

## Strategies Against Political Dynasty in Banjar Mayor Election 2018

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### Abstract

*The issue of the political dynasty in Banjar City has emerged since the last ten years after two periods of the leadership of Herman Sutrisno were continued by Ade Uu Sukaesih who is his wife. Entering the second period Ade Uu Sukaesih re-nominated as Mayor of Banjar, again the issue of political dynasty reappeared. The issue of the dynasty was then used as an opportunity for political opponents in participating in political contestation. Through this research, the author wants to find out how the political marketing strategies of Maman Suryaman and Irma Bastaman's pair against the political dynasty. This study uses political marketing theory and descriptive qualitative research methods with sampling techniques namely purposive sampling. The results of the study prove that the dynastic issue that accompanied Ade Uu Sukaesih's journey began to fade with the vote in the second period of Ade Uu Sukaesih's leadership which declined from the first period to the second period. Although the pair Maman Suryaman and Irma Bastaman failed to defeat the incumbent, they began to shift the political map in Banjar City and became one of the bearers of the change movement for Banjar with superior marketing strategies through social media and combing deeper into urban society. The weakness of Maman Suryaman and Irma Bastaman's partners lies in their focus on social media by putting aside the functions and roles of print and electronic media. In addition, they also focus too much on the millennia generation and put aside other segments such as rural communities, laborers as well as farmers who are not all technology literate so that political campaigns through social media are not always effective.*

**Keywords:** *political dynasty, political marketing strategy, incumbent*

## Background

The beginning of the hectic news about the simultaneous regional elections 2018 in Indonesia made many candidates for mayors especially in the city of Banjar province West Java confidently display photos of themselves in every corner of the city in the form of billboards, posters, and banners. But after entering the registration schedule, the candidates for mayor one by one began to fall until in the end there were only two candidates who would eventually contest the election of mayors in the city of Banjar. Leadership rotation in Banjar City in 2 decades has occurred four times. At present, Banjar City has held its 4th mayor general election. Four times the leadership rotation has made Dr. Herman Sutrisno as Mayor of Banjar for two consecutive periods and made Dr. Ade Uu Sukaesih who was none other than the wife of the former Mayor of Banjar as Mayor in the 4th period. In the election of Mayor of Banjar in 2018, there were two pairs of candidates consisting of one incumbent couple and one new opponent pair. The incumbent couple re-nominates in the second period of leadership in the 2018 Mayor of Banjar General Election for the 2018-2023 Period. Re-nominating the incumbent is in line with the re-nomination of former Mayor of Banjar Dr. Herman Sutrisna in the second period of the second election of the Mayor of Banjar. The landslide and consecutive victory of the former Mayor of Banjar made the motivation for the incumbent to run again in this second period of leadership. In addition, strong support from the former Mayor of Banjar who is none other than the husband of the incumbent also became a strong foundation in his candidacy.

In the election of mayor in 2018, two candidate pairs were registered which enlivened the democratic party in Banjar City. The candidate pairs that had been registered with the Banjar City Election Commission are:

### List of Candidates for Mayor Candidates Registered at KPU Banjar City

No	Name	Registered Date	Parties of Coalition
1	Ade Uu Sukaesih & Nana Suryana	19 Jan 2018	1. GOLKAR 2. PDIP 3. PKB
2	Maman Suryaman & Irma Darmawatie Bastaman	19 Jan 2018	1. PAN 2. DEMOKRAT 3. PKS

			4. HANURA 5. PPP 6. GERINDRA
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Source: kpud-banjarkota.go.id

From the table above, it can be seen that on January 19, 2018, the two Candidates for Mayor had registered with the Banjar City Election Commission to participate in the contestation in the 2018 Mayor of Banjar election. Candidate Pair of Mayor of Banjar Ade Uu Sukaesih and Asep Suryana carried two coalitions of Golongan Karya Party (Golkar), PDI Perjuangan (PDIP) and National Awakening Party (PKB). Whereas for the Candidate Pair of Mayor of Banjar Maman Suryaman and Irma Darmawatie Bastaman were carried by 6 coalitions of the National Mandate Party (PAN), Democratic Party (Demokrat), Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Hanura Party, United Development Party (PPP) and Gerindra Party.

