

Analysis of the Symptoms of Split Government after the 2018 West Kalimantan Governor Election

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Abstract

This research is related to leadership, political support, and the strategy of the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan in building political support with the DPRD in running the government in a divided government. This will be very interesting because, in the current era of government, the border area has become the front guard for the Indonesian nation in global competition. The qualitative descriptive approach was used in this study to present the evidence discovered by in-depth analysis comprehensively. This study found that electing the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan Province would directly improve the decentralization mechanism, resulting in many positive consequences. Second, the regional head's legitimacy among the people is increasing, implying that state sovereignty in the hands of the people is genuinely realized. Third, the support and participation of the people in governance, development and social society are getting higher.

Keywords: *Symptoms of Split Leadership, Political Communication, Democracy.*



A. INTRODUCTION

In 2000, the Government of Indonesia took a bold step by adopting a radical decentralization policy by devolving broad powers to local governments (Pramusinto, 2010). Experts and many references call it the considerable bang decentralization. Foreign observers equate this policy as a star explosion because it contains steps that fundamentally change the face of the Indonesian Government (Niazi, 2012; Hofman & Kaiser, 2002).

Behind the obstacles and problems faced by the government in implementing this policy, The Government of Indonesia is committed to continuing to provide broad authority to local governments in implementing government at the local level (Simanjuntak, 2015). Administrative decentralization has succeeded in creating regions with various innovations and can increase welfare in autonomous areas (Sulistiowati, 2011). Decentralization significantly affects the quality of public services in the neighbourhoods better. After the decentralization policy was implemented, it was seen that infrastructure development in the regions was getting better and more developed (Kusuma, 2016). The Indonesian government recognizes the difference in good economic performance and has encouraged local governments to be more creative and innovative (Prasojo, 2003).

In general, decentralization has three objectives: first, political decentralization, to establish a more egalitarian local political infrastructure and

superstructure, and second, economic decentralization. Second, administrative decentralization seeks to establish a local government administration capable of maximizing efficacy, productivity, equity, and equality. Third, economic decentralization in the hope of improving the community's overall wellbeing to a level higher than it was previously (Ananda, 2018).

Political constellation, political intervention and collaboration are essential elements in governance. How the elected executive must establish communication with legislative institutions from various political parties is necessary in this reform era, which did not happen in the New Order era (Haris, 2014). The application of the concept of pseudo-democracy (Azra, 2016) or, interpreted by the author as fake democracy, only produces a legislative body that functions as a rubber stamp institution that is subject to an executive power that has a direct mandate from the President. During the New Order and Reform era, the government system was very different; the unequal executive-legislative relationship during the New Order era experienced a total change because the check and balance function was returned to the legislature. The impact of this return of authority makes the executive-legislative institutions an equal position. The balance between the executive-legislature demands that these two institutions be able to collaborate and run the wheels of government properly so that the mandate given by the people through elections can be returned to the people by producing pro-people policies by removing the labelling of constituents and supporting and opposing political parties (Jati, 2016).

Research on the relationship between the executive and legislature in a divided government was conducted (Laver, 2006). Research shows a complex relationship within political parties, between political parties and the relationship between political parties and the executive, which is intended to ensure that the two institutions approve the public policies produced. The symptoms of a divided government will occur in any government that uses a presidential system (Alesina & Rosenthal, 1996). Comparative divided government studies were conducted in Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Mexico, and Poland. Research shows the same symptoms, but handling procedures is greatly influenced by each country's conditions (Elgie, 2001).

The symptom of a split government or a minority government, when the regional head comes from a minority party and the legislature is filled by non-supporting political parties, also occurs in Indonesia. Pilkada research results from Law Number 32 of 2004 show that as many as 56.3% of elected regional heads get the most votes but do not receive political support in the legislative body (Romli, 2018). The Presidential Election shows the symptoms of a divided government more clearly. President SBY in the 2004 presidential election received the most votes from voters, but only 10.36 support from the democratic party in the DPR, with only 55 seats compared to 550 available seats. In the 2009 presidential election, President SBY received the most votes, and it was seen that there was an increase in the percentage of supporting parties. However, the Democratic Party is still a minority party, only getting 26.78% of the support, with 150 seats compared to 560. The 2014

presidential election saw Jokowi as the recipient. Most votes, but PDI Party support did not reach 20%, with 109 seats against 560.

