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### **DETERMINANT IMPLEMENTATION OF GOVERNMENT POLICY SERANG CITY BANTEN PROVINCE INDONESIA IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COMPULSORY 9 YEARS BASIC EDUCATION**

Milwan, Muchlis Hamdi, Aries Djaenuri, Juntika

### **THE ROLE OF THE ACTOR-NETWORK IN THE REGENT'S ELECTORAL PROCESS AND THE STABILITY OF GOVERNANCE (A CASE STUDY ON THE PROCESS OF WINNING THE INCUMBENT IN KUPANG REGENCY)**

Susanti , Ngadisah, H.M.Aries Djaenuri

### **DEVELOPMENT OF AUTHENTIC ASSESMENT TOOLS IN PHYSICS SCIENCE LEARNING**

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KUPANG REGENCY)**

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**ABSTRACT**

This research is to analyze how the stability of governance is done through actor network. This study is important as decentralization and its judicial regulations have allowed people to elect a regent (Bupati) through an electoral process. The process of regent's candidacy can be done through a political party or independently. Politically, a Bupati from independent route lacks political support in DPRD (local representative council) so it has a potential to generate conflicts. This is where the actor network of incumbent is needed in order to support the stability of governance.

This study is based on a study case on the process of winning the incumbent in Kupang Regency during the period of 2019-2019 using a qualitative method. Data are collected by way of in-depth interviews, secondary data, and field observation. In-depth interviews are done using a guideline for unstructured interview and open-ended questions for informants that have been purposely designated. The analysis is focused on the process of establishment of actor-network, support from DPRD to Bupati's programs from independent route, a model of actor-network in governance, stability of governance, and a model of future electoral process.

Results of this study reveal the following. First, main actor (incumbent) and non-actor in the form of kinship network, elite network and cultural network (*oko mama*) play an important role in the establishment of actor-network for the incumbent's success. Second, DPRD's support to Bupati is reflected in coordination and communication among bureaucracy. But it fails to set up professionalism among bureaucracy as it is full of interest. Third, the model of "Titu Eki" actor-network in the governance of Kupang Regency is different from the one during the 2013 election (Pilkada). Fourth, the resulting model leads to artificial stability of governance. Fifth, capacity, acceptability, and compactibility of candidate that can accommodate traditional values and support from a political party will be a model the next electoral process. Theoretical implication of this study on the development of government science is the importance of developing the same model of actor-network in other regions that can generate substantive stability of governance.

*Keywords: actor-network, regent's electoral process, stability of governance.*



## INTRODUCTION

Modern government may not allow participation of all people in governance. The idea of government of the people, by the people and for the people by Lincoln in Rasyid (2007:28) should be supported by the system of representative government whose power is regulated constitutionally. Election is to build people agreement through a mechanism of government circulation and level of people's acceptance. Leadership change that is done regularly by a free and confidential election can be interpreted as a way to identify voters' reaction constitutionally (Dickerson&Flanagan, 1998:365). It also applies to election of Bupati as a public and political official who is directly elected by the people.

This idea of democracy is accepted globally as democracy provides support to decentralization at two levels. (Hoessein, 2004). At national level, the concept of autonomy implies the freedom to make a decision on the basis people's aspiration without direct control of the central government, so it will strengthen national democracy. At local level, it is beneficial to the locals especially in terms of political equality, accountability, and responsiveness.

Kertapraja (2012:66) reveals that the Indonesian version of decentralization is different from decentralization from the United Nations (Cheema & Rondinelli: 1983). In Indonesian version, the nation state (NKRI) is a genus, while its species are decentralization, centralization, and deconcentration. The genus of NKRI is very instrumental in decentralization. Thoha in a journal (2015:67-68) states that the authority of regional government to NKRI is highly dependent upon easy delegation by the national government. One of the forms of easy delegation is election of public officials through direct election (Pilkada), either through independent route or through political party.

