Political Primordialism On Local Election In Indonesia

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Abstract: Indonesia is a multicultural nation with a diversity of identities such as; languages, tribes, religions, and territories spread over thousands of islands in the archipelago. The diversity becomes valuable, but on the other hand, the differences of primordial aspect are often as justified in the conflict on the political in local contestation. Using the primordial aspect as the political instrument, in the sense that the author is called "primordialism on politics" is a phenomenon of local politic contestation. The objective of primordialism on political is an efficient mobilization instrument of politics by saving time, energy, and thought which only arouses the "sociological consciousness of the electorate. Primordialism on politics does not require political actor ideas to gain support but takes advantage of the primordial aspect inherent in each voter. The emergence of primordialism in politics especially on the local political contestation, not only because we are a diverse nation, but there are non-primordial factors such as; political ideas, voting behavior and function of political parties.

Index Terms: Multicultural, primordialism on political, local contestation, voting behavior.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In academic literature the term primordial is nothing new, an American anthropologist, Clifford Geertz introduced the term in the 1960s. In that year, Geertz studied society in Indonesia and other developing countries, then publish the paper "The Integrative Revolution, Primordial Sentiments And Civil Politics In New State [1]. Geertz's assessment of primordial ties provides additional explanation for the political conflicts that occur in developing countries such as Indonesia. The diversity of identities such; language, ethnicity, religion, and territories incorporated in national ties often become the determinants of conflict in political momentum. Primordial ties are a factor of conflict in politics, as political actors engage and include their identities in the political context. In every political context in Indonesia, both national and local, we always present primordial issues such as; "The issue of Java and non-Java, in the presidential election in Indonesia" or "ethnic, family and religious issues in the regional election; governors, mayors, and regents in local political context". Basically, there is nothing wrong with primordial ties because everyone has no choice to be born to a tribe, religion, territory or even a particular mother tongue, but the problem then becomes to make the primordial ties as a political instrument for political support in electoral. When these primordial ties serve as political instruments, they will clash with the primordial ties of others, and thus political conflicts for primordial reasons are bound to occur. The fanaticism of primordial ties is inherent and difficult to put off so that the primordial ties are often used as effective instruments by actors to achieve political goals. Because with primordial ties can create primordial loyalty, then political actors in reaching power use the instrument to gain political support. In addition, primordial ties require no to much energy to get political support, because it exists and attached to each person. Therefore, for an "instant political actors" will choose the ties because it is more effective and efficient to get political support in the local election. Using primordial ties for political purposes has the potential to create political problems as a mixed loyalty; political loyalty and primordial allegiance.

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There are three effects of mixed political allegiance and primordial loyalty. First, combination of loyalty has resulted from a "blind political loyalty", meaning that support as a continuing consequence of loyalty to the leader is no longer based on objectivity "right or wrong, capable or incapable", but rather because of the personal ties based on; tribe, religion, lineage and even regional origin. Support is not because of the ability of the leader who can be rationally valued, but rather the similarity of primordial aspects. The sound subsequent impact is the difficulty of separating the boundaries between political issues and primordial issues. For example as the input function of the political system, "The demands on behalf of Islamic Organizations that reject Basuki Cahya Purnama (Ahok) as the Governor of DKI and support other mass organizations that take the position of supporting Ahok"(2016). This situation becomes difficult to limited, whether the issues are purely political, purely primordial, or even mixed-up. The third effect of this combination is that political leaders or elite have the potential to divert political issues into primordial issues in order to maximize electoral support. For example, the bad image that has been hitting parties with an Islamic ideology because some of the party's elites are caught in the case, there is often a problem bending. There is a presumption that the case that hit them is its nature by design because there are other forces that do not want Muslims to manage and improve this nation. What is meant by the "political primordialism" by the author is the deliberate and systematic attempt by political actors to utilize primordial ties to achieve political goals? The purpose of such political behavior is an attempt to mobilize politics to gain support for primordial identity equality. Political actors who do not have political ideas to influence support will choose that way because they can make the most of time, energy and thought to influence them by arousing "sociological consciousness of the electorate".