Symptoms of a split government occurred in the election of the Governor of West Kalimantan in 2018. The Sutarmidji-Ria Norsan pair supported by the Golkar-Nasdem coalition, Hanura, PKB and PKS only had 21 seats with 32.3% support of the total seats DPRD. Surprisingly this pair won the 2018 West Kalimantan gubernatorial election by beating the Karolin-Gidot pair supported by a majority of the DPRD votes, as much as 41.5%. This strong pair was promoted by the PDI-P, Democrat and PKPI parties. The 2018 West Kalimantan Governor Election Recapitulation Plenary Meeting stated that Sutarmidji and Ria Norsan won the West Kalimantan Governor election, with 51.55% votes pair 2 Karolin-Gidot 1,081,876 votes or 41.79% and finally candidate pair 1 Milton -Boyman 172,151 votes or 6.65%.

Unlike the divided government research that has been studied in the United States, on the other hand, there are not many studies in Indonesia that discuss how the relationship is built between elected regional heads from independent channels and minority political support when running the government. Saraswati's (2010) research on governance in Garut Regency implies that intense communication is needed for regional heads who political parties do not support, even regional authorities who come from individual channels. Vermonte (2014) stated that Jokowi's victory in the 2014 presidential election invited a debate about the symptoms of a divided government, considering that the supporting parties are not the majority party in the legislature.

The relationship between the executive and legislature has its challenges when the political platforms between the executive-legislature have differences. From a government perspective, it is necessary to study the executive-legislative relationship in this divided government because the bill proposed by the executive must go through discussion in the legislative body (Abdullah & Asmara, 2006). Likewise, proposals from the legislature must be approved by the executive so that they become policies that have a positive impact on society. Referring to Law Number 32 of 2004, the regional government is government administration by the Regional Head and DPRD according to the principles of autonomy and co-administration. This means that the Regional Head and DPRD must complement each other, coordinate, synchronize and partner in the regional autonomy process; if they cannot be synchronized, the government will not run effectively. Moreover, the Regional Head can't carry out his vision, mission, and work program within five years. Years (Mustafa, 2018).

For this reason, based on the assumption, the following research title was chosen "Analysis of the Symptoms of a Split Government after the 2018 West Kalimantan Governor Election." The research title was selected because the object of this research was the West Kalimantan Government and the Regional People's Representative Council. The regional government is the Governor and Deputy Governor, and other regional apparatuses. The West Kalimantan Regional People's Representative Council is the Chairperson and device of the DPRD and the DPRD

Secretariat, related to the topic of leadership, political support, and the strategy of the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan in building political support with the DPRD in running the government in a divided government. This will be very interesting because, in the current era of government, the border area has become the front guard for the Indonesian nation in global competition.

B. METHOD

The qualitative descriptive approach was used in this study to present the evidence discovered by in-depth analysis comprehensively. Qualitative analysis is a technique for examining and comprehending the significance that specific individuals or groups of people attribute to a social or human issue. This qualitative research approach entails significant efforts such as developing questions and procedures, gathering detailed data from participants, evaluating data inductively, beginning with specific themes and progressing to broad themes, and interpreting the data's significance (Creswell, 2013).

In line with Creswell's opinion, Gunawan (2013) also emphasizes that qualitative research explains and analyzes human behaviour individually and in groups, principles or beliefs, understanding or thinking, and perceptions or responses. So qualitative research can be concluded that the study explains and understands the meaning and behaviour of humans individually or in groups by asking questions that are then analyzed and interpreted into the importance of the data. This concurs with the statement.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Symptoms of a split government following West Kalimantan's gubernatorial election in 2018 and accordance with Nanus Theory (1992), visionary leaders must possess at least three critical competencies, as described by Nanus (1992), namely:

1. 1. Good communication; a creative leader must communicate efficiently with managers and other employees. To do this, the leader must provide "guidance, support, and inspiration."
2. 2. Networking, a visionary leader must devote significant time to networking with individuals both within and outside the organization to foster trust (trust) and consensus around the vision.
3. 3. Personifying the Vision a visionary leader must be able to personify his or her vision, which means that all of his or her acts and conduct must be compatible with the picture.