After the reform era in Indonesia, the mechanism of direct election is regulated in Law No. 32 of 2004. Article 59 verse 2 of Law No. 32 of 2004 confers full authority to political parties to carry out political selection in the proses of Pilkada through democratic mechanism. Complaints have been filed several times to the Constitutional Court regarding this law. One particular decision made the Constitutional Court with judicial impact on the implementation of direct Pilkada is the Decision on July 23, 2007, on the elimination of a phrase in Article 59 verse (3) of Law No. 32 of 2004, which now states: "give opportunities to eligible

individual candidates as mentioned in Article 58 through a democratic and transparent mechanism." The decision paves a way to independent route to contest in Pilkada, so political party is not the only way to get elected.

From 2005 to 2014, Indonesia has contested 1027 Pilkadas, namely 64 provincial elections, 776 district elections, and 187 municipal elections. There are 10 heads of regional government who contested through independent route, and one of them is from Kupang Regency. (Source: Rekap Pilkada 2005 sd. 20014 oleh Ditjen Otda Kemendagri). Normatively, the authority of Bupati, either the one from independent route or from political party is regulated in legislation. However, empirically, Bupati from independent route does not have political support from DPRD. Empirical data show that PDIP's withdrawal of its support during the first office term of Bupati in Kupang (2009-2013) resulted in disharmonious relationship between the Bupati and DPRD.

Relationship between Bupati and DPRD during the first period was full of tension and conflicts that significantly increased the number of demonstrations staged by people in Kupang Regency. There was no demonstration before 2013, but in 2013 there were 9 demonstrations triggered by political problems. People in Kupang consider it high because demonstration occurred 1.3 time in a month. The regulation on independent route has prompted political activities by providing more chances to each actor to participate and develop a network of influence. Therefore, political activities and governance do not only rely on politicians or political parties but also involve people as stakeholders in an actor-network that influences the formulation of regional policies.

Actor-network is an important link not only to support the winning in Pilkada contest but also to replace political party's tasks to support the government until the end of its office term through the process of lobbying in the parliament. Zuhro et al. (2009) stresses the importance of synergy and pattern of interaction among actor determined by the role of regional institutions and configuration of local politics. Even DPRD sometimes plan to impeach the Bupati so the work of actor-network influences the stability of governance. With this condition the programs to be implemented by the Bupati during his first period are hampered due to late discussion and approval of regional regulation of regional budget. It does not prevent the incumbent from running for the second term through independent route.



Das sollen, direct Pilkada through independent route results in democratic and legitimate government, judicially or theoretically. Das sein, Bupati from individual candidacy may not get support from DPRD so it affects the direct Pilkada. The role of Bupati actor network in maintaining the continuation of governance shows the uniqueness of practice of democracy in each region. The uniqueness may contribute positively or negatively to governance depending on understanding of its culture. So, the uniqueness of culture of Kupang Regency should be learned and understood in its own context because it is the one that gives color to the role of Bupati actor network in Pilkada that then continues in the implementation of government administration.

Actor-network is not only a carrier of cultural values of Kupang community but also a creator of culture through the behavior that influences the stability of governance. In other words, actor-network is an important key in government because the behavior and decisions made by actor-network have its influence on governance.

Law, Callon, and Latour in a journal suggest that there are some important concepts of actor-network, namely punctualisation, translation, and aktan (Source: Jurnal Law, 1992: Jurnal Callon, 1986 & 1991; Jurnal Latour, 1996). Punctualisation is to treat heterogeneous network as individual actor to reduce network complexity. Translation is an important step to build the power of actor-network, consisting of four moments: problematisation and OPP (Obligatory Passage Point), intersement, enrollment, and mobilization. Therefore, the role of actor-network refers to the dynamic of using the right and actor's obligation (human or non-human, material or non-material) from those who have certain position in order to expand the influence through punctualisation and translation.

DPRD's support to Bupati's program from the independent route can be seen from the input made by DPRD which in the end determines the relationship between DPRD and Bupati (Muttalib & Khan, 1983). Actor-network and DPRD's support will determine the model in governance (Barnes, 1969:56-57). The scope of stability of governance includes quality service, empowerment of indigenous people, smooth development, effective arrangement, conflict resolution and community integration (Rasyid, 2007 & Johnson, 1986).

