Pattern of EthnicCoalition in Regional Head Election: Evidence from Indonesia

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Abstract--This study discusses the ethnic coalition in regional head elections in Belitung Regency, Indonesia. Local politics in Belitung Regency contains ethnic identity politics. These identity politics involves three ethnic groups, namely Malays (as the ethnic majority), Chinese and Bugis (as ethnic minorities). The competition of the three ethnic groups became more open in the current era of regional autonomy triggered by direct regional head elections. Changes in political controversy in post-reform Indonesia in 1998 have opened up a large space to fight for group-based interests, especially for minority groups. In this situation, primordialism is no longer seen as something that must be abandoned, but rather effective to be used as a symbol and political language in order to gain legitimacy and sympathy in the process of gaining power. This study uses a qualitative approach. The results of the study show that the right ethnic coalition will make the candidate's chances of winning the contestation of regional head elections getting bigger. Ethnic minority groups can win the contestation of regional head elections when in coalition with the ethnic majority. The majority of ethnicities who pair up with the majority ethnic group have a small chance of victory. This study concludes that ethnic collaboration is the main preference in determining candidates for regional heads in Belitung Regency.

Keywords--Ethnic Coalition, Regional Head Election, Politic.

I. INTRODUCTION

This study discusses how the pattern of ethnic coalitions in regional head elections in Indonesia. The study of local elections generally focuses on the campaign phase which clearly shows how candidates compete with each other to get votes (Hill, 2009; Lindsay, 2009). In the study, regional head elections became an arena for actors, both candidates, and political parties, to build their self-image as popular as possible among the people. Another study focused on the candidates who competed in local elections, which resulted in research on incumbency (Gordon and Landa, 2009; Iskandar, 2015; Lestari, 2011; Stone, 2011; Erb&Sulistiyanto, 2009).

The fundamental change of electoral politics in Indonesia occurred when the New Order regime changed through the reform process in 1998 (Suwarso, 2013). Since the reform era in 1998, almost always there have been significant changes in the mechanism of elections in Indonesia. Changes in the form and mechanism of elections occur at least in the technical aspects of nomination, campaigning and voting (Ibrahim, 2017).

Post-reform, Indonesia is considered a democratic country (Platzdasch, 2009), even a new democratic

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country (Bird & Hill, 2007). Lately, Indonesia has been categorized as a country that is still in the transition zone to democracy. Mietzner (in Bunte&Ufen, 2009), said that Indonesia was leading a democratic regime with a low quality of democracy. Various facts show that political change from a system that is more than three decades established (authoritarian politics) to a democratic system in Indonesia with its multicultural society further strengthens the spirit of primordialism (Kristianus, 2016).

Since the process of democratization and decentralization began in Indonesia, local politics has attracted the interest of many academics, and there has been a drastic increase in political research at the local level (for example: Aspinall and Fealy, 2003; Erb and Sulistiyanto, 2009; Nordholt and van Klinken, 2009; Hadiz, 2010; Aspinall, 2011; Okamoto and Honna, 2014; Haryanto, 2014; Zakina, 2016; Benjamin, 2017; Mulyadi, 2018). But no researcher has discussed the pattern of ethnic coalitions in the local political arena. Therefore there is no knowledge of how the ethnic coalition pattern in the elections. As such, we will focus our attention on this particular problem.

At the local level, the form of direct regional head elections is a very interesting phenomenon to be discussed. The shift from the choice of using a system of representation in the legislature to direct elections at the community level has had a major impact on political practice in the local political space. Changes in the political controversy in post-reform Indonesia in 1998 have opened up greater space to fight for group-based interests. In this situation, primordialism is no longer seen as something that must be abandoned, but it is considered effective to be used as a symbol and political language to gain legitimacy and sympathy from the process of gaining power (Setyanto, 2009).