Based on the driven theory of visionary leadership from Nanus (1992), a conceptual definition of the Analysis of the Symptoms of Split Government Post-Election of West Kalimantan Governor was prepared in 2018, which was revealed from communication, networking and personifying the vision. The three dimensions were developed into 12 manifest variables to be used as 12 questionnaire items.

Related to the above, in this study, the authors conducted several in-depth discussions based on interviews, and the results of the answers to the questionnaires that the researchers got were processed based on facts and data in the field:

1. One informant, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Golkar DPP who was elected from the electoral district of West Kalimantan I (Dapil Kalbar I), considered that the direct election system caused high political costs, increased political tension, and corruption was hard to avoid as a result of high political costs. In addition to the enormous costs required to carry out direct Pilkada, the direct general election also creates new oligarchs, namely candidates from the capital holders and the owners of broad media access. He considered that the regional elections directly changed democracy from the people and the people to become a democracy based on capital power. When the government was running *de facto*, there was no clear primary function between the governor and the Deputy Governor, even though the duties of a deputy governor should have been regulated in law.
2. The second informant, the Deputy Chairperson of the West Kalimantan DPRD, believed that direct regional head elections are a mandate of the law which must be carried out in the spirit of democracy. However, it is better if the results of the direct regional head elections put forward the confidence to advance the regions during the leadership period. For this reason, direct elections should only be made to elect regional heads. Meanwhile, the Deputy Governor or Deputy Regional Head should be proposed by the Governor or the Head of the Elected Region to the DPRD after becoming the governor or regional head. Besides, the main duties and functions between the governor and the deputy governor must be discussed clearly from the year they lead. There should be a clear discussion of the main tasks and parts of the governor and the deputy governor's authority. So that the government, which was led for five years, there was no split leadership.
3. An informant from three members of the West Kalimantan Provincial DPRD for the 2019-2024 period from the Golkar Party and also a former deputy mayor of Singkawang for the 2007-2012 period argued that to harmonize the government between the legislature and the executive, each must carry out its functions according to the law. Then the political process that occurs is based on law. If through a political party, how can a political party field its candidates and reduce its cadres through specific recruitments, which the political parties then promote? The mechanism is regulated by law. In contrast, independent channels without being stimulated by political parties it has also been regulated by law. Indeed, in its recruitment, a regional head, governor, mayor, regent, and deputy can be supported by different political parties because political interests are diverse. Because each candidate for regional director and deputy nominated by the party must have the other mission, each of which carries the party's vision and mission. Therefore, there could be differences in vision and mission, but regional leaders and their

representatives have their duties regulated by law; sometimes, a representative feels that he must automatically replace the responsibilities of a regional head who is unavailable, even though it is not like that. A representative must help the leader or the head of the region. If the representative is not given authority outside of his duties, there really won't be a problem.