This study focuses on the role of actor-network in the process Bupati election and stability

of governance based on a case study on process of election for the incumbent of Bupati in Kupang Regency for the period of 2014-2019. The questions are: (1) How is the process of establishing the actor-network for the incumbent?, (2) What is the support for the programs made by Bupati from independent route? (3) How the model for governance is made? Is campaign through independent route successful in establishing the stability of governance. (5) What kind of model of actor network is expected for the next Pilkada?

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

The design of this qualitative research adopts the principles in the theory of actor-network, governance, and democracy. The principles of actor-network theory do not make a distinction between human actor and non-human actor. Study on governance is related to stability of governance, and theory of democracy is related to Pilkada and relation between head of region and DPRD. Data collection is done through in-depth interviews, collection of secondary data, and field observation. In-depth interviews are done by using a guideline for unstructured interviews and open-ended questions asked to informants that have been selected purposively. The process of data analysis is done in accordance with the Creswell (2014) phases in linear and hierarchical way even though the practice is more interactive. The phases include (1) organizing and preparing the data analysis (2) reading through all data, (3) coding the data, (4) generating a description of the setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis, (5) interrelating themes/description, and (6) interpreting the meaning of themes/descriptions. All of these are to validate the accuracy of the information.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The process of Establishment of Actor-Network

The main actor in the process of establishment of actor-network is the incumbent, assisted by colleagues forming what is called Tim Sukses (Success Team) ATEK. Along with other teams, Tim Sukses ATEK is a think tank in the process of making the incumbent successful; while non-actors play their role in establishing the networks: family network, elite network consisting of community leaders, traditional leaders, and cultural network *oko mama* to build a cell system.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Oko mama* is a place to store betel nut as a cultural heritage that is still upheld the tribe of



This strong actor-network is supported by capability, acceptability, and compatibility of the incumbent, so they are the advantages enjoyed by the incumbent.

Family network can be seen in marriage as part of Timorese culture that creates extended family. This network strengthens the work of social network in providing support to the incumbent, within or outside the government. It has an implication on governance in the regions with local cultural values, where the capacity of a leader has an important role in finding out an appropriate model of governance by stirring together the traditional elements with political elements and the capacity of leadership.

Unlike candidacy through political parties, organizing individual for the candidacy is dependent upon the experience of actor-network. Non-structured with clear job description even though it is functional. The incumbent's actor-network always refers to the origin of Timorese tribe from Gunung Mutis. It shows that the incumbent's actor-network builds cosmic power originating from itself through the center of Timorese civilization (Anderson, 1972). Therefore, the incumbent accumulates support through the entities and Timorese culture in Kupang community.

Punctualisation by all Success Team members is to disseminate information or to gain more supports because when bargaining of interests occurs, the incumbent can deal with it. The strongest punctualisation can be found in a system of cell set up by ATEK Success Team through the culture of oko mama. Cell is the marginalized people, so when the cell is named oko mama and they are involved in the discussion to get more support, they feel that their social status has improved. Improvement of social status is very important for Kupang community.

When ATEK Success Team members are from the same tribe (Timorese) with higher social status use their influence and resources to protect their cell (client), there will be a relationship between patron and client. The incumbent in this case acts as a patron who is expected to protect the

Timor. Oko mama serves as a means of cultural communication, means of interpersonal communication, a symbol of respect and appreciation, and facilities expressed the feelings. Nahak, L. (eds).1998. *Wadah Pekinangan Masyarakat Nusa Tenggara Timur*. NTT: PPPP.

people and provide them with welfare, and in return the client will support the patron so the patronage relationship will come to light (Scott, 1976). This can be easily realized as the primordial relation and social status are still strong among the community in Kupang. This is like a relation between a father and son where the father gathers his power and influence by setting up a big family through a numbers of bonds in the existing network (Jackson, 1981).