From the exposure of political observers in Banjar City above, it is evident that Democracy in Banjar has been shackled by the presence of political dynasties which have begun to be considered ordinary. This clearly shows that there is no rotation of power in Banjar City and makes Banjar the property of a handful of powerful people. Among the candidates who had emerged and were the latest to resign from the nomination of the Banjar Mayor's Election were H. Darmadji Prawirasetia, Dadang R Kalyubi, H. Sudarsono, H. Yoyo Suharyono, H. Ahmad Dimiyati and Yayat Supriatna. In the end, the candidate resigned one by one in their candidacy to become Mayor of Banjar in the 2018 Mayor of Banjar Election. At present, only two candidates will fight in the political contest in 2018 to fight for the votes of the people of Banjar City. It takes a strategy for incumbent opponents in politics that are considered to have become a strong dynasty in Banjar City in the Banjar Mayor Election in 2018. Based on previous background explanations, the author can formulate the Strategy to Fight political dynasty in 2018 Mayor Banjar Election politics that competed in the Banjar Mayor Election for the period 2018-2023?

### **Literature Review: Political Marketing Strategy**

The regional head is a political office and the public office in charge of leading the bureaucracy moves the course of government in an area. Why is the term public office attached? This implies that the regional head is a decision-making figure who is directly tied to the interests of his people, has a direct impact on the lives of the people,

and is directly felt by the people. That is why, the head of the region must be chosen by the people and must be responsible for the trust that has been given to the people. The definition of political office implies that the mechanism of recruitment of regional heads is carried out directly by the Rakyat using a political mechanism, based on applicable laws.

Joko J. Prihatmoko (2005: 204) in his book states that in an election the regional head will directly be involved in several actors where the main actors in the direct election are the people, political parties, and candidates for regional heads. The three actors are directly involved in the activities carried out in a series of direct election stages such as; voter registration, registration of candidates, determination of candidates, campaign, voting, and counting, and determination of prospective voters.

The process of direct regional head elections will not be separated from the existence of political marketing strategies from each candidate for the regional head. As in the surface by Firmanzah (2012: 133-134), it is almost certain that every aspect of life is inseparable from political marketing activities. Firmanzah's statement is in fact proven by the rise of various advertisements that promote various products. Political marketing can be in the form of advertisements on TV, billboards, billboards, and others. Firmanzah (2012: 148) also argues that "political marketing is the application of marketing science in political life. Combining these two very different things certainly still leaves questions that must be answered. The existing problems involve methods and methods that can be used, ethics and morality, to the consequences behind the application of political marketing."

Related to the application of marketing science in political life, it cannot be denied by the existence of two opposing parties, namely those who are pro or contra parties in the process of applying marketing in political life. It must be understood that in political life there is no avoidance of competition for power. Because of this, the role of marketing in political life is very important. It is this competition that makes each party strive to find effective ways and methods in communicating with its constituents that certain candidates or political parties are eligible to be elected.

Political marketing is the way a party or candidate for a regional head tries to become famous or popular. Talking about political popularity will not be separated from media imaging. The politics of imaging is closely related to certain symbols built by certain figures or figures. The symbols are built continuously and continuously so that in the end it is believed that the truth. The symbol can be a symbol of generosity, populist, open, close to the people with an effort "blusukan" and so forth. It must be remembered that imaging politics plays a very important role in constructing certain

