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Actor-Network Theory Study on Demak Regency Regional Leader Election 2011

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify the actor network maps and reconstruct the map so that you can explain the impact in government. This study used a qualitative method that is cyclical, with informants sampled in purposive which in actor-network theory principle priority is a description of events without distinguishing human actors and non-human actors. The results showed that the originally oppressed culture able to attract people empathy to the actor. Associated with networks, actors utilize government leadership network that has been owned by previous actor and using vehicles of political parties, in this case PKB, PPP, PKS and Golkar Party. Meanwhile, since a second term, incumbent utilizing network of government and religious leader, clerics, and boarding school for a similar mission. Furthermore, the network of Religious leader, clerics, and boarding school serves as an agent or intermediary in translating the mission to attract the people's voice. This network regardless to the origin of NU or Muhammadiyah, and attract Islamic political party (PKB, PPP and PKS), as well as the nationalist party Golkar to join. These networks are powerful in fighting the actors because of the facilitation and improvement of human resources training obtained from the actor.

Keywords: *actor, actor-network theory, oppressed culture, strong networking*

1. INTRODUCTION

Globalization had an impact on citizens' demands to the government in all aspects of life. One of these demands is the demands of public involvement in the democratic life as a result of the increasing political awareness of the people as citizens. In the modern paradigm, democracy is expected to increase public confidence in the government as well as allowing the formation of a strong political stability because of the public support existence. Indonesian government's efforts to answer this community demands are by emphasizing the form of political reform through a series of autonomy and decentralization policy, as well as linking development planning with local democracy. Smith (1985) stated that decentralization allows aspects of community development run more maximal. A series of reform demands in 1998 is one of them accommodated in Law No.22 / 1999 jo. Law No.32/2004 on Local Government. Law No. 32/2004 on Local Government through Article 56 Paragraph 1 states that: "The regional Leader and deputy of the region selected in the candidate pairs held democratically based on the principles of direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair". Although the current Law No.32 / 2004 have been revised by Law No.23 / 2014, the phenomenon of the Demak Regency Regional leader elections happens when the validity period of Law No.32 / 2004. Thus this study refers to the rules set out in Law No. 23/2014.

In the Demak Regency Regional leader elections for a period of 2011-2016 were won by TZ - MDS to acquire as many as 377 644 valid votes and valid votes percentage 74.38% of the of 805 661 voters. TZ - MDS victory is supported by four major political parties, namely: Golkar,

PKS, PPP and PKB were inaugurated on May 3, 2011 by Central Java Governor Bibit Waluyo. Elected Regent (TZ) is the *incumbent* regent who in tenure from 2006 to 2011 paired with other actors namely MA. In the course of the period 2011-2016 government, elected Regent (TZ) died on March 18, 2012 to be replaced by his deputy MDS who later became regent. Furthermore, political polemics appear when filling Demak regent deputy vacancy, which in fact is the right of governor and the bearer party.

Table 1.1.

Political Parties Composition and Numbers of Seat in Demak Regency DPRD 2009-2014

No.	Political Parties Name	Numbers of Seat	%
1.	Partai Hanura	1	2
2.	PKPB	1	2
3.	Gerindra	3	6
4.	PKS	5	10
5.	PAN	2	4
6.	PKB	10	20
7.	PDP	2	4
8.	Golkar	6	12
9.	PPP	5	10
10.	PDIP	8	16
11.	Demokrat	6	12
12.	PKNU	1	2
Jumlah		50	100

Source : Demak Regency or via

<http://kpudemak.wordpress.com/>

January 30, 2013.

In PP 49 of 2008 on the Third Amendment to PP 6 of 2005 regarding the Election, Legalization, Appointment and Dismissal of Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head said that the regents propose two deputy candidates from the bearer party or party's coalition proposal. Furthermore, in the election until the deputy replacement legalization is only done by Parliament (DPRD), while Demak Regency General Elections Commission (KPU) did not have the authority to facilitate. Chalid (2005) states however direct elections should be considered the impact and implementation that does not just stop after the inauguration of the elected candidate. Related substitution between time and the bearer party, should legislation also regulate the impact of reimbursement between the times when the case their partnership *broke up*. Administratively, the supported bearer parties are: Golkar, PKS, PPP and PKB is powerful because 52% of the vote in Parliament. Problems arise when there is no agreement about the regent deputy replacement over time. There for the role of actor-network is very important in the electoral process until the appointment of the Regent Deputy in Demak Regency DPRD 2009-2014.