By Translation covers four moments: problematisation and OPP (Obligatory Passage Point), interestment, enrollment, and mobilisation. The four moments are carried out the Success Team, but as far as bargaining of interest is concerned, it is directly handled by the incumbent. Therefore, there are no delegation of decision making with regard to interests and political promises to the Success Team.

This research also finds that not all actor-networks go through the four moments in a linear pattern. Both family network and elite network from traditional custom play the role as OPP. It happens because family relationship is close to the incumbent. Cultural factors and a strong patron-client relation affects the process of establishment of non-linear actor-network in line with the existing moments. So, actor-network "Tiku Eki" during the Pilkad 2013 in Kupang Regency is a modified theory of Actor-Network from the journal Law, Callon and Latour.

#### **Support from DPRD to the Programs Designed by Bupati from Independent Route**

Support from DPRD to the elected Bupati is strong. It is because of open coordination and communication between the two parties. Bureaucracy is the liaison for the relationship, informally or formally to support each other and implement better governance as compared to the previous administration (the period of 2009-2014). Good coordination and communication is the beginning of government programs formulation, even though in practice there are bureaucratic constraints that bridge the full-of-interest communication. It can be seen from the comment made by a Bureaucratic Informant below:

"DPRD as a political institution and us (bureaucrat) should maintain communication, no matter how ... all incoming information, we know the mechanism and system, and we have an obligation to translate program language. Our reference is 'jaring asma.a' (penjaringan aspirasi masyarakat =



identifying people's aspiration), there is central policy, RPJMP, etc.”

It is a bureaucratic dilemma when in one hand someone has to work in accordance with the existing mechanism and system, while on the other hand he/she has to accommodate some political interests coming both from DPRD and Bupati. Unfortunately, this huge bureaucratic authority is not supported by professionalism and adequate competence. It happens because of the factors of tribalism, political request, and service in deployment of human resources. Consequently, bureaucracy is not neutral in terms of loyalty to the DPRD and Bupati. Even through programs and activities, bureaucracy is involved in collusion with DPRD.

Bureaucracy replaces the role played by political parties so the information delivered to Bupati is full of conflict of interest. As an informant from ATEK Success Team says:

“... bureaucracy is full of people with conflict of interest, which means people who are in opposition with the Bupati from the beginning ... Sekda should be able to assist the Bupati to reinforce regulations but in reality it is filled by those requested by DPRD ... in strategic positions .. bureaucracy failed to interpret Bupati's vision and mission.”

Therefore, bureaucracy as dual agents, that is, political agent and government agent who are full of interest is not supported by professionalism and adequate competence. The implication is that it

Table 1. Products of Perda of Kupang Regency Government 2012 - 2016

No.	Year	Initiated by			
		Government		DPRD	
		The Legislative Programme (Prolegda)	Realisation	The Legislative Programme (Prolegda)	Realisation
1.	2012	-	8	-	-
2.	2013	-	8	-	-
3.	2014	-	4	-	-
4.	2015	-	5	3	2*
5.	2016	6	3*	1	-

Source: Government of Kupang Regency per 19 July 2016.

\*In the process and has been discussed in accordance with the mechanism of meeting and existing regulations

Table 1 shows that the performance of DPRD of 2014-2019 period is better compared to the previous period (2009-2013). It is shown by the

cannot interpret the vision and missions of the Bupati to be a program/activity.

Support from DPRD of Kupang Regency 2014-2019 to the Bupati is based on several empirical facts. First, return of service to political parties and members of DPRD. It happened because the incumbent's actor-network assisted members of DPRD to win the legislative election in 2014. As an informant from the incumbent's actor network says, “I have people and they (read: DPRD) came to me ... I said, all right, we don't have to make an agreement, but later we will try to make in line with Pak Bupati.” It means that the incumbent's actor-network requests the members of DPRD to be in line with Bupati's vision and missions and to maintain harmonious relationship with the Bupati.