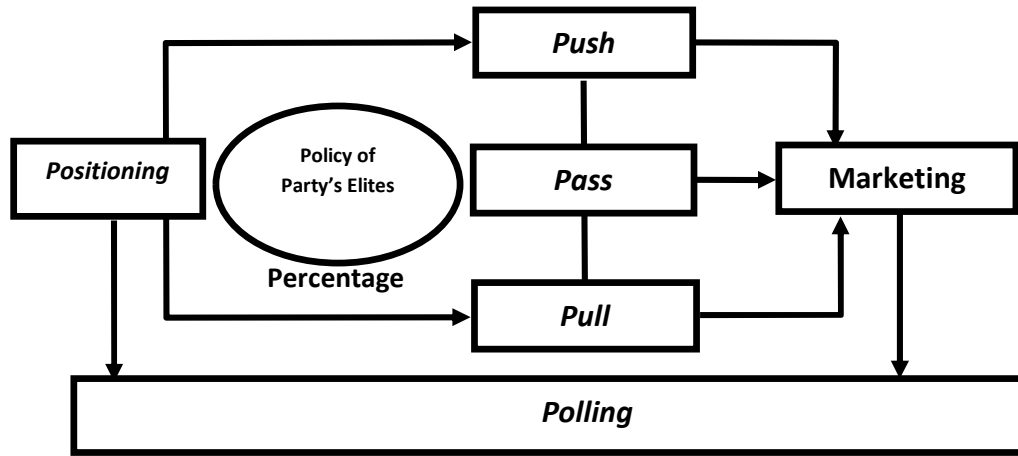
figures. However, the popularity and symbols created will fall if you get an attack from the political opponents of the figure. So that the media backup for the continuity of power is highly prioritized by a leader in maintaining a good reputation and popularity in the eyes of the people.

According to Brokers in Pahmi Sy (2010: 7), "political imaging is something that is seen by the senses but does not have a substantial existence, because of the closure of reality. The closure of this substance will ultimately have a negative impact on the honesty of the media in delivering news or information. "A democratic political system requires the existence of two-way communication, both vertical and horizontal. Not just imaging news that is consumed continuously.

Peter Drucker in Adman Nursal (2004) says that "an organization can meet the characteristics of a marketing organization if it understands the needs and desires of the buyer, and effectively combines and regulates organizational expertise and resources to provide a high level of satisfaction to consumers." Marketing that will be discussed here relates to how the strategy of marketing advanced candidates in successful regional elections has gained absolute votes. Political marketing has important contributions to the world of practical politics. Marketing is a way to understand and analyze the wants and needs of voters. Marketing is also useful for political parties to conduct pre-election research so that what is raised and fought for will be right on target.

Nursal (2004) in Firmanzah divides three categories of political approaches namely; push marketing where in this strategy the candidates try to stimulate the constituents to come to the polling station and vote. Why is this strategy needed? This is because voters need strong reasons why they should come to polling stations to vote. This is why push marketing is needed as an effort to get closer to prospective voters through various activities carried out directly by candidates. Second, using a pass marketing strategy by selecting influential actors who are considered to increase voter participation in coming to polling stations. The third is pull marketing strategy in an effort to build the image of the candidate marketed. Robinowitz and Macdonald in Firmanzah (2012: 218) recommend that symbols and images formed can have a significant impact and can arouse sentiment.

**Chart of Political Marketing Strategy**



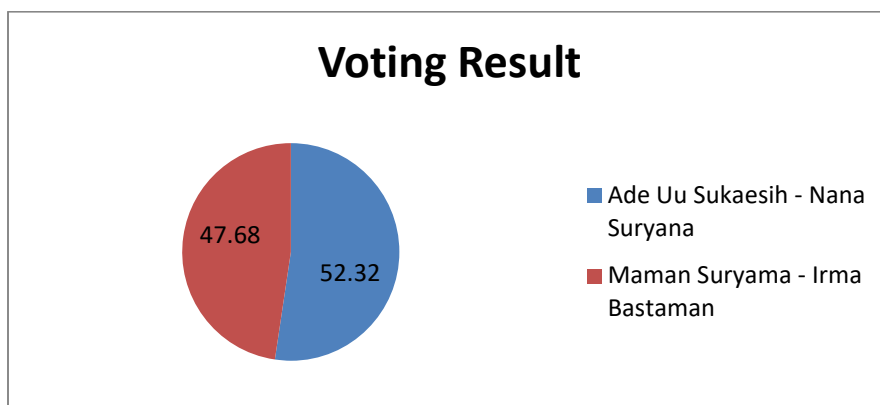
Source: Nursal (2004) in Firmanzah (2012:218)

Then, the research method used by the author in making this journal article is a descriptive qualitative research method with a sampling technique that is purposive sampling. In the process of data analysis, this study uses interactive data analysis and validity testing using source triangulation.