Riyanto (2012) mentions that the actor-network damaged can cause conflicts. Zuhro, and friends. (2011) confirms that in the implementation of local democracy through the Region leader elections is interesting to study, especially with regard to the region diversity in response to the challenges faced. Lessons can be drawn from the Regional Leader elections implementation in the provinces, districts and the city is that the elections still faces many challenges, especially in terms of procedure and coordination, so that not infrequently lead to political conflicts at the local level. However, in some Regions also showed an increase in community participation were positively correlated to the results, namely the election of a trustworthy leader. However fluency in the regent election process closely linked to regent actor-network, that's what the actor-network studies interesting for further study.

Actor-Network plays an important role in the regent and deputy election in Demak Regency. Un smoothness in the parliament electoral process will result in the uncertain political map that will ultimately have an impact on policy or the order that will be proposed and produced by the regional executive. Based on the description so that the problem of this research is: How does the actor network partner TZ - MDS built in direct Regional leader election process in 2011, as well as How regent deputy replacement takes place over time? This study wants to reconstruct the actor network that have been built by the Regent TS - MDS in Demak Regency and it's implications when TZ died.

ANT (*Actor-Network Theory*) is an approach to social theory and research which treats the object as part of a social network. Non-human capacities participate in determining system and/or network. ANT was first developed in the 1980s

in France by Callon and Latour (1981) and Law (1986) may be technically described as the method of "material-semiotic". This means that there is a material and semiotic (concepts) map in a simultaneous relationship. This approach does not attempt to answer true or false to an event, but rather seeks to provide an explanation to understand the combination and interaction among the elements that exist. Therefore ANT include constructivist approach

I. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Informants Selection in this study was done by using *purposive* technique. Purposive technique (Moleong, 2007: 224) that is to say who the *informant* is predetermined based on the criteria or specific reasons by the researcher himself from some point. It aims to maintain the objectivity of the research. Informants in this study will be taken from several points, namely: Regent of Demak Regency 2011-2016 (TZ), Regent Deputy of Demak Regency 2011-2016 (MDS), TZ-MDS regent's success team, the political party's elites, the governing elite and grassroots influential.

Sources of data in this study are primary data and secondary data. Primary data is a source of research data obtained directly from the informant, and data collection will be discontinued when the data obtained is already saturated. While the secondary data obtained by researchers indirectly, in the form of literature searches of documents and literature related to the local elections as well as documents or historical sources that have been arranged in the archives. Both sources of data are then combined and carried out a systematic analysis to reconstruct the ANT in the Demak Regency Regional Leader election.

Qualitative methods were used in this study is *cyclical*, which meaning analysis and data interpretation was done repeatedly and at the same time. In this case it is at the time of direct data collection conducted analysis and interpretation, then collect data, and immediate analysis and interpretation again. Similarly, it is done so on until researchers are already found Regent *actor network*. After conducting a comprehensive analysis and interpretation, it is expected from this study can explain the implications of this research on the Indonesian political system, especially in Regional Leader elections. After that, next up to the conclusion process.

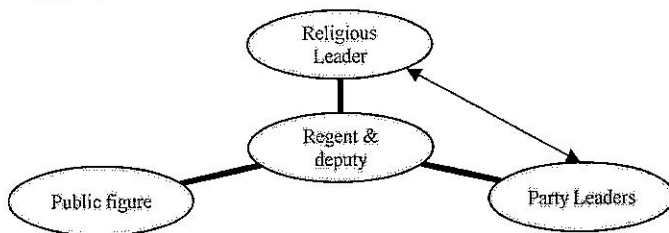
II. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. ACTOR-NETWORK

Demak city's main slogan is Wali City. This is because the role of Religious leader in the boarding school were greatly affected the resources owned by actor TZ and MDS. As revealed by the informant 2 as follows

"Religious Leader assemblage in this boarding school in the meeting would discuss specific candidates to support in the elections. As the support given to TZ, moreover, he is a former Local Officials who were close to the people and oppressed by the previous regents E. After the second term TZ died, and was succeeded by his deputy MDS, the relationship with the religious leader maintained properly. Given the MDS as a regent of the former lecturers of Religious department who certainly have a very good communication with the clerics, religious leader, and the boarding school even though he is not affiliated to a certain political parties".