Second, the incumbent's success team help to organize the DPRD in selecting the DPRD chairman even though not all can be achieved. For example, to elect the chairman, the candidate is not eligible because he'd never been a member of the political party board. Third, this regional governance is like managing a Sonaf (traditional house of Timorese) where Bupati as a chief and DPRD as a warrior. This cultural approach in one hand strengthens the relationship between both institutions, but on the other hand, it brings up the spirit of primordial in governance. This cultural approach makes communication and coordination between DPRD and the Bupati easy.

The smooth communication and coordination can be shown in the product of Perda (local regulation) issued by the government of Kupang Regency in the last five years.

initiative for the draft of Perda that never happened before. In quantity, the product of Perda in 2015 decreased compared to 2012 and 2013. But in



quality, it can be said that in 2015 Kupang Regency issued two strategic Perdas, namely Perda No. 1 of 2015 on Layout and Region Plan and Perda No. 2 of 2015 on Regional Mid-term Development Plan (RPJMD) of 2014-2019. Both products of strategic Perdas show good cooperation between DPRD and the Bupati.

This research also finds that formulation of regulation (especially regional budget (APBD)) in Kupang Regency is influenced by political factors and governance that involve elements of social tradition, culture, politics, government, and leadership (incumbent). The implication is that the executive pattern (Muttalib & Khan (1983) that suggests that Pilkada leads to strong-non-single government may not be appropriately applied in Kupang Regency. Whether is strong or weak, the executive pattern in Kupang Regency is dependent upon the leadership of Bupati (actor) in making use of those elements. When he is strong, a Bupati may make use of traditional, political and government elements to support Bupati's programs; and it is weak when the Bupati cannot make use of those elements.

#### **Model of Actor-Network Formed in Governance**

The result of analysis of this research finds the following. First, the elements of regional governance is normatively regulated in Law No. 23 of 2015, consisting of Bupati and DPRD assisted by regional bureaucracy. Relationship between Bupati and DPRD is one-chamber partnership relation. In implementing regional policies, Bupati is assisted by Regional Bureaucracy, so it can be said that bureaucracy is a motor of governance.

Second, community leaders are still the heroes in Kupang Regency so bureaucracy can

empower people through the community leader's liaisoning so as to make the program appropriate and successful. Members of incumbent's actor-network are community leaders. Third, it is difficult to realize bureaucracy neutrality in Kupang Regency because the officials are full of individual interest to protect their position. Fourth, DPRD as a political institution should listen to constituent's aspiration through programs/activities in accordance with the needs of the people. Decision making for programs/activities in regional budget by the bureaucracy of Kupang Regency is controlled by DPRD. The actor network that shares the same location with the constituents is a door to collusion between DPRD, bureaucracy, and actor-network.

Fifth, through community leaders, the community or cells can be moved. Support from community leaders is based on sentimental reason of ethnicity (Timorese) with Bupati as a punctualized actor. The solidarity on the basis of ethnicity is built through a mechanic solidarity, that is, based on collective consciousness referring to ethnic sentiment. Therefore, it does not go through the phases of actor-network development, but directly through mobilization of community support or cells through community leaders. Sixth, Bupati maintains communication with community leaders in order to keep the stability of governance. Community leaders' support can change into a pressure group by staging a demonstration when Bupati cannot carry out his authority due to a pressure from DPRD.

Based on the analysis, the Model of Actor-Network "Titu Eki" formed in the governance can be shown as in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Model of Actor-Network "Tiku Eki"  
in Governance in Kupang Regency

