

## HYBRIDIZATION AND DEFICIT OF DEMOCRACY IN PROVINCIAL LEADER ELECTION OF BALI, INDONESIA

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### **Abstract**

As a manifestation of a celebration of procedural democracy, Bali Provincial General Election (Bali elections) was sufficiently characterized the phenomenon of de-ideologization and hybridization partner of governor and deputy candidates. Various problems still appeared due to the democratic deficit and less fulfillment of the rights of civil society. But, although there is no guarantee that through the election-style democracy that everything will be better, but as the view of Churchill, democracy is still considered to be one public virtue, because there is no other better alternative. At least there is a hope that with the election of Bali that first held in person will be able to further strengthen local democratic legitimacy.

**Key words: social, political, local democracy, election**

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## Introduction

Central hegemony and influence of state power during the New Order regime in Indonesia seemed to be very dominant. This is because the political system works on the principles of "bureaucratic authoritarianism" and "state corporatism" (Mas'ood, 1989; and Jackson, 1978). The political elite and bureaucracy in the line of duty more oriented to the central power (state centric) and tends to favor to the 'top' (government) rather than to the 'bottom' (society). The regional society just become the object and marginalized in the decision-making process. They only occupy a marginal position which should always be submissive and obedient to the ruling elite of each center.

The process of transition in national leadership through the 1998 reform movement that happened later has been involved in creating embryos of pro-democracy movement. This movement has led the people of Indonesia towards the conditions that was believed by some intellectuals as an era of transition to democracy (Nordholt and Abdullah, 2002; Gaffar, 2004 and Hiariej, 2004). Although democracy is not automatically born from an option of transformative post-authoritarianism, within certain limits of democratic transition it can still be used in explaining the transitional government after the New Order Indonesia.

In the era of democratic transition and the various dynamics of social change have occurred in the system of national and local government, particularly in the relationship between central and local governments are to a certain extent contributed to the majority of the people in some regions fight for the rights of their autonomy. In fact, the dynamics and socio-political changes have also enlarge the political instability in the country with demands for independence by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Aceh and Papua Organization (OPM) in Papua are often tempt the military to commit acts of violence in order to prevent the disintegration of the nation (Hadiz, 1999: vi).

Although it is still limited, the central government is already responding through various efforts in order to foster "a sense of togetherness" in governance, especially to harmonize relations and regional centers. One way is to try and apply democratic principles in / from the ground with local elections (elections) directly. The elections are instruments to improve participatory democracy and meet all the expected elements. Moreover, real democracy is local-all politics is local (O'Neill, in Heywood, 2002), so that one of the goals is to strengthen the legitimacy of democratic election.

However, it should be remembered election is not generosity or a consolation prize from the ruler. Such as regional autonomy, it is an expansion of democratic mechanisms which are applied as a consequence of the widespread demand for democracy, especially in the regional / local. However, experience in other countries shows the success of the elections does not stand alone. It is determined among other things by the maturity of parties and political actors, the political culture of society, and the readiness of administration support for the elections themselves. Local political conditions are very heterogeneous, awareness and political knowledge of society is low, poor population recording system, and the system conduct of elections (electoral governance) frequently leads to failure of implementation and election purposes.

### Context and Review of Literature

Bali local elections to elect the Governor and Deputy Governor of Bali for the first time applied the system of direct election and have held on Wednesday, July 9, 2008. The number of voters were about 2.7 million people and the organizers were Regional Election Commission (Election Commission) Bali and its staff numbering 44 927 people. Financing was funded by the Regional Budget of Rp. 43,716,133,950. The election process was overseen by the Supervisory Committee and its staff totaling 882 people, as well as monitored by organizations that are legal entities, such as NGOs, universities, Election Monitoring Organizations, Mass Organizations and others.

Momentary voters' data up to the date of May 3, 2008 showed *Buleleng* become the largest number of electors. In this region there are 459 721 voters out of the total number of voters while in Bali 2,493,839 people. The next was Denpasar with 376 093 voters, *Gianyar* 322 789 voters, 318 716 voters in *Tabanan*, *Badung* 283 646 voters, voters of *Jembrana* were 203 627, *Karangasem* 226 273 voters, and *Bangli* 166 465 voters. From the 9 district / city, the lowest voters turn out to be in *Klungkung* region with only 136 509.

There are three pairs of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor defined by the Plenary Meeting of the Bali Provincial General Election Committee members, namely:

Governor Candidate : Prof. Dr. drg. Gde Winasa

Deputy Governor : I Gusti Bagus Alit Putra, SH,S.Sos, M.Si.