Related to this, the main resource of regent TZ and deputy MDS claims is among the clerics, Religious leader or boarding school. Although resources support these two actors are not in the form of a specific function or positions in a boarding school, Majelis taklim, or other religious institutions; but the accumulated resources by both of them utilize its communication network when the position of the two actors (TZ and MDS) as civil servants who are duties, obligations, and its function in contact or communicate directly with the public. TZ Previous position as Local Officers were very fully understands the governance of local government, so it is possible strongly supported by the bureaucracy. While the Deputy (MDS) base support is among the Religious Leader. The combination of the oppressed image when TZ first nomination in the period 2006-2011, and resources owned by MDS actor capable of winning the nomination this couple as Demak Regent in the 2011-2016 period. Overview TZ & MDS actor network can be described in Picture 1 as follows.



Picture 1. Regent actor-network

Regent and his deputy is the main actor network, meaning that the network center is located on the regent and deputy actor. The main actor networks were established reciprocal links with Religious leader, public figures and political party's leader. Associated with networks, there are inter-relationship between religious leaders with the political party's leader.

Based on these data, it turns out *image* as oppressed evocative people empathy to choose, while the performance when TZ was former Regional Secretary is not a major consideration. People prefer to side with the oppressed/weaker individual than the performance of public officials. This was confirmed by interviews with informants 1 & 2 as follows.

"In selecting leaders people did not see whether the relevant previously originated from civil servants or not. When compared with the previous leadership of past E, E it more precisely its contribution, perhaps because he is an entrepreneur, so the motion is fast; for example: building a ring road, build Morosari beach as recreational areas, children's playground, cattle fattening in the Gajah District, etc. compared to TZ. Just unfortunately, a good program is not continued. Perhaps for cattle fattening did not fit, but others should be continued".

It reminds us of the political map is happening at the national level. When that SBY resigned as Megawati's cabinet because he feel persecuted, and founded the Democratic Party is finally made Yudhoyono as President of Indonesia through the first presidential elections. At the local level, the oppressed factors is able to seize community support as capital resources in nominating someone as experienced by TZ when the "cut off" by the previous regents E from Regional Secretary to *non-job*. Turns oppressed culture can be used to mobilize the masses or for other purposes such as building personal charisma or competence in certain situations anyway.

On the second period 2011-2016 nomination, TZ broke up their partnership with his deputy MA; so TZ paired with MDS who have a support base clerics, religious leader, and boarding school plays an important role. The actor will always occupy a position or down to claim its resources. These resources are not in the form of a position in a particular political party or religious organization, but how TZ - MDS couples uses its communications networks their have to build support. Religious Leader Network has intensified to establish communication with MDS become a major resource for TZ-MDS couples victory in the 2011-2016 elections, because

this religious leader network that will mobilize the students to support a particular candidate

Religious Leader network who are members of Muhammadiyah and NU is the main support base which was then affiliated in PKB, PPP, PKS, and a coalition with nationalist parties, namely Golkar Party, into non-human actors that play an important role in the nomination of TZ-MDS. In this case the factor of political party's bearers is not the main thing, but the factor of Muhammadiyah and NU in religious Leader network that played a central role. This is in line with informants 1,2,3 and 4 statement which basically stated that at the level of Demak Regency, this religious leader network every three months, held a meeting with the government in the form of "Communication Ulama and Umara" so that the coordination established between the government and Religious Leader were excellent. This Facility is also used as a means of socialization for government program and support from Religious Leader. While at the district level, "Communication Ulama and Umara" is held once every four months, as well as at the village level the communication are ongoing intensive.

In addition, the boarding school connection is also a means to build an intensive communication between actors TZ & MDS with Religious Leader. For in any event, both the actor continues to provide assistance in the form of boarding school human resource training or otherwise. Actors are all elements that bound the space, bind other elements, and transform desires into one that supports a particular actor. A network Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding school makes other elements such as the parties have a relationship.