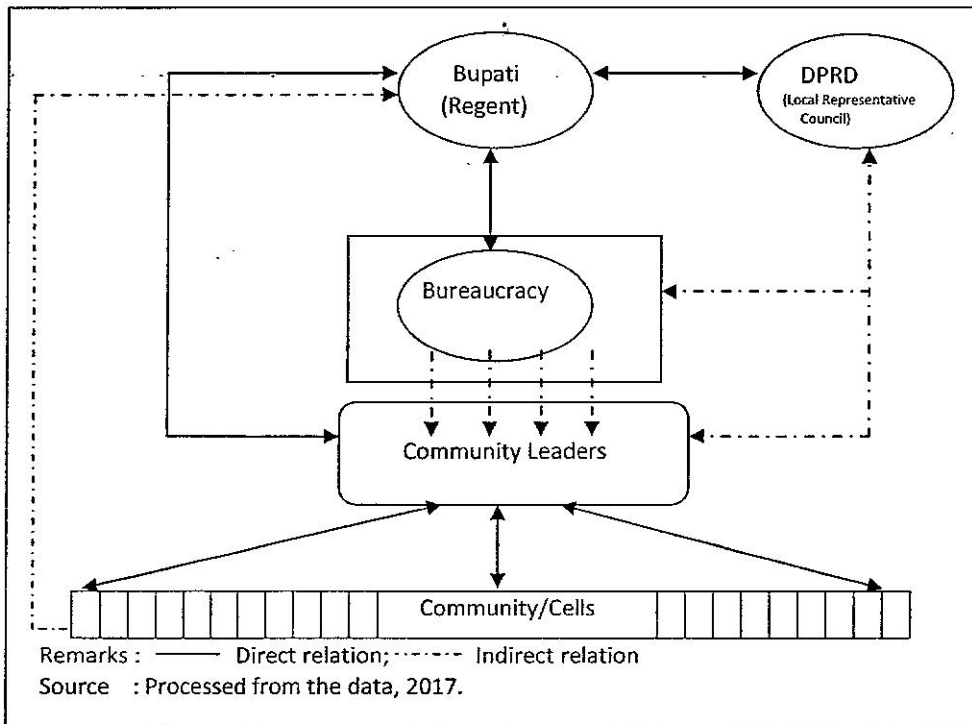


Figure 1 shows that the model of Actor-Network "Tiku Eki" formed in governance can support stability. This model is different from the Actor-Network "Tiku Eki" in the election in 2015. This because of several factors below:

1. The process of social network development as a strategic campaign of actor-network is instrumental in the incumbent's success.
2. Successful management and utility of actor-network is also influenced by the local traditional values.
3. Phenomena or findings that attract the attention of ethnicity world is taken into the system of local governance.
4. Strong support from DPRD due to intensive communication by making use of local traditional values.

Based on the above process, it can be concluded that the governance in Kupang Regency is the mixture of traditional values and modern political values.

The mixture results in "Tiku Eki" Total Network, that is, all new social network set up by "Tiku Eki" as the hybrid between Barnes, Ore, and Durkheim. Barnes in Mitchell (1969) is used to

analyze total network consisting of DPRD partial network, bureaucracy, and community leaders. Ore in Mitchell (1969) is used to analyze the self-determination of each partial network in make a decision and communication so it yields nth-order star network. While the spirit of network that dominate the driving factors is primordial bond, dubbed by Durkheim as non-material social fact (Ritzer, G & Goodman, D.J., 2004). This non-material social fact is able to develop and move emotional bond in the form of group solidarity.

#### Campaigning via Independent Route and Stability of Governance

Two dimensions of stability of governance, namely empowerment of indigenous people and creation of consensus, may give direct benefits to the community through a number of programs. For example, Program Tanam Paksa Tanam (TP2T, conflict resolution on land dispute in a traditional way so the resolution does not lead to hatred. Conflict resolution through traditional consensus shows that the government highly appreciate local wisdom values. Other three dimensions of stability of governance, namely





quality services, smooth development, and effective arrangement, require serious adjustment from the government even though the effort toward the adjustment continues to be made by the government. By so doing, it can be said that the stability of governance has not been achieved. However, the Model of "Titu Eki" Actor Network, formed in governance in Kupang Regency may create artificial stability. It may happen due to the following factors: (a) leadership capacity, (b) match between tradition and local politics, and (c) maintaining support through primordial bond.