The constellations shown in regional head elections, for example, have illustrated how elites use ethnicity, religion, and the origins of candidates as a strategy to get votes. In theory, parties will build coalitions based on ideology or party programs. Based on this ideology, party coalitions will bring regional head candidates to compete competitively in regional elections. Parties that sort by the ideology of the reform era are religious parties and secular parties (Ambardi, 2009). But in reality, in each regional head election in Belitung Regency, the party does not form coalitions in ideological ties. Parties carry out coalitions freely, loosely, across ideologies, interfaith, cross-ethnic, and not permanent, in each different regional election.

Political parties often coalition with other parties not with those who share the same ideology. Party coalitions often do not nominate their cadres in local elections but nominate candidates from outside the party. Party coalitions are often more interested in supporting incumbents. The party took steps because the party is more concerned with winning party unity. Ideological factors and the size of the mass base and constituents owned by the party did not make him "confident" to move forward with his cadres in the election. Even in the elections in the contestation of Belitung Regency, the ethnic calculation is also a big factor that helps determine the victory of the candidate pair.

The emergence of a tribal (primordial) spirit is also inseparable from the influence of local elites who are candidates in the elections, each of which represents ethnic groups in Belitung Regency. Community political preferences are formed from the approach of ethnic identity such as, what ethnicity and where it comes from while the vision and mission are more to the service needs of the candidate pairs to fulfill the procedure. The political

dynamics in the Belitung Regency Election show that the implementation of democracy at the local level is very competitive among ethnic groups in realizing leadership at the local level. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore ethnic coalition patterns in regional head elections in Indonesia.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. The Political Concept of Ethnic Identity

Identity politics is also called biopolitics or political differences. Biopolitics bases itself on differences arising from body differences from individuals. Like Heller (in Abdilah, 2002), who takes the definition of identity politics as a concept and political movement whose focus of attention is the difference as a major political category. Because the idea of difference has promised freedom, tolerance, and freedom of play, even though behind it is the danger of the emergence of patterns of intolerance, violence and ethnic conflict.

Ethnic politics refers to the politics of ethnic groups or ethnic minorities who do not have their territory whose purpose is to seek protection and progress for their groups and freedom of expression and socialization (Kellas, 1998). In this context, minority groups become subordinate to the majority group that dominates the sociality of relations, so this minority becomes ethnic, becomes unique, or even alienated and strange. The ethnic political movement was initially oriented to power, regional control, control of economic resources, and even human control (other ethnic groups). Furthermore, in today's modern political era ethnic politics follows the direction of its development, so that ideological content emerges. Ethnic awareness then became large and transformed into a tribal awareness and a wider area towards the nation.

Furthermore, Cressida Heyes (in Yandra, 2012), defines ethnic identity politics as a political activity that theoretically finds experiences of injustices felt by certain ethnic groups in certain social situations. According to him, ethnic identity politics is more directed at the movement of marginalized people in certain social, political and cultural conditions in society. In his political struggle, the use of ethnic identity gave positive results that significantly affected. Operationally, ethnic identity politics is a key concept in the political arena that utilizes human classification based on differences caused by inequality or injustice in the distribution of economic resources, power, territory, employment opportunities.

Whereas Hall values ethnic identity as a process of becoming more than raw values or taken for granted (Yandra, 2012). This means that ethnic identity is not a final process, nor is it talking about totality/essence, but rather a social construct, an identification process that will never be completely finished.

Many political experts say that ethnicity is no longer influential enough in political contestation at the national level. Liddle & Mallarangeng (1997), William Liddle & Saiful Mudjani (2007) state that ethnic and religious factors are no longer the main issues that influence national political contestation. But in another study conducted by Ananta, et. Al (2004), stated the opposite that ethnicity is still a sell-off in Indonesian politics. The main reason proposed was that very few voters in Indonesia chose based on rational considerations. According to the author, the concept of ethnic identity politics is relevant to be applied in the context of contemporary politics,

whose society is increasingly plural, showing its entities in situations that are very multidimensional, multicultural, and multiethnic.