2 POLITICAL PRIMORDIALISM IN INDONESIA

Indonesia is a nation with a tremendous diversity, consisting of 30 tribes that are spread across 34 provinces, 240 million people who occupy more than thousands of islands spread from Sabang to Merauke. So, that Indonesia was known as a plural and multicultural nation. Multicultural existing into its own peculiarities and can be used as a force to build community when well managed. However, multicultural is often a threat because it has the potential to generate conflict

on the basis of ethnonationalism [2]. Indonesia is formed on the diversity of tribes, religions, languages, cultures, and regions. When the declaration of Indonesian independence was banned, then the diversity merged into one of the Indonesian nations. In the concept of political development, the process of fusion is known as the unification process by Organski, or national integration by Coleman and Rosberg, at which point all elements of a nation set aside their respective primordial aspects for independence in a unitary state. In stage unification all the identities that melt to gain independence, but at a later stage the unity that is achieved is threatened in the management of independence because of the liquid density of the froze return. Frozenness, arising from primordial ties previously excluded, becomes a determinant factor by a particular group in the independence process. This fact can be traced in the determination of the state base at the beginning of independence, or rebellion in the regions such as; DI (Darul-Islam) in 1947 at West Java, RMS in Maluku and DI TII Sul-Sel, OPM (Free Papua Organization) in 1950, and 1976 Free Aceh Movement (GAM) [2]. If we explore deeply, the rise of primordial ties in Indonesian politics is after the declaration of independence, which is triggered by the issue of the distribution of political and economic resources. Darul Islam's leader, Kartosuwiryo is a freedom hero and has a support base by region on west java. But at the time of independence, Kartosuwiryo was not accommodated in the distribution of political sources. The same thing happened to the leader of DI-TII Sul-Sel Kahar Musakkar, he after independence also did not get the distribution of political sources. The history of Indonesian democracy is divided into four periods, namely Constitutional Democracy (1945-1949), Guided Democracy (1959-1965), Pancasila Democracy (1965-1998) and Democracy of Reformation (1998-present). At each phase, it is always in the color of various issues of political primordialism. The center of primordial issues in politics from the crew of independence to the end of guided democracy is around religious issues, the coalition of political parties in parliament makes religion the first and foremost factor in forming coalitions. In the Reformation era, where the paradigm of state management in the frame of democracy shifted from the centralized system in the new order era, into a decentralize in the Era-Reformation. The shifted paradigm of governance in that era also changed the orientation of political primordial issue in the regional. During the reformation era, issues such as; religious, regional issues "Java and" outside Java " were not as solid as in the period of Democracy Pancasila and Guided Democracy, however political primordialism in reformation era specially in Pilkada is more specific because issue around ethnicity, kinship ties such as "family clans". The phenomenon of the strengthening of political primordialism, that we can explore on every political event in the region. In Pilkada, we will meet candidate campaign activities through the base on primordial organizations, such as candidates declaring their candidacy at the "family gathering" event, or in group organizations with regional backgrounds and ethnic and tribal ties. This is an attempt to encourage political support, in which the candidate tries to describe that he is part and representative of the community so that success and failure affect the community. So that the support of candidate not based on capacity or " what will he do on future but who they are".

3 POLITICAL PRIMORDIALISM FACTORS IN INDONESIA

The emergence of primordialism in politics is not just because our nation is a diverse nation, but there are non-primordial factors involved; issues of political ideas, voting behavior and strategic functionaries of political parties. The first factor that reinforces primordialism is that, as a politician in a "poor idea" area. For example, almost every political contestation in either the election of governors, mayors and regents of average contestants has the same idea or even copy paste with slight modifications from other contestants, for example the word "free" is used as the ultimate word for each of their programs, including; "Free education", "free health" and so on. This shows that our politicians lack political ideas, consequently voters do not get the difference between each other but the differences due to the primordial aspect. The second factor is political behavior, the voters in the region almost do not care about strategic programs of the candidate because they assume that "the program strategies" are lips service only". The programs are only present when there is a campaign, and after the campaign season, the program is only documents of vision and mission when the registration of candidates, not as the policy direction in the future. This experience is influenced by the voting behavior of voters so that voters do not focus on ideas of the candidate rather than primordial ties such as; ethnicity, religion, lineage. They are interested in the primordial issue because it could be converted as ease to winning government project and as ease to be employees in a government agency (PNS). The two factors mentioned earlier in political primordialism are closely related to the third factor, namely, the role of political parties as strategic institutions in the democracy. In the context of modern politics, there is no country without a political party, except for the first two reasons for small territories such as in Persian Gulf (a Persian Gulf) based on kinship ties, and authoritarian states controlled by the military [3]. Functionally, a political party is not only to seize and retain power based on its ideological line, but within that framework, the party has a function; political socialization, political recruitment, political communication, and conflict regulators [4]. The strengthening of political primordialism in Indonesia, it is because of the weak role of political parties in functional of political socialization in the term of political education. When a political party did a maximum role in political education, it would produce a politician with a big and brilliant idea. Political education will give benefit and raise the number of critical voters give rise to critical, which is put primordial aspects as the last option or even leave primordial considerations in their choice.