This research also finds that decentralization that is developed in the implementation of regional autonomy is influenced by the role of actor, condition, and local community values. The role of Bupati leadership in governance gives color to the implementation of model of governance in regions. It means that regional autonomy will give color to governance in a region which is different from the color in other regions because the actor (Bupati) and condition of the community are also different.

When the condition of the community is not developed, unprofessional bureaucracy with interest, Forkopimda (The coordination forum leaders in the region) that is not optimal, and the Government Representative in the Region (Governor) cannot play its role, it will be a burden for the governance in Kupang Regency. Internal improvement carried by the region, starting from (1) changing the mindset of the people, (2) improving the capacity of people, DPRD, and bureaucracy, and (3) granting 'authority' to the people takes time so the results have not been seen.

Unprofessional bureaucracy is dealt with by forming Sekretariat Bersama (Sekber) or Common Secretariat as an agent of control to help the planning of regional budget (APBD) in a transparent manner, but the decision is left to the authority of regional government. Bureaucracy makes a decision with an approval from DPRD, so it is often the case that a decision is made after a compromise for the public interest. Therefore, the effort to create good governance is there, but it is still far from the characteristics.

This research also finds that Bupati who is supposed to be obedient to the Governor as a Representative of the Central Government, but in

practice it never occurs. This is due to the fact that both are elected by the people and the dual role played by the Governor as a Central Representative and a representative of a political party and it is assumed that it may lead to subjective problem solving. The dualism of autonomy (provincial and district/municipal) may lead to a conflict of interest in regional governance. Consequently, region (regency) tends to directly report to the Central Government when there is a problem in regional governance. Furthermore, the burden of the central government is getting heavier due to dualism of regional autonomy. So, there is a need for a dimension of arrangement of Central and Regional relationship in NKRI with a scope to apply the expertise of the central government and regional values or locality.

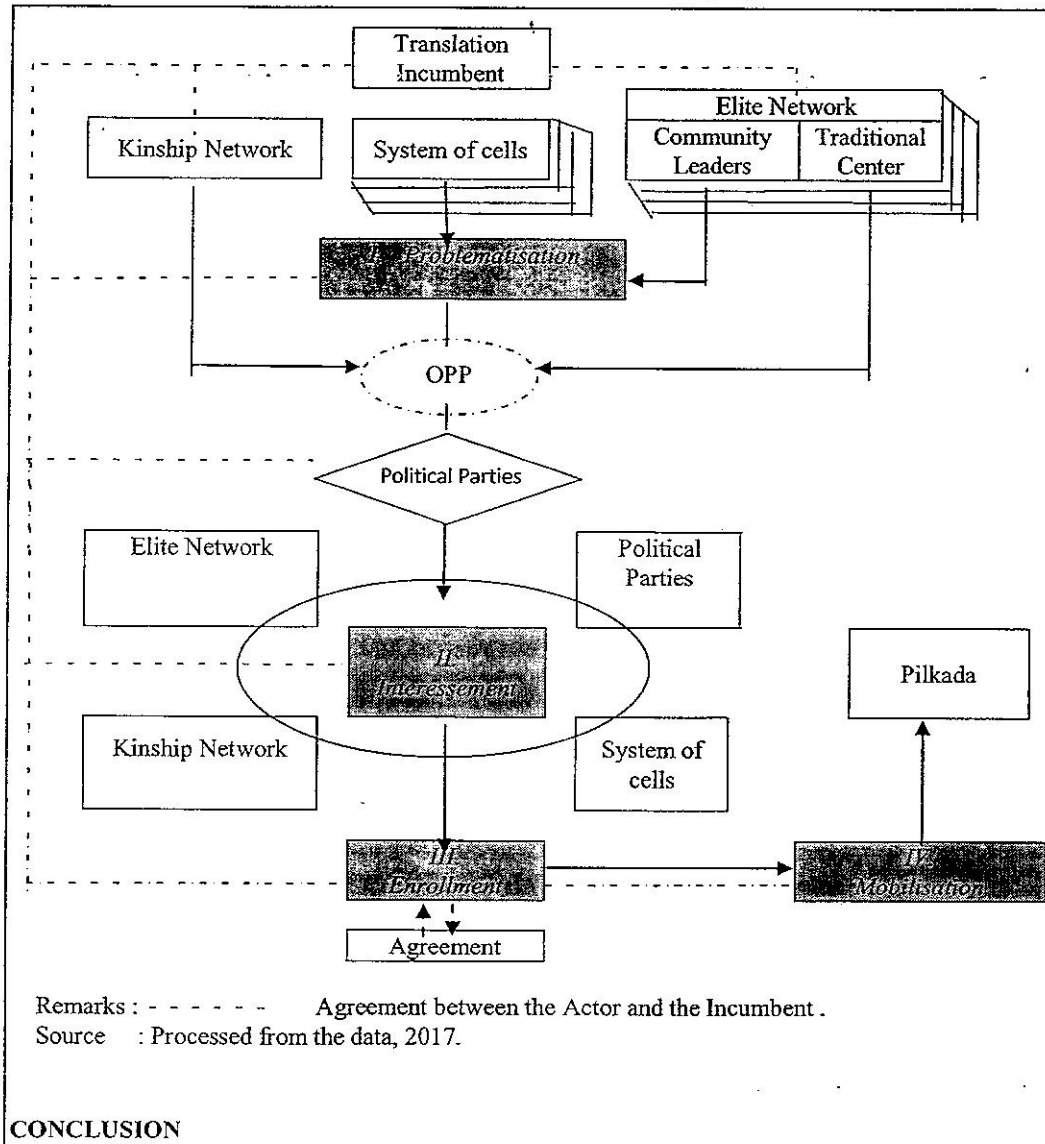
#### **A Model of Actor-Network for the Next Pilkada**

