount     | Percentage |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1. Dayak  | 2,194,009  | 49.91%     |
| 2. Melayu | 814,550    | 16.50%     |
| 3. Jawa   | 427,333    | 8.66%      |
| 4. Tionghoa | 358,451   | 7.17%      |
| 5. Madura | 274,869    | 5.72%      |
| 6. Bugis  | 137,282    | 2.93%      |
| 7. Sunda  | 49,530     | 1.09%      |
| 8. Batak  | 26,486     | 0.55%      |
| 9. Daya  | 22,690     | 0.50%      |
| 10. Banjar | 14,430    | 0.30%      |
| Others Tribes | 58,306 | 1.33% |
| Total     | 4,385,356  | 100%       |

The description of the existence of the tribe depicts the Dayak tribe dominates West Borneo Province, when it is associated with the contestation of elections in 2012 governor election, there is intense competition between the candidates of the governor of the Dayak and Malay (Non Dayak). Pilkada (election of regional head) 2012 a winning strategy occurs with the emergence of non-Dayak couples there are three candidate pairs of candidates, resulting in a vote split among the candidates of the Malay Tribe.

In addition to speaking West Borneo Province community identity based on tribe, they can be grouped based on the religion they embrace. The majority of West Borneo Province people embrace Islam (55.68%). Religious atmosphere in the coastal area is different from the inland West Borneo Province. in the inhabited areas of the Dayak tribe majority of the population are Christian (Catholic / Protestant) as in Bengkayang, Landak, Sanggau, Sintang and Sekadau. The Chinese in West Borneo Province mostly follow Buddhism and Christianity (Catholic / Protestant). In some areas there are ethnic Chinese such as Singkawang and Pontianak also there are Buddhists who are different from other regions.

Religion embraced by the people of West Borneo Province can be seen as the following [10]:
Table 2. The existence of Religion and its Adherents in West Borneo Province

| No. | Religion | Amount   | Percentage | Information |
|-----|----------|----------|------------|-------------|
| 1   | Islam    | 2,987,695| 55.68%     | Embraced by Malay, Javanese, Madurese, Bugis, Sundanese, Banjar, Minangkabau, some Batak tribes and a small part of Dayak and Tionghoa |
| 2   | Catholic | 1,260,476| 23.50%     | Embraced by Dayak tribe, Chinese, NTT, Batak tribe as well as some of Java tribe |
| 3   | Protestant| 739,921  | 13.62%     | Embraced by the Dayak tribe, Chinese, NTT, Batak tribe as well as some of the Javanese |
| 4   | Buddha   | 361,298  | 6.73%      | Embraced by Chinese descent |
| 5   | Konghucu | 13,733   | 0.26%      | Embraced by Chinese descent |
| 6   | Hindu    | 11,136   | 0.21%      | Embraced by Balinese |

The explanation about the tribe and religion of West Borneo Province residents can be connected with the elections Kalbar (West Borneo Province) 2012. The presence of candidate pairs with the composition of 1 candidate Dayak tribe and Catholic religion in pairs with Chinese Tribe and Protestant namely Drs Cornelis MH & Drs. Cristiandy Sanjaya, SE., MM faced with three candidates from Non Dayak and the average Moslem, they are Armyn Ali Anyang & Ir. H. Fathan AR M.Ag. (Dayak Muslim - Malay), H Morkes Effendi, S.Pd., MH. (Malay Tribe) & Ir H Burhanuddin AR (Malay Tribe) and Drs. H. Abang Tambul Husin (Malay Tribe) and Pdt. Barnabas Simin, M.Pd.K. (Dayak - Catholic).

From the composition of one against three it is very reasonable if Cornelis won the 2012 elections because electoral views seen from the supporting political map between the number of Dayak tribe reached 2,194,009 or 49.91% compared with non-Dayak tribe (Malay and others) as much as 21191. 347 or 50.09%, then the supporters who cast Cornelis more because his voice intact, while the vote Non-Dayak tribe (Malay and others) split into three candidate pairs.

The final result of West Borneo Province provincial election 2012 depicting identity politics is really proven and still a major winning factor, can be considered from the explanation below:

1. Pair of candidates from Dayak and Tionghoa tribe, which is serial number 1 (one) Drs. Cornelis, MH and Drs. Cristiandy Sanjaya, SE., MM. winning most votes with 1,225,185 valid votes with a percentage of 52.13%.
2. Candidate Pairs number 2 (two), Muslim Dayak and Muslim Malays, namely H Armyn Ali Anyang (Dayak Muslim offspring) and Ir. H Fathan A Rashid, M.Ag (Muslim Malay) received 361,744 votes or 15.39% of the votes.
3. Candidate pair number 3 (three), Malay Muslim, namely H. Morkes Effendi, S.Pd., MH and Ir. Burhanuddin A Rashid received a voice of 591,081 valid votes or 25.15%.
4. Candidate pair number 4 (four), Malay Muslim and Dayak - Catholic, namely Drs. H. Abang Tambul Husin and Pdt. Barnabas Simin, M.Pd.K obtained as many as 172,016 valid votes or 7.32%.

Cornelis victory because he is from the elements of the Dayak tribe pure, meaning his family is still not interfered with other tribal elements, strengthened when still embraced the Catholic religion, because some Dayaks who converted to Islam, there are some who are still considered to be part of the Dayak, is not recognized as part of the Dayak people.

Cornelis couples namely Cristiandy Sanjaya who is a Tionghoa and Protestant tribe, he adds the power of Cornelis in contest election 2012 in West Borneo Province. Residents Tionghoa which
amounted to 358,451 or 8.17%, adding strength Cornelis of Dayak who have the basic capital of Dayak as much as 2,194.009 or 49.91%.