These candidates were supported by Bali Awareness Coalition (Koalisi Kebangkitan Bali) that consists of 13 political parties the gained the following numbers of voters:

**Table 1**

No	Name of Political Parties	Voters gain	Voters %	Seats gained	Seats%
1	<i>P. Demokrat</i>	107,638	5.53%	3	5%
2	<i>P. Nasional BantengKemerdekaan</i>	55,037	2.83%	1	2%
3	<i>P. KeadilandanPersatuan Indonesia</i>	48,672	2.50%		0%
4	<i>P. KebangkitanBangsa</i>	25,800	1.32%		0%
5	<i>P. Damai Sejahtera</i>	13,339	0.68%		0%
6	<i>P. Pelopor</i>	28,694	1.47%		0%
7	<i>P. PenegakDemokrasi Indonesia</i>	17,028	0.87%		0%
8	<i>P. PersatuanDemokrasiKebangsaan</i>	7,574	0.39%		0%
9	<i>P. Merdeka</i>	10,128	0.52%		0%
10	<i>P. Serikat Indonesia</i>	4,071	0.21%		0%
11	<i>P. Persatuan Daerah</i>	2,200	0.11%		0%
12	<i>P. Buruh Sosial Demokrat</i>	4,388	0.23%		0%
13	<i>P. BulanBintang</i>	1,922	0.10%		0%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>326,491</b>	<b>16.76%</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7%</b>

Governor Candidate : CokordeGde Budi Suryawan, SH, M.Si

Deputy Governor : Brigjen Pol. Purn. Drs. NyomanGedeSuweta, M.Si

The candidates were supported by Bali Awareness Coalition (Koalisi Kebangkitan Bali) that consists of 13 political parties and gained the following numbers of voters:

**Table 2**

No	Name of Political Parties	Voters gain	Voters %	Seats gained	Seats%
1	<i>P. GolonganKarya</i>	352,366	18.10%	14	25%
2	<i>P. KaryaPeduliBangsa</i>	81,638	4.19%	3	5%
3	<i>P. Nasional Indonesia</i>	71,016	3.65%	2	4%

	<i>Marhaenisme</i>				
4	<i>P. Perhimpunan Indonesia Baru</i>	50,916	2.61%	1	2%
5	<i>P. Persatuan Pembangunan</i>	19,233	0.99%	1	2%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>575,169</b>	<b>29.54%</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>38%</b>

Governor Candidate : Drs. Made MangkuPastika

Deputy Governor : Drs. A. A. GedeNgurahPuspayoga

these candidates were supported only by one political party that is *PartaiDemokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* and gained the following numbers of voters:

**Table 3**

No	Name of Political Party	Voters gain	Voters %	Seats gained	Seats%
1	<i>P. Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i>	999,715	51.34%	30	55%

After the process of Bali's election on 9 July 2008 it was known that the valid voters for all candidate pairs of Bali Governor and Deputy Governor were 1.976.495. The election was won by the candidates couples; Made Mangku Pastika and AA Gde Ngurah Puspayoga with the following detailed:

**Table 4**

No.	Candidate Pairs	Total voters	Percentage
1	I GedeWinasa Gusti and I GustiBagus Alit Putra	<b>360.724</b>	<b>18.25%</b>
2.	Tjokorda Gede Budhi Suryawan and Nyoman Gede Suweta	<b>527.861</b>	<b>26.71%</b>
3	Made Mangku Pastika and A.A Gede Ngurah Puspayoga	<b>1.087.910</b>	<b>55.04%</b>
	Total :	<b>1.976.495</b>	<b>100 %</b>

Interesting point drawn from the three pairs of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Bali is the combination partner backgrounds of civil-military / police, civil-bureaucrats, politicians-non-politicians, cadres -non-cadres of political parties or otherwise. This fact shows the dichotomy of civil-military / police, civil bureaucrats, politicians - non-politicians, cadres -non cadres has no more appeared.

To some extent indicates that the ongoing "trans-political" or "political affair" that is crossed and to be in symbiosis principles, means, and political strategy with the principles, methods and strategies in other areas (Piliang, 2005: 4-5). Trans-political in the process of nomination of the elections was formed due to a loose or bending the limits that have been separating the various segments of life based entities, including the segmentation of social (social class, 'caste', looks at the participation of candidates from various social classes or 'royal family', the royal-Non royal family, etc.); phenomenological segmentation (social reality, the reality of political, cultural realities, for example, appears in a political orientation that is not necessarily restricted by the party).