A model of actor-network for the next Pilkada is an ideal model that can be expected, so it may accommodate the interests of stakeholders and to win the Pilkada. An ideal model in the futur is a mixture of traditional and modern strengths. This is because:

1. Family factor, elite leaders (center of tradition and community leader), and a culture that dominates social relation in the community.
2. Level of trust among the people to political parties is still low, so political parties need to gain sympathy from the people by proposing a figure supported by the community.
3. Law No. 10 of 2016 specifies stricter requirements for independent route. So, political parties need to get themselves ready recruit a public leader in a transparent way.
4. The grassroots supporters of the candidate and the political party that is supported by the same norms and values are expected to set up substantive (not artificial) stability of governance.

Based on the result of analysis above, an Ideal Model of Actor-Network of Kupang Regency for the next Pilkada is produced, as shown in Figure 2. This model is expected to build the same grassroots between Bupati from independent route and political parties, continued at government level so there will be a substantive stability of governance.

Figure 2. Model of an Ideal Actor-Network in Kupang for the Next Pilkada



Based on the results of analysis above, the conclusion of this research is as follow:

1. The process of establishment of the incumbent's actor-network involves actor of incumbent and actor-network which consists of kinship network, elite network, and cultural network to build a system of cells. The process is not linear, but it is a modification of the theory of actor-network by Law, Callon, and Bruno.

2. The support to Bupati from independent route is strong because it is based on open communication and coordination between the two parties. It initiates the formulation of government programs, even though is practice there are bureaucratic constraints that bridge the communication but full of interests.
3. The Model of 'Titu Eki' Actor-Network which is Formed in Governance shows that there is combination of cultural elements



- (community leaders), politics (DPRD) and bureaucracy with Bupati as a driving actor.
4. Campaigning through independent route is successful in building artificial stability of governance.
  5. An ideal model of actor-network for the next Pilkada in Kupang Regency is a combination of elements of cultural values, modern politics, and a figure of candidate supported by capability, acceptability and compactability.
  6. Theoretical implication of this research for the development of Government Science is important for the development of a model of actor-network in the same Pilkada in other regions by stressing on quality of actor, grassroots support, traditional values, and support from modern political institutions (political parties) in order to yield substantive stability of governance.
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