2. Implementation of Ethnic Politics

Klause Van Beyme (in Abdilah, 2002), analyzes and tries to see the discourse of social-political movements based on ethnic politics in several stages of development starting from the premodern, modern and postmodern era. Where He describes the patterns of movement, motivation, and goals to be achieved then he reveals the following:

Table 1. The pattern of ethnic identity politics

Theory Model	Pattern Description	Action Pattern	The Purpose of the Movement
Pre Modern	Objective divisions (where there are fundamental divisions there must be a comprehensive social movement)	Ideological mobilization for the inspiration of leaders	Deprivation of Power
Modern	Conditional approach (division requires resources to be mobilized).	Balance of mobilization from above and participation from below	Division of Power
Post-Modern	The movement grows from its dynamics. Protests arise from various individual opportunities. There is not one dominant fraction.	Self-awareness	Autonomy

Source: *Beyme (in Abdilah, 2002)*

The categorization of ethnic political movements presented by Van Beyme above can be applied in analyzing the implementation of patterns of ethnic political movements. The discourse of ethnic politics at the pre-modern stage is groups that are divided based on thick ethnic nationalism, not yet familiar with the culture, in the sense of knowing something as it is. The aim of the political movement is the domination or domination of other ethnic groups, and this is done for production for the sake of survival (tribalism). The role of the leader in this process is very dominant; paternalism plays an important role in the formation of its community and society as a colony.

3. Racism and Ethnicity in the Political Aspect of Identity

According to Duveger (in Yandra, 2012), racist theories say that the human race is different, has social and intellectual talents that are not the same. From here comes the view of superiority and inferiority of a race over the other. According to Goldbeg, racism has become a discourse and forms a perspective that is reflected in a person's

attitudes and behaviors and ways of expression. Racist expressions seem to have been cultivated and incarnated in various ways and media. Racism has been manifested in various fields of life such as in the academic field, economics, in the name of science, law and penetrated in the field of bureaucracy (Goldbeg, 1993). As a result, there are several violations of humanity's human common sense.

The emergence of racism or which develops into ethnic politics in a multi-ethnic society such as Indonesia begins with a growing awareness that identifies them into a particular group or ethnicity. This awareness then gave rise to compactness and nationality. Ethnic politics refers to the politics of small ethnic groups and minorities, while the interpretation of ethnic groups can encompass ethnic groups. Contemporary political discourse is a narrower nuance because in this context ethnic or minority ethnic groups do not have certain territories.

The inherent characteristic of an ethnic group is the growth of feelings in a community among its members which raises awareness of strong relationships. Besides, there is also a growing sense of "*kekitaan*" in its members so that a sense of kinship is carried out. Ethnic identity politics are also very closely related to several aspects of capital, including political capital, financial capital, physical capital, human capital, and symbolic capital where forms of social and political capital do not always involve material exchange (Bourdieu, 2002; Coleman, 1990). People who have trust, also have better jobs in political and government institutions, are more prosperous and rarely commit crimes and corruption. While emphasizing social capital from the aspect of the network has a core value called civic engagement (Putnam, 1993). This study shows that a bond, whatever its form: Weak or strong, provides convenience in carrying out the political process (Granovetter, 2001).

4. Regional Heads Election

Regional head elections are interpreted as a democratic procedural process at the local level where the community directly participates in selecting the Regional Head by voting for one of the candidate pairs on the ballot paper. In the context of implementing regional head elections in Belitung Regency, it is interpreted as a process of selecting regents and deputy regents by utilizing political resources, namely the participation of local communities in voting rights on ballot papers which greatly influences future political leadership at the Belitung Regency regional level.

III. METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted in Belitung Regency, Bangka Belitung Islands Province, Indonesia. The interesting phenomenon of regional head elections in Belitung Regency is the strengthening of the ethnic sentiments between the ethnic majority, namely Malays and ethnic minorities such as Chinese and Bugis, causing the polarization of society based on ethnicity. The multicultural life of the people of Belitung Regency which consists of various ethnic groups makes political activities such as regional elections very influenced by ethnic colors.