Between Dayak and Tionghoa numbered then get result 2,552,460 or 58.09% from all citizen of West Borneo Province. This shows the calculations on paper the Cornelis couple with Cristiandy Sanjaya have gained victory before the game. This is evidenced after the elections received a vote of 1,225,185 valid votes with a percentage of 52.13%. If it is mathematically calculated that this pair loses 5.96% by considering the comparison between the sum of the basic capital of Dayak and Chinese Tribe numbers minus the acquisition of the final count on the recapitulation of West Borneo Province Provincial KPU.

5.96% loss of votes is for Cornelis because first there is another candidate from the Dayak tribe but has no strong roots with Dayak people, and secondly there is a candidate from the Dayak tribe but the concerned is not a candidate for governor, but only as a candidate for vice provincial governor West Borneo Province.

H Armyn Ali Anyang is a candidate for governor of West Borneo Province who has Dayak descent but has become a Muslim. He is the son of Major Anumerta Muhammad Ali Anyang. He who is the pair of candidate number 2 (two) paired with Ir. H Fathan A Rashid, M.Ag who is from the Malay and Muslim tribes. The pair only received 361,744 votes or 15.39% of the votes.

Armin Ali Anyang lost prestige compared to Cornelis because he was not totally united in the Dayak tribe. He has become a Muslim in which the majority Dayak tribe embraced Catholicism and Protestantism. He has no particular custom or structural position as Cornelis who during the elections, is still valid as Chairman of Dayak Customary Council and Dayak President. One of the wishes of the Dayak people at that time was how West Borneo Province was led by Dayak figures because during the New Order period Dayak people could not lead the province of West Borneo Province because the leadership was appointed and imported by the central government.

5.96% loss of votes the second because there are candidates from other Dayak tribe but the concerned is not a candidate for governor, but only as a candidate for deputy governor of West Borneo Province Province. He is Pdt. Barnabas Simin, M.Pd.K. The pastor's pair received a vote of 172,016 valid votes or 7.32%, it can be said that the acquisition was partly a vote of Cornelis supporters. He was unable to get much votes from Dayaks for not being a symbol of Dayak existence.

The existence of Barnabas Simin is not comparable to Cornelis on the structure and culture of the Dayak tribe, because he does not enter as a part of influential people in Dayak Customary Council and Dayak Day organizational structure. So naturally he can not compete with Cornelis in the regional election of West Borneo Province in 2012. The appearance of Barnabas Simin as one of the contestants although as a candidate for governor's deputy, it is suspected there is a high-level political game in the hope of splitting votes for the Malay group. The winning team of Cornelis acknowledged that they were using a voice-breaking strategy to carry the candidate pairs, so there were four pairs of candidates for regional heads.

The existence of three candidate pairs outside Cornelis is difficult to gain victory because they have the same voters, they are facing each other to get votes on the basis of votes from non-Dayak and Non-Tribal Suku people. They compete in the voices of the Malay Tribes 814,550 (16.50%), Java 427,333 (8.66%), Madura 274,869 (6.27%), Bugis 137,282 (3.13%), Sunda 49,530 (1.13%) , Batak 26,486 (0.60%), Power 22,690 (0.52%), Banjar 14,430 (0.33%) and Other tribes 58,306 (1.33%) summed only 1,825,476 (41.01%). The number in percentages that did not reach 50% because only 41.01% as a symbol of the win of a candidate is simple, but it is forgotten by the three potential challengers, the mathematical calculation is forgotten with the political calculations based on where the candidate was born.

The appearance of Burhanudin, who plays as a potential challenger, is suspected as Cornelis design product, because common sense is difficult to accept the presence of older siblings and younger siblings forward with different candidate pairs in one election contestation. It is the power of Cornelis in playing in politics, so that the people do not read the game. He challenger candidate is seen from the background of the work that he is former Head of Bappeda West Borneo Province. They are siblings
with Fathan who is also a candidate for vice governor with another couple. There is no prohibition there is a perception that the possibility of Fathan being ruled by Cornelis forward as a candidate for deputy to the region.

Finally, brother and sister both get defeat in election of West Borneo Province 2012. Candidate pair number 3 (three), Malay Muslim, that is H. Morkes Effendi, S.Pd., MH accompanied by Ir. Burhanuddin A Rashid received a voice of 591,081 valid votes or 25.15%, far from victory because Cornelis received a 52.13% vote. From the above description can be drawn an understanding that the people of West Borneo Province to choose candidates for leadership in elections determined by ethnic and religious factors, can not be separated from the identity politics.

Political identity of many factors that influence, for example education level of 80% in West Borneo Province finished elementary school, second problem about political marginalization of local society of West Borneo Province so that when reformation used as revenge.

Cornelis's victory for the second period was also influenced by the solidarity of the voters, not the consideration of the people, and not the consideration of the group, even now the 27th HDI rank of 34 out of 34 provinces of Indonesia. The victory is the effect of ethnic Dayak interest, plus the non-ethnic compact Malay, in every elections 2008 and 2012 yesterday is difficult to unify the forces of ethnic Malay for example one pair only in the political event in West Borneo Province. The success of Cornelis for successfully establishing a Dayak identity. He can be a symbol of tolerance, between the Dayak and Malay tribes can unite. He is a changing figure, who shows as a moderate, tolerant figure, when speaking in plural forums, showing people who know about the teachings of Islam, and so on.

4. Conclusion
Politics in West Borneo Province is still using traditional patterns in the modern era, it is different from the demands of life that leads everything to modernity. Primordialism victory incumbent Cornelis in West Borneo Province one of them because of primordialism in the form of regional origin (tribal) is Dayak. Actually, the number of Dayak and Non Dayak tribes is balanced even though the difference is small, because the candidate from Dayak tribe only Cornelis and other Malay, then Cornelis easily get the victory.

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