4. Informant four Apart from the three figures above, on September 27 2019, the researcher had the opportunity to conduct in-depth interviews with the deputy governor of West Kalimantan. The informant argued that we, with the people who support us to make us, chose us as deputy governor. The second thing is to coordinate with our staff; besides that, we also embrace the community, which means that we cannot be separated from rules and regulations in carrying out policies, both politics and government policies. So the laws and regulations are the primary keys for us to run in society to don't go wrong.
5. Informant five On a perfect occasion, the researcher interviewed the General Chairperson of the Golkar Party. It is related to the symptoms of split leadership in West Kalimantan Province. In that brief period, he argued that: regional heads must show the character of an inclusive leader. This can be seen from the leadership of the Regional Head in the last few years. It can be seen that Regional Heads who are successful in avoiding divided social leadership should not be limited, only at the elite level. Still, it must be rooted in all circles that Regional Heads must have good communication skills and approaches. The region needs this to avoid internal divisions. The elected Regional Head must embrace many parties to create solid solidarity in West Kalimantan Province. Besides, the elected regional head must be able to bring a new atmosphere to be accepted by all groups.
6. Six research informants also succeeded in conducting interviews with the Chairman of the Commission I DPR of the Republic of Indonesia regarding the symptoms of split leadership in West Kalimantan Province. In that brief period, he argued that: As a party member, the regional head should remain loyal to the party, not to individual figures. As a party member assigned by the party, a cadre must obey the law. They are not allowed to pull (people) or form groups within the local government but must choose according to legal provisions. It is best if all Party cadres, both at the central and regional levels, acknowledge the government's decision. In the end, the leader knows what is best. Likewise, with party cadres to support the party leadership that the government has endorsed.
7. Informants Seven On this occasion, the researcher, had the opportunity to conduct interviews and discussions with West Kalimantan politicians, full of an intimate atmosphere. Related to the phenomenon of split leadership symptoms, he argues that good local governance is a fascinating topic concerning public administration management. In West Kalimantan province,

in particular, efforts are needed to strengthen the role and function of the Regional People's Representative Council so that the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan can carry out their duties properly. The DPRD, which must control the running of the government in West Kalimantan Province so that it is always following the aspirations of the people, is not the opposite to the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan or even conditions the executive to deviate from the prevailing regulations, colludes in making the budget to be profitable. Himself and any activities that should be used to control the executive so that the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan will focus their attention more on the interests of DPRD members than on the benefit of the entire West Kalimantan people.

8. Informant eight in discussion with the Sales Executive Retail VI of Pertamina in the West Kalimantan Region, he hopes that the conditions in West Kalimantan Province are very conducive, be it the political situation climate and the investment climate that is maintained stable and sustainable because there will be no investment going to West Kalimantan if there is no certainty and comfort regarding politics and security. At the same time, we know that our future growth will rely heavily on the investment that goes to West Kalimantan.
9. Informants nine in discussions and interviews with the West Kalimantan Islamic Student Association, the Phenomenon of Leadership Symptoms was split at the start of the issue of regional autonomy. Law number 22 of 1999 was born in line with reforms in the field of law. The concept of regional autonomy has come to the fore with this new law. The broadest possible regional autonomy gives hope to regional progress. Freedom to local governments is more open to developing regions and advancing people's welfare. However, its excesses were never predicted because the broadest possible autonomy resulted in the birth of small kings in the areas, the emergence of new conflicts between regencies and villages and even more horizontal disputes between communities.
10. On the other hand, the central government continues to impose restrictions on Regional Heads even though regional autonomy has been running. In some issues, for example, in the fields of foreign policy, defence and security, judiciary, monetary and fiscal, and religion remains the central domain, besides regional governments are given the authority to advance their respective regions. The potential for divided leadership symptoms in the areas in the context of democracy can directly impact society.
11. Ten Informants of Entrepreneurs in West Kalimantan. In any country, democratic elements will form and develop if they are in line with the realities of the socio-cultural structures of society. Vulnerability to the emergence of local conflicts in various regions facing this direct democracy is difficult to avoid. The contention that divided the leadership had a devastating effect on any local government. Whoever holds a position of authority has a

responsibility to ensure all stakeholders involved work together towards the goals of the West Kalimantan government collectively. Leaders are a valuable part because they determine the pace and progress of work in West Kalimantan Province. Thus, divided leadership is a huge responsibility. In split leadership leads to miss targets that have been determined every year but can destroy the entire program that has been selected.

12. Eleven informants in discussion with stakeholders in West Kalimantan Province about the phenomenon of split leadership symptoms argued that according to the amendments to the 1945 Constitution, it is stated that regions can determine regional regulations with the broadest possible autonomy and other rules. The function of the legislative body towards the executive is entirely aimed at ensuring executive accountability; one of the essential roles and scope of supervision for the legislature is to supervise the role and performance of the government in policy implementation. The oversight function of regional regulations is essential, providing opportunities for DPRD to be more active and creative in addressing various obstacles to the performance of the Perda. Through legislative oversight, the executive as the policy implementer will avoid various irregularities and diversions; from the management of the council, corrective actions will be taken to improve the implementation of the policy. To prevent multiple administrative errors in the administration of the local government bureaucracy without them knowing it could lead to allegations of criminal acts of corruption for public officials who handle public affairs, the supervision of the DPRD will be able to provide sufficient adequate protection for the executive in carrying out the administration of the government bureaucracy in an effective manner. Optimal.