**Political Map of Banjar City**

Ade Uu Sukaesih again nominated to become Mayor of Banjar in the second period of his leadership by cooperating with Nana Suryana from PDIP as Deputy Mayor of Banjar. The following are the details of votes in the election of Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Banjar on June 27, 2018:

**Percentage of Voting Selection for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Banjar 2018**



Source: Data KPU Banjar City July 2018

**Details of the votes for the Candidate Pair of Mayor and Deputy Mayor in the 2018 Election:**

No	Description	Details				
		Banjar	Langen	Pataruman	Purwaharja	Total (Final)
1	Ade Uu Sukaesih & Nana Suryana	15.690	18.420	16.552	7.368	58.020
2	Maman Suryaman & Irma Darmawatie Bastaman	17.250	11.913	17.698	6.024	52.885
	<b>Total All Valid Voices</b>	32.940	30.323	34.250	13.392	110.905
	<b>Invalid Number of Votes</b>	974	823	914	358	3.069
	<b>Total Number of Valid and Invalid Votes</b>	33.914	31.146	35.164	13.750	113.974

Source: Data KPU Banjar City July 2018

Election of Ade Uu Sukaesih - Nana Suryana and Maman Suryaman - Irma Darmawatie Bastaman in the selection of Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Banjar in 2018 if you see from the table above the difference of 5,135 votes or if the percentage is only a difference of 4.64%. The prospective pair of Ade Uu Sukaesih and Nana Suryana excelled in Langensari District and Purwaharja Subdistrict while the candidate pairs Maman Suryaman and Irma Darmawatie Bastaman were superior in the Banjar and Pataruman Districts. When viewed from the character of the voters, it can be concluded that the incumbent pair wins in the rural area or region outside the center of the Banjar

City while the candidate pair Maman Suryaman and Irma Darmawatie Bastaman win in the central area of Banjar City.

### **Issue of Political Dynasty**

The reappearance of Ade Uu Sukaesih as Mayor of Banjar in the period 2018-2022 raises the issue of the political dynasty as an effort to maintain power in Banjar City. Since the establishment of Banjar City in 2003 until 2018, the Banjar is currently headed by a Mayor from the same family who has a husband and wife relationship or can be said from the husband to the wife. This issue appeared at the time of Ade Uu Sukaesih's nomination in the first period of his nomination as Mayor of Banjar from 2013 to 2018. This incident was experienced by an incumbent couple who was published in *Kabar Priangan* on Thursday, May 31, 2012, about "Election of Mayor, From Husband Down to Wife". The contents of the news contained herein are uncontrollable and provocative in nature leading to the issue of political dynasties. Indications of the issue of the political dynasty have emerged since 2012 until now. According to Djati (2013: 211), the phenomenon of political dynasties in the local sphere emerged as the implementation of direct regional head elections which began in 2005 and the implementation of regional autonomy. Political dynasty can be interpreted as a process of directing power for certain interests (for example elite families) that aim to gain power or maintain power (Susanti, 2017: 114). This dynasty's political practice is not healthy for democracy, this is because control of the government that is needed in checks and balances is weak. Political dynasties in the world of modern politics are known as political elites based on blood ties or marriage. The strengthening of the money politics network built by political dynasties based on family political closeness made the closure of political recruitment for people outside the dynasty. (Susanti, 2017: 114).