A network of Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding schools despite not rely on certain political parties, but the Islamic political party such as PKB, PPP and PKS use its tools to convince the actors in aligning their interests based on political party's ideology. When the persuasive process is effective, it will create a network of actors. This means that the actor-network is formed when there is an understanding between actors through the process of persuading other actors (Religious Leader, clerics, boarding schools, political parties) that they have the same interests that are combined in a new mission to collect people voice for a particular actor (Pair TZ-MDS) in order to further their interests. As the informant number-5 states that in TZ and MDS working terms, both widely assist the boarding school activities, both physically with repair facilities or trainings to improve the competence and Human Resources of the boarding school.

Network of religious leader, clerics, and boarding school are being a binding element although sometimes not necessarily aligned with the interests of political parties. But in this case the nuances of Islamic political parties realize that the actor has a very strong support at the grassroots level, so that if the

role of political parties is not so visible. Even when TZ died and replaced by his deputy MDS, MDS temporary official terms past nearly one year. This is due to no alignment or no common ground with the parties as expressed by informant 1 as follows.

"An MDS temporary official term is quite long, almost one year. It is given that this MDS base is Boarding school and less with political parties. Surely political party's bearers want filled by members of the board, but it's not enforceable given between the regent and his deputy is a partner; so that the discourse fall. Finally there are two candidates of regent deputy proposed that Mr. Regional Secretary and Mr. Government first Assistant. Mr. Regional Secretary was pleased just to accompany, not to be selected. First Assistant selected as regent deputy because he has the experienced".

Network of Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding school became binding element for the diverse interests of political parties supporting actor. Therefore the parties seem do not perform its function as a means of political recruitment. In this case a Network of Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding school functioning as an agent that is able to explore and influence other actors (in this case the political parties) and seize the people's support in the election. In this study, the main agent plays an important role in translating the mission to the *grassroots*. This is where the actor role happens in a network of Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding school as a translator to attract people's voice and mobilize and play a role similar to the effect of non-human actors. Non-human actors could take the form of information and communication technology, networks of religious leader, clerics, and boarding schools, or political parties. In this study it was found that the network of religious leader, clerics, and boarding school whether from NU or Muhammadiyah play an important role in mobilizing and giving meaning to the people to follow the meaning / support provided by one of its leaders. This translation is done by using an appropriate understanding of the mission of religion. On the other hand these roles are exchanged to obtain the facility and support from the authority as a motive that can not be hidden.

Actor-network theory is essentially used to understand the network complexity, while in this study the actor-network theory is used to identify the social actor's complexity, and use it to support the success of an actor in the election. These social actors complexities are not differentiate current time from past, visible or not visible, meaningful or not all of which are used for the success of the actors in the

election. The information system is one of the non-human actors with the concept of symmetry and translation is used to translate the actor's mission. The information system used among Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding school in the form of majelis taklim, religious leader organization, clerics, and boarding school show function that can affect people's support to the actor. This study found the organization as non-human actors and other actors that are found in this study. It turns out the actor-network theory, cultural factors also influence the success or failure of an actor. Actor-network theory is relational, materials extend semiotic assume that all entities reached significance in relation to others; the role of the agent is very important.

B. ACTOR-NETWORK IMPACT

The Network actual impact, TZ elected as regent during two periods. This strength gives people a lot of access to Demak Regency to manage the government and strengthen the network. Strong support network of Religious leader in NU and Muhammadiyah is even able to gain support from political parties. In everyday life this religious leader networks strengthen the political stability in the regional legislature and executive, so that the political conflict at the central / national not affected to Demak Regency Regional legislative. It is as disclosed by informant number 1 and 4 that the conflict in the House of Representatives (DPR) (2014-2015) between the Red and White Coalition (KMP) and the Indonesian Great Coalition (KIH) and give impact on the divisions between KMP and KIH in Central Java Province DPRD, but it does not affect the in Demak Regency DPRD. This shows when the conflict in the central legislative level for divisions coalition, not necessarily impact at the local level. The decisive factor is the influence of powerful religious leader in the life of the government. Even religious leader support that strengthens the political parties, not conversely.