13. Informants Twelve In discussions with youth took in West Kalimantan, and the researcher found several exciting phenomena. Youth Leaders in West Kalimantan are more interested in the elected Regional Head in West Kalimantan brings the people of West Kalimantan to a better life. According to youth leaders in West Kalimantan, good leadership must have a good relationship between the leader and the people of West Kalimantan. The Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan can influence the behaviour of the people of West Kalimantan through a humane approach. For this reason, West Kalimantan needs a Governor and Deputy Governor who can become the motor of change in West Kalimantan Province and become leaders who can establish a good leadership style to make the people of West Kalimantan more advanced, reasonable, and prosperous.

Discussion on analyzing the Symptoms of a Split Government Post-Election of the Governor of West Kalimantan 2018 through an analysis using a theory based on the visionary leadership driven approach from Nanus (1992), a conceptual definition was prepared. Communication; (2) Networking Dimensions; (3) Dimensions of Personifying the Vision. The three dimensions were developed into

12 manifest variables to be used as 12 questionnaire items. Related to the above, in this study, the authors conducted several in-depth discussions and the results of the answers to the questionnaire that the researcher processed based on facts and data in the field with several national figures, as well as processed primary and secondary data.

At the institutional and normative level, the communication dimension, direct Pilkada in West Kalimantan Province, is a positive development for the growth and stabilization of democracy. However, these processes and structures must be continually refined and tested since there are still many flaws that are often detrimental to democratization. The vulnerabilities above often serve as catalysts and root causes of social and political conflict among the citizens of West Kalimantan Province. However, the root of this disagreement is not only at the normative level, specifically in legislation, but also in its application, which is often contradictory and deviates from its fundamental objectives. Several inconsistencies in the procedure for organizing Pilkada continue to be an impediment. They are being challenged by the public, including that many people retain voting rights but are not registered as permanent voters.

Another issue is the occurrence of inconsistencies in the selection of the best leader. It was pointed out to the Pilkada, who was elected, that he was not the region's best son. Even though they accomplished a great deal and were able to attract competent regional cadres, many fell short of voter expectations. This can be an obstacle because it can cause the emergence of a divided leadership phenomenon. In terminology, the source of conflict can come from differences of opinion, competition and hostility. Disputes usually arise when there is intense competition between two parties with different interests and goals. This can affect the performance of the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan. Numerous types of competition are inextricably linked to conflict; in competition, multiple parties want the same thing, but only one party can obtain it. However, competition is not synonymous with war; it is simpler and can result in conflict, primarily if the competition employs methods that violate the agreed-upon rules. Even that form of hostility does not automatically change into battle because people involved in the conflict may not have feelings of hatred. On the other hand, ordinary hostile people are also not in a state of war.

In the dimension of Networking in the context of Pilkada, it turns out that this democratic party, which is a political activity, has the potential to cause conflict because, in the process, there are always differences of opinion and interests as well as intense competition in arguing for a public office. The reality is that some regions that have held Pilkada have not created legitimacy. The result that was determined did not have the authority as a legitimate result, which led to a wave of protests from various parties, especially from supporters of the losing candidate. Another factor is that there are still many people who cannot participate in the Pilkada. If this is the case, there is so much distrust of citizens in the Pilkada administration system. The next factor is the lack of confidentiality in elections and the obstruction of the

fundamental rights of citizens; for example, citizens vote under pressure, both from mass organizations, political thugs and others. Various forces have caused residents to lose criticism, lose their right to vote according to their conscience. If all this happens, then the performance in an area will automatically deteriorate and have the potential to create conflict. The Pilkada process must be guarded to become fertile ground for the seeding of democratic culture and not become a denial or distortion of the meaning of democracy. In holding regional head elections, there are various kinds of actors and interests. Some potentials and resources will grab the attention of the actors who play and the desire to hold them. This is because the Pilkada is influenced by various and constitutive social and political structures to create what is called a consensual social construction and a conflictual one.