Blau (1975) refers to this phenomenon as an affiliate (cross-cutting affiliation) where the relationship between the various parameters of the social structure in the form of "intersection", which falls crosscut with social differentiation, based on other parameters. Differences in a person's membership in various groups or status based on a parameter to put them in the "common ground" membership in a group or status based on other parameters.

Crossbreeding or affiliates crisscrossing between various entities will be able to generate hybridization spawned various forms of hybrid (Piliang, 2005: 6). As the embodiment of the hybrid, the pair of Governor and deputy Governor Candidates which is a mixture entity that is no longer intact as party cadres alone, also leaving a partial identity of some of the elements is mated.

The elections are expected to represent local democracy. The issue of representation becomes very evident when the governor and legislators who sit on the executive and legislative bodies are not capable of generating public policy in favor of the people. The majority of public policy produced more pragmatic, short-term, and in favor of the interests of certain elite groups. Not infrequently the public policies made even against the wishes of the community. These

conditions produce a "democratic deficit" in which public officials do not have the systemic relationships with their constituencies (Erawan 2007; Sugiarto, 2007).

Democratic deficit reflected the condition of the representation is ineffective and bawdy local political system. In addition, the problem of the weakness of political representation can also be seen from the performance that the effectiveness of political institutions has not been showed that should encourage the establishment of a sound democratic system. This involves not only political and social problems, but also an obstacle to empowering civil society.

### Research Method

This research was conducted with qualitative methods that describe hybridization and the democratic deficit in the elections Bali. The first phase, both primary and secondary data was collected. The second stage was choosing a theory for analyzing the data. The third stage was analyzing and interpreting the data that has been selected. The fourth stage, writing and constructing the entire research. To achieve these objectives used hybridization theory and the theory of democratic deficit. The approach used is trans-political approach and affiliation (Cross-cutting-affiliation)

### Some Findings

#### 1) Institutional Imbalance Condition: Decentralization Governance Minus Decentralization Political Parties.

Electoral reform proposal for elections had emerged when the two spheres of political and party system actually still one. Local politics are integrated into national politics, in which the structure of the complete psychological dependence on local politicians to the political elite in Jakarta (SinarHarapan, October 17, 2003). Local party elite were the hegemonies of Gramscian-style in their way of life and way of thinking as a way of thinking and lifestyle of the elite group that dominates the political center and exploits them (Simon, 2004: 19).

As a consequence, the issue of representation and legitimacy as a strategic issue to build a democratic system and substantive quality in the area is also overlooked. Whereas the practice of local democracy through elections is built on the principle of representation in which the political decisions and public policy in the administration of state power will be made by the Governor and Deputy Governor-elect who obtained a mandate from the people who have full sovereignty. This normative view presupposes that the governor and legislators who get the mandate must be

able to voice the interests of groups of people who voted for them through various public policies issued in the implementation of development and the wheels of local government to reduce the 'democratic deficit' (Partnership, 2007). However, the democratic deficit is also greatly influenced by the structural failure of the political parties because ideology takes place in it. As one form of political organizing, political parties are not even able to translate the principles of modern institutional which are able to adapt quickly to the environment (STI 2008). First, the institutional structure of political parties in general is very rigid and dictated from above. Political parties at the local level have almost no space to build the institutional structures that are typical of its level, according to local conditions. Second, the party structure built is also not able to accommodate dynamic elements such as culture, norms and local traditions. The structure as if it is a single entity that is not sensitive to plurality. Third, the structure of which is dictated from the center is also not able to provide space to accommodate the unique relationship system that is different at the local level. Fourth, building institutional structures of political parties only know one jurisdiction under the leadership of monolithic-elitist. Interpersonal relationships unique to the local level should be subject to the jurisdiction of the centralized power of this. Fifth, the institutional structure of the political parties are also not prepared to be able to adapt to the development of democratic transition that changes rapidly, although some of them is counter-democratic.