Political dynasties can be understood from several points of view (Djati, 2013: 204). First, political dynasties are seen from the neopatrimonialism approach. According to this perspective political dynasty is a logical consequence of the implementation of regional autonomy. Here there is a circulation of relations based on kinship relations to the perpetuation of family power. Patronage is realized by locking important posts in the government and society by the closest people. Second, a political dynasty is a form of a political clan. In this understanding, political dynasties emerged as excesses of the legacy of feudalism which still stuck strongly in society. Feudalism is intended not only to control economic resources but also to form a network of loyalty in the community by involving informal leaders. The informal figures generally have a large mass that is



used to support family power. Mutualism relationships are built on the mechanism of exchange of interests, namely informal leaders gain accessibility to public policies, while families can tie voter loyalty through the influence of informal figures. Third, political dynasty is understood as a form of predatory political practice. This third understanding imagines that the growth of political dynasties actually happened because of the collusion of political business at the local level. The family network controls a variety of regional development projects which are then distributed to their cronies. The political dynasty as a patron in maintaining the stability of collusion puts its relatives into the ranks of companies and government. Therefore, the practice of economic looting takes place continuously because the practice is always carried out by a network of elite families. Political dynasties are seen as a collective form of elite patronage in a collective form based on family relations, ethnicity and other blood relations which essentially raises monarchy in democracy at the local level.

A network of power that is spread and strong but only in the family environment will form a political dynasty. When political dynasties are supported by patronage networks, there is a possibility for the emergence of absolute power that is closely related to the practices of abuse of power. The direct election of regional heads, which should open opportunities for regional communities to realize power rotation, will end in strengthening family-based power only when dynastic political practices are present in the direct implementation of regional head elections.

What happened in the city of Banjar illustrates the workings of dynastic political practices that strengthen the form of power based on family relations. Herman Sutrisno's victory in the three electoral periods which was continued by Ade Uu's victory which was the wife of Herman Sutrisno in the two election periods can be seen as a success of dynastic political practices. Ade Uu's victory in the two election periods cannot be separated from the influence of the Herman Sutrisno family in him where many people have been affected by patronage networks and populist policies when becoming mayors. The Banjar case injured the democratization that should have been built for the welfare of the community at the local level. This is because the dynastic political practices led to the manipulation and direction of decision making to benefit parties in the circle of kinship, the difficulty of the leadership regeneration process and the closure of the recruitment system for the community outside the circle of kinship relations.

## Strategies of Political Marketing by Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman

When we talk about marketing, it is usually always identical to the system of buying and selling goods and services. However, in political marketing science that is traded is not an item but a service in this case the strategy services in achieving the goals and objectives of power. In this case, the couple Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman uses several approaches or strategies, namely push marketing, pass marketing, and pull marketing.

### *Push Marketing*

In this strategy, the couple Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman tried to get support through directly campaigning to introduce the vision and mission and work programs to the market, marches, consolidation meetings, entertainment events, contests, warnings of certain events or figures, seminars, conferences and so on. The direct touch allows each voter to involve himself directly with political products. So voters don't just get news from afar about the political product but listen, see and feel the product themselves. Push marketing also has advantages in touch more personally (customized). This direct touch is intensively carried out by the couple Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman seen in the picture as follows:



Source: Team of Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman

**Pass Marketing**

In the Banjar Mayor's election on June 27, 2018, then Maman Suryaman's partner - Irma Bastaman used the Pass Marketing strategy by using a new method to use influencers which turned out to be the media that was very influential by the team of Irma Bastaman and Maman Suryaman. , Instagram, Twitter, and other electronic media that are easily accessed via smartphones by millennials. The use of social media is the beginning of a renewal of political marketing strategies that usually use old patterns such as what was done by incumbents on the winning strategy in 2013 by prioritizing influencers with political figures both locally and nationally and still prioritizing the use of Priangan print media as a winning strategy. The first issue that was heralded in an effort to influence the public was by issuing the statement "Wanting Change or Status quo" which was campaigned through social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and other electronic media by reinforcing this statement through an image on the survey. This activity looks like in the picture as follows:





Source: Team of Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman

### *Pull Marketing*

This type of strategy focuses on forming a positive political image. Robinowitz and Macdonald suggest that political symbols and images can have a significant impact. Both of these must be able to arouse sentiment. Voters will tend to choose parties or contestants who have the same direction as they feel. The right way done by Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman's partner in arousing his sentiments and emotional ties with voters is by combing the millennial generation and urban society who are considered technology literate through the formation of images on social media.