Regional head elections are very susceptible to social conflict. This conflict is between participants and their supporters and between participants and organizers, even with other institutions, such as local government, security forces, and the community. As practitioners, researchers realize that the potential for conflict can come from various kinds of legal, social and political constructs. This concern comes from many backgrounds, ranging from inadequate legal construction to prevent and resolve conflicts. Political actors who are not yet fully aware that losing and winning in politics are expected and normal, racial sentiments, and violations. Including KPUD positions that are considered unprofessional and partisan. Conflict in the elections is ultimately considered a problem that can disturb society. Disagreements can suddenly turn into violent acts with many victims, both material and non-material. However, in West Kalimantan Province, the Pilkada is an arena where political actors can compete in a fair, peaceful and civilized manner. However, there are times when the Pilkada becomes an arena for aggrieved parties to vent their political passions, not caring that their actions are detrimental to many parties, including the perpetrators themselves. From a legal perspective, the potential for pilkada conflict, as explained, comes from the wrong placement of the regional government pilkada.

Dimensions of Vision Personification the influence of bureaucracy has been identified as a factor in policy formulation. The bureaucracy's impact on decisions is only partially motivated by parochial interests, as shown during times of crisis when collective interests inspire every organizational role and the subsequent negotiating processes in combating or avoiding threats. Additionally, leaders create policies; civil servants administer. Politicians make the decisions; bureaucrats carry them out. Public officials are invaluable workers due to their integrity and knowledge. According to researchers, the above relationship is desirable because political and administrative agencies perform distinct roles. Still, it is also highly improbable because every government decision involves political considerations and consequences. The picture of the elected governor and deputy governor can be characterized by authority, simplicity of decision-making, and political dominance.

Additionally, scholars assert that both lawmakers and civil servants contribute to policy-making but in distinct ways. Civil servants carry evidence and

experience to the table; leaders, their desires, and ideals ensure a healthy division of labour. Both bureaucrats and politicians participate in policy-making and are interested in politics. However, while politicians express vast and disorganized individual interests, bureaucrats mediate between the organized central government's limited and concentrated interests. Both bureaucrats and politicians are policymakers: bureaucrats because they indirectly oversee government officials by decision-making; politicians are personally active in policy-making activities.

D. CONCLUSION

Communication, Networking, Personifying the Vision at the institutional and normative level, direct Pilkada in West Kalimantan Province is a positive development for the growth and stabilization of democracy. However, these processes and structures must be continually refined and tested since there are still many flaws that are often detrimental to democratization. The vulnerabilities above often serve as catalysts and root causes of social and political conflict among the citizens of West Kalimantan Province. However, the root of this disagreement is not only at the normative level, specifically in legislation, but also in its application, which is often contradictory and deviates from its fundamental objectives. Additionally, scholars assert that both lawmakers and civil servants contribute to policy-making but in distinct ways. Civil servants carry evidence and experience to the table; leaders, their desires, and ideals ensure a healthy division of labour. Both bureaucrats and politicians participate in policy-making and are interested in politics. However, while politicians express vast and disorganized individual interests, bureaucrats mediate between the organized central government's limited and concentrated interests. Bureaucrats and legislators are policymakers because they indirectly oversee government officials by decision-making; politicians are actively active in policy-making activities. They are attempting to apply a democratic leadership pattern. In the General Election system between DPRD and Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan Province, which directly makes each institution have the same legitimacy from the people. Therefore, the relationship or correlation between the leadership capabilities of the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan Province with the political support of the DPRD will form a linear line, meaning that the higher the level of leadership capabilities of the Regional Head and political support, the better the wheels of government, development and social services for the community. On the contrary, the lower the leadership capability of the Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan Province and political support, the less the wheels of government, development and social services are getting better.

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