4 THE THREAT OF POLITICAL PRIMORDIALISM TO DEMOCRACY

There are two points of view that we must consider in the democratization of a country, namely the normative and substantive aspects. The implementation of free and clean elections, and the presence of freedom of assembly, religion, argument in the life of the state is a normative aspect of democracy, whereas democratization is substantively more to the sense felt by society, and not only the surface, for example, "the concept of justice" [5]. Normative democratization is only concerned with procedural matters, such as the existence of at least two political parties as a condition of a democratic regime, then normatively qualified, but in the substantive aspect, it is not necessarily democratic because it must be verified its representation. The emergence

of a primordial issue in democratization is possible in this regard since it is normatively accommodated in freedom, or even necessary in the process of democracy, hereinafter referred to as the "majority rule" [6]. The dominant primordial identity (majority) can dominate the minority, it is one of the principles of democracy. Therefore, in the practice of democracy in Indonesia, the freedom gap is utilized to gain support because it is more effective and efficient. However, the utilization of primordial support will threaten the quality of substantial democracy. What is the substantive democracy?, If we refer to Dahl's frame- democracy, then simplified into three main dimensions, namely, competition, participation, and political and civil freedom [7]. For example, in a dimension of the competition, the procedural presence of two or more political parties in a country's political system can be said to be democratic. However, in a substantive aspect, it has not guaranteed democracy, because it must then be ensured that the competition that goes with the existence of the party goes "healthy or not". During the New Order period, the number of parties competing for more than two, thus procedurally filled the democratic category by looking at the competing party aspect. In the New Order era, however, the Freedom House gave a score for Indonesia's democratic index; freedom index (5.0) [7]. Furthermore, in the aspect of "participation", the procedural democratic level of a country can be measured by the large number of participating citizens, such as in the election, but on another hand substantively the amount is not the level of democratic guarantee because it could be the amount of the amount due to mobilized participation. The level of political participation in the New Order era was 90%, while in the Era-Reformation only reached 80%, but the democracy index in the Reform Era (index of freedom 2.5) was better than the democratic index in the New Order era (5, 0) [7], although the level of political participation in the reform era is lower. The threat of political primordialism to the aspect of democratic substance can be traced to the three dimensions of democracy. First, on the dimensions of competition, the inclusion of primordial issues in the arena of political competition is a serious threat, because it will affect the basic values of the competition itself. The absence of a political competition is the struggle of political ideas to achieve the "common good" or the "good life" as Plato and Aristotle's political powers [8]. However, the competition does not encompass those who have the idea of common good, yet encompasses those who represent certain primordial groups. So the ideal aspect of political competition is to get the best political leaders with various considerations of "rational choice" shifted into a "sociological model" with a primordial background. Political primordialism also threatens substantive democracy in the aspect of "political participation" which is also an indicator of democracy. Political participation is an individual's political behavior in dealing with all decisions concerning him. Departing from these limits on political participation, the participation of citizens in elections and local elections, and protests against government's policy are political participation. The mixing of primordial issues in political participation will threaten substantial democracy since the function of input in the political system as in the form of public protests will have difficulty in terms of objectivity. The introduction of a primordial issue in political participation would disrupt the quality of participation because of subjective tendencies, may judge a "good" or "no" policy based on the identity of the policy maker, and not based on the rational

impact of the policy. The next indicator is on the aspect of political freedom. In the local election such as Pilkada, we often encounter "territorial plots" by some successful candidates for governor, mayor, regent with banners and symbols such as "you have changed certain candidate regions". A model is a form of political primordialism, and there may be a person's personal freedom, as there may be people in the region who have different political preferences. Other examples of examples with the name of certain village support certain candidates for governors, mayors, and regent.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The strengthening of the primordial issue on local political contestation has something to do with three factors; firstly most of our politicians are "poor political ideas", it can be traced from the campaign issue or material that is being carried, which makes it difficult for us in the region to find fresh and competitive campaign material ideas between one context and another. The second thing is voter behavior, the characteristic of most voters in the region does not matter the idea of politicians, because they believe that political "political ideas" by politicians will lead to promises that can not be realized or just "lips service" based on the experience of previous campaigns. The third factor is the lack of political party's role in carrying out its functions, so they have not been maximized in recruiting politicians who are rich in ideas and educating voters to be critical voters.

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