She and Burton in Nursal (2004) argue at least there are things that must be considered in utilizing the pull marketing approach to convey political products, namely Consistency in the message discipline. The Branding and Marketing Team must keep the elements of the political product delivered under the umbrella of the stated position. Accuracy in positioning is absolutely necessary. Because this concerns the political image of a product. The positive or negative impression that comes to people's minds depends on how good the positioning process is. The community will later capture the image, symbolize and connote the political ideology of a product. Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman's partner in building political images and symbols emphasizes more on a religious life that emphasizes Faith and Taqwa with a lot of motto jargon With Iman Banjar Barokah.

The strategy of winning the candidate pair Maman Suryaman - Irma Bastaman was deemed to be unfavorable because not all people in Banjar City were literate in technology so that many areas especially the rural Langen Subdistrict had not been combed. In addition, according to Firman's acknowledgment as a successful team in the political marketing and branding section, many supporters outside the city did not return to vote in the past mayor's election. I also think that focusing on combining the millennial generation is not right because it is seen from the background of the different candidate pairs, especially Maman Suryaman, who is a trader so that all groups must be combed according to their segmentation and according to the division of teamwork. In addition, using social media as a focus on carrying out the Pull Marketing strategy is also not appropriate because not all generations are aware of social media. So that roles are also needed from other media such as electronic media and newspapers. This was overlooked by the candidate pair Maman Suryaman and Irma Bastaman. Speaking of strategies is inseparable from how the Pull Marketing strategy is played. Here there is an inconsistency between the couple's jargon and vision and mission. Mission vision does not reflect religiosity but in every jargon always carries Islamic values. This shows an inconsistency in the message discipline so that it greatly overwhelms the people.

## **Conclusion**

The political map of Banjar City from the beginning of the establishment of Banjar to become an autonomous City separate from its parent Regency, namely Ciamis Regency has shown indications of a political dynasty. The first time the Banjar City was established was led by a mayor named Herman Sutrisno who was elected by the Banjar City DPRD in 2003. The following period Herman Sutrisno was re-elected with a percentage of voters reaching 92.13%. The third period of the Banjar City was led by Ade Uu Sukaesih who was the wife of the former mayor and earned 67% of the vote. In the fourth period of 2018, Ade Uu Sukaesih returned to lead with a decline in votes, which was 52.32%. His political opponents, Maman and Irma Bastaman, earned 47.68%. Although indications of the political dynasty are seen in the history of Banjar City, the emergence of Maman and Irma candidate pairs has shown the increasingly waning influence of the incumbent in Banjar City as evidenced by the decreasing number of votes in each period of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Banjar. Even so, there are some notes that have been missed in the strategy against this dynasty. The incumbent opponents are only focused on combining one segment, namely the millennial generation by utilizing the role of social media without ignoring and taking into account the role of electronic media and newspapers. In addition, the consistency of the



jargon through the messages delivered is also inconsistent with the vision and mission. So that there is still a lot of homework to be done by incumbent opponents in the next election as an effort to anticipate.

Suggestions for Maman Suryaman and Irma Bamanaman candidates in the contestation of 2018 mayor elections are as follows. First, market research should be carried out by a successful team with a clear division tailored to each expertise in various segments so that it does not only focus on segmentation alone. Second, building a political image should not only take advantage of social media but also take into account electronic media and newspaper media. Third, the consistency of the political message through jargon must be adjusted to the vision and mission that is carried out so that inconsistencies do not occur and will ultimately have an impact on the people.

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