## 2) Political Simulacrum with Politicization of Religion and Tradition.

Politicization of religion and the customary mean making religious and traditional way to achieve political goals. Religion shall include the various elements that are claimed to be "owned / part" of a religion. Ranging from abstract such as theology, philosophy, epistemology or the doctrines of God packed into a prophetic language until the present affairs (Widana, Bali Post, May 8, 2008). Intentionally or not, directly or not have appeared systematic and organized effort to use, take the opportunity to hold religious elements at least received / receiving, obtaining justification, defense. Winning tactics in the elections tended to be accompanied by intrigues by holding on Machavellian principle, "the end justifies all means / measures". Politicization custom also occur with the use of some customary terms, as *masimakrama*, *ngayah*, *dharma suaka*, and the like as well as changes in the meaning of 'Suarankukul' and 'bale banjar' which originally was a 'mirror of reality' and then to 'formulator reality' (Piliang, 2005: 207). People are forced to



accept single interpretations of these terms of partner candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor conveyed through print and audio-visual media as a form of politics or political imagery simulacrum. Simulacrum in politics, public opinion is formed with reality (truth and facts) that are served by the media, all of which are actually nothing more than an artificial reality that convey half the truth and hide the other half of the truth. However, people who are trapped in a political simulacrum absorb the realities presented uncritically media and logically, so that the realities are formulated and then form opinions and political attitudes of those who actually have the information be distorted by political candidates.

### 3) Equality and Gender Justice under the Shadow of Patriarchal Culture.

In a variety of resources, male access is more dominant than females, due to the limitations of a particular resource ownership in the house in question. It is also because of the patrilineal kinship systems in society that led to the personal resources of women is lower than men. This situation shows still strong patriarchal culture (Provincial Government of Bali and PSW Unud, 2005).

In the implementation of the Bali elections apparently is still going on gender inequality (gender inequality) or injustice because there is not representation of women as candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Bali. This condition means eliminating most of the rights of women's participation in politics, especially elections. Whereas the Government of Indonesia has already done some effort in realizing gender equality through various policies, such as declared by Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development.

The marginalization of women in the election nomination is certainly very worrying from the point of view of **Equality and Gender Justice**. In fact, in the *Buleleng* elections some time ago, it has been followed by women candidate of Vice Regent, although not yet managed to win the competition. The fact today a new Balinese women can occupy the highest position as head of the village in the structure of local government (the executive). In the legislature and judiciary is also almost similar condition, Balinese women are still very few (less than 30%) that can attain a strategic position.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

### **The dominance of Political Parties in the Candidacy System.**

This condition is affected by the phenomenon of the first mentioned one. The three packages of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Bali are all entered through the political parties. Independent candidates, as proposed community groups, actually requires a struggle and a strong pressure, but has not been applied in the election of Bali. Therefore, candidates can only enter, on permission of party administrators and proceed through the mechanism of a party. On one side there were a little party cadres who deserve to go forward as government leaders (and even the task of regeneration is often being neglected by the party branch in the area), on the other hand so many local leaders (universities, NGOs, community organizations and professional institutions and others that are qualified but have no affiliations with certain political party. People in turn may only have chance to vote for candidates put forth by political parties, either agree or not. Another problem of the domination of the party is the distortion of meaning of direct election itself. In fact, candidates who win the contestation were basically independent candidates. Parties are merely one source stock and instruments help to channel some candidates, and beyond that rights equal opportunity also obtained various professional institutions and other social organizations. Distortion of the meaning of direct elections in the structure of domination of the party make the elections not much get added value, and not as ideal as it was imagined. Seeing the condition of dominance above it is likely that emergence of independent candidates will be able to make the party have a willingness to change themselves in order to be better prepared to compete. The issue is more important, is what the pattern of competition in the elections that will be created by the emergence of independent candidates, how we can create patterns of rational competition, oriented programs, as well as with the low costs politic (Erawan, 2007).

Besides, in fact there is still a high public distrust against the cadres of political parties, for example, as shown by a survey conducted by the Lead Institute Paramadina University and Indobarometer in July 2007. In this survey, when respondents were asked whether the regeneration pathway is believed to be ideal path to create a quality of political leaders, only about 20.4% who said that they still believe in the institution of political parties, while a majority or 29.3% is quite surprising expressed more confidence on the path to academic or intellectual.

Even the numbers of respondents claiming not to know the fact are a little more than respondents who believe in a political party, which is about 21.8%.

### **Reflections on Subject Political Culture**

In general, people of rural voters in Bali still reflect the type of subject Political Culture in the typology of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1984). In this type of society obedient and participate in the elections because they are considered merely an obligation or as a result of social control. Most people throng to the voting booth, though not understand the vision, mission and strategic plan of the candidate, is not interested in the campaign material offered, are not so familiar with the candidate and do not care about the election results later. However, it was done solely to avoid the social control and the anxiety that arises for violating the norms established in the community. Only a small proportion of educated people, especially in urban areas that have been embraced Political Culture participants to engage fully in political activities, such as participating in the activities of political parties, voting and searching for information on political life. They base their participation in the elections with the belief that membership in the elections is a method for evaluating, selecting the head and deputy head of the region and to influence the direction of policy areas. In conditions that most voters still classified subject or type of political culture, added with the level of knowledge and political experience which is still low, it could be the target of manipulation by material interests and sentiments symbolic played by the political contestants with his simulacrum. This will certainly enrich the political pragmatism and increasingly distancing them from the ideals that want to strengthen local democratic legitimacy and mature political consciousness through elections.