The presence of the actor on religious activities conducted by Religious Leader, clerics, boarding schools both from the NU and Muhammadiyah besides building closeness with the people, also socialize actors mission to seize people's support. The impact is the establishment of good communication between the Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding school with the actor that would be useful to strengthen the base of government's support with Demak Regency DPRD. Because it becomes easy for the actor moved those side if there is disharmony relationship between Regent and DPRD. But it seems the disharmony relationship never happened in Demak regency, a support base among the Islamic political parties with those side are very close; even difficult to be separated though not visible to the eye.

Good communication connection in in the level of Demak regency religious leader for 4 times in a year, one consequence is the people's support in the policy implementation. However, by no means all the policies are very easy to implement, because its related to policies that change the *mindset* and culture of the community, such as: MCK is still very difficult to implement, especially for the elderly (50 and over); although for other policy public is driven by the government. The other impact there is no conflict between the government, the legislature, or the people which resulted in a prolonged conflict. This does not mean to make this district forward rapidly, but when compared with 10 previous year (2004) demak Regency now more organized either physical or human resources. When the first, people are only familiar with the school in boarding schools with limited facilities and infrastructure, now is more better and the types of education more heterogeneity. Through study groups then the religious leader and clerics have use for socializing government programs. The investigation further found that the government support in facilitating boarding schools SDM and improving better facilities and infrastructure show that the actor was very attentive to this network, so this network is affecting political parties. Therefore when MDS official temporary term was almost a year, the network of Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding schools are functioning as agents of political parties. This was confirmed by informant number 1 as follows.

"Mr. MDS establish good communication with all political parties. When his official temporary terms took so long, he was not whispering with political parties; because after finally will come to him as well. Perhaps because of his deputy that does not exist ". The delay in the support of Parliament to MDS not solely because of the procedure, but can be traced back due to fears of political parties do not have the support of the religious leader, clerics, and boarding school if not immediately lift MDS became regent and pick the regent deputy imposed. This means that between the time regent deputy election in parliament more accommodating so that they can work well together and not on considerations of political party cadres.

C. NETWORK CONTEMPORARY

Networking on the contemporary period is a unified network among Religion Leader, clerics, and boarding school regardless NU or Muhammadiyah that is at the root of Islamic political parties, namely: PKB, PPP and PKS was instrumental in maintaining the political stability of the legislature or government. These strong support network of religious leader influence Islamic political parties, so that the political conflicts in the central / national and provincial legislature, are not able to *shake* the existing local political stability. Network socializing mission actors in the community, while actors were providing various facilities that strongly supports the network function. Actors Attention of the network is very large, and even tend to believe to the network in monitoring. Mutual communication is smooth and straight between the actor networks, making such strong networks that can even affect political parties. Further impact is the role of political parties to be small, and only as a tool / political vehicle of an actor when someone were nominated to be regent in the elections. This study was only able to reveal the impact of the network, and cannot explain how great facilities given by the actor.

Political euphoria that often results in conflict, it did not happen in the Demak Regency. The role of Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding school which are strong and unified as well as good communication between ulama- umara make the network strong in the Demak Regency, is absolute and constant. This contrasts with the theory of Latour (2005) which states that the network is not groups, only the formation of groups within the network where the association between the groups is not clear, fragile, controversial, and change the ongoing process. Research shows that what happens in the Demak Regency otherwise, the network is a group and inter-group association are very clear, strong, aligned and expedite the ongoing process, even able to influence political parties.

III. CONCLUSION

1. An actor network formed during the Regional leader elections in Demak Regency more influenced by cultural oppressed factors by the previous regents. These cultural factors capable to attract public empathy and drive actor won the election. In elections in 2011 or the Second elections for TZ, TZ-MDS Regent couples take advantage of the network of Religious Leader, clerics, and boarding school. This support is exchanged with the provision of facilities to the network and training to improve network human resources competence. The actor Network produced unity of the same mission with the actors, for the next network is working as an agent in socializing the actor mission.

The stable political conditions in Demak Regency, does not mean the people's welfare be good; but when compared to 10 years ago now are better welfare.

2. Replacement of Regent deputy across time as well as the networks orderly powerful actor, so as to attract the support of political parties. Even political parties in Demak Regency Parliament is not affected by the political map of the legislature at the national level.
3. The need for further research studies *Actor-Network Theory* related to the Regional Leader elections in 2015 simultaneously to find toughness network of boarding school, clerics and Religious leader in strengthening the function of political parties, particularly the recruitment of public officials in Demak regency.

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