### **Political Pragmatism and Practice 'Money Politics'.**

If democracy without being well-managed and well-being of the people on the other side is not too good then that is the point where the beginning of the destruction of democracy. There isn't even slightest doubt that the election is very high democratic expectations because the space of popular participation in determining its leader becomes very large. The space for people to seek for a better leader is larger as well. However, due to the still low level of education and still high poverty levels, it often occurs in the decision in giving the option is not always ideal. There are more pragmatic considerations in making that decision. Various case of 'money politics' in

the implementation of the election (although extremely difficult and little is revealed to the surface) may occur in conditions of the voting public who prefers a pragmatic considerations rather than rational. This is where the weakness of democracy, which often cannot be avoided because winning in the elections, is a majority vote regardless of the quality. However, it seems unlikely to reverse the direction the 'needle' of democracy in the elections to return to a non-democratic process only to find efficiencies and accelerated welfare.

### **Civil Society in Entanglement of Democracy 'Rationalization'.**

A democratic life of the nation is always based on the principle that the sovereign people and therefore entitled to engage in any political activity. However, realizing the full participation of the people in the whole process of political activity is impossibility. Hence there arises the notion that if the government has given the people a considerable role to be able to vote in the elections, the government can be considered to have acted democratic.

Assumptions and ways of understanding democracy thus at least contain some fundamental weaknesses. **First**, ignore some forms of political participation of other people, who actually can play the function of political education better than elections. **Secondly**, the narrowness of the criteria used, which only on the implementation of the elections would severely limit the real meaning of democracy in which the involvement of people intensively begins from the formulation up to the evaluation of public policy. In such conditions, the political participation of people experience "rationalization" so that their political sovereignty has been further reduced. **Thirdly**, democracy is limited only taking place within a certain time that when a 'democratic party' was held. The possibility of 'democratization' further to oversee the running of the government is ruled out.

### **Potential Conflicts in the Final Competition.**

There is always the possibility of mass unrest and conflict because of the attitude of mass opposition sympathizers supporting the defeat pair candidate. This is due to dissatisfaction with the election mechanism as well as the final results of the competition. Mass upheavals and conflicts that erupted in the elections is a true portrait of the stage of development of political maturity voting public. As an illustration, it was noted that carrying the sealing action of the Election Commission in Padang Pariaman, Kendari and Aru Islands, the destruction and burning

of such election office in Binjai, Toraja and Halmahera until Election Commission bombing in Sula Islands, North Maluku. Likewise, clashes between supporters or apparatus that occurred in Indramayu, Makassar and Batam (Discourse, 2005: 50) as well as the action of destruction and burning of public service office in Buleleng.

Differences in affiliation and political orientation led to mass unrest and conflict that could bring political fragmentation not only degrading the quality of choice, but also has the potential to deepen local disintegration and instability. Social and political conditions of heterogeneous Balinese people, then coupled with sorting based on the aspirations by political orientation, helped reinforce the potential for latent conflict or already manifest (manifest). A number of characteristics of social relations that can be found as a consequence of the structure of the social plurality are thus:

**First**, there is tendency of growing conflict behavior in the relations between the various communities or groups supporting each candidate. The high appreciation of the fanatical supporters of a particular candidate pair in the various elements could develop into seeds of conflict, if it is not accompanied by the rules (rule of the game) and a clear system. Moreover, if the candidates who compete have the same mass bases are relatively balanced.

**Secondly**, there are symptoms of the politicization of traditional villages. Not infrequently it could trigger horizontal conflict between manners. This is because in the traditional villages relatively many supporters coming from the figures of traditional-emotional (true believer) who are ready to sacrifice for the sake of achieving political goals rather than modern-rational that look at the defeat or victory in the elections only as a game is not all-out war.

Finally, it must be realized that the shape of local democracy through a 'celebration' of Bali's election is not an end, but rather is a means and ways to solve various social problems of political, democratic and civil society empowerment that has been unresolved. As a manifestation of local democracy, elections either it is Governor of Bali election or some other district heads to be carried out should be selected to be implemented wisely, because he is like a double-blade sword that can give a blessing but a curse for the people of Bali.

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