This study uses a qualitative approach, which is an investigative process in which researchers gradually try to understand social phenomena by distinguishing, comparing, imitating, cataloging and classifying study objects (Creswell, 2002). Data collection is done through documentation studies in the form of archives of post-conflict local election organizers, news and articles in newspapers, photographs and printed materials used as props that show the existence of ethnic identity symbols and attributes.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Belitung Regency is part of the Bangka Belitung Islands Province. This district consists of around one hundred large and small islands. The largest island in Belitung Regency is Belitung Island. Belitung Regency consists of five sub-districts, namely Membalong, Tanjungpandan, Sijuk, Badau, and Selat Nasik (BPS, 2018). Belitung Regency can be said to be the region with the highest tolerance because various ethnic groups live peacefully without discrimination. There are various kinds of tribes and various kinds of religions in Belitung. Ethnic indigenous people of Belitung Regency are ethnic Malays who then experience acculturation and assimilation by sharing other ethnic groups, such as Palembang, Bugis, Chinese, Javanese, and other ethnicities (www.wikipedia.org).

The following is presented the composition of the population of Belitung Regency based on religion and gender in table 2:

Table 2. Population Data of Belitung Regency According to Religion and Gender in 2017

No	Religion	Male	Female	Number	Percentage
1	Islam	75,440	72,888	148,328	91.73%
2	Protestant	1,294	1,306	2,600	1.61%
3	Catholic	556	544	1,100	0,68%
4	Hindu	403	355	758	0.47%
5	Buddhism	4,462	4,372	8,834	5.46%
6	Confucianism	42	44	86	0.05%
	TOTAL	**82,197**	**79,509**	**161,706**	**100%**

Source: *https://portal.belitungkab.go.id* (2018)

Table 2 shows that, based on religion, the population of Belitung Regency is dominated by Muslims who are equal to 91.73%. The Muslim population of male sex has more numbers (75,440 people) than the female sex (72,888 people) while the population from Confucian religion has the lowest percentage (0.05%) than the population with Protestant religion 1.61%, Catholic 0.68%, Hindu 0.47%, Buddhism 5.46%.

Based on ethnicity, the composition of the population of Belitung Regency can be seen in table 3 as follows:

Table 3. Population Data of Belitung Regency Based on 2017 Ethnicity

No	Ethnic	Number	Percentage
1	Malay	125,702	77.73%
2	Chinese	27,624	17.08%
3	Java	3,352	2.07%
4	Minangkabau	838	0.52%
5	Bugis	2,514	1.55%
6	Madura	670	0.41%
7	Others	1,006	0.62%
	TOTAL	**161,706**	**100%**

Source: *https://portal.belitungkab.go.id* (2018)

Based on table 3, it is known that the distribution of the Malay population is quite large at 77.73% with a population of 125,702, Chinese 17.08% with a population of 27,624, Java 2.07% with a population of 3,352, Minangkabau 0.52% with a population of 838, Bugis 1.55% with a population of 2,514, Madura 0.41% with a population of 670, another 0.62% with a population of 1,006. The data shows that Malays still lead from the total population based on ethnicity.

The political battle for regional head elections in Belitung Regency after the 1998 reformation involved only three ethnic groups. The three ethnic groups that exist in the political stage of Belitung Regency are Malays as the majority ethnic group, while Chinese and Bugis are ethnic minorities. To look at ethnic coalition patterns in the Belitung Regency Election, researchers will analyze the elections in 2008, 2013 and the last 2018. This is because in the regional head elections in Belitung Regency after the 1998 reformation in those three years there were candidates with varied ethnic backgrounds. In the contestation of regional head elections in Belitung Regency ethnic factors also became a big factor that contributed to the selection of candidates for candidate pairs which would be followed by political parties.

In 2008, the Belitung Regency Election was attended by seven pairs of candidates with different backgrounds, religions, and tribes. The following will be presented in the serial number, name, religion, ethnicity, and background of the 2008 candidates for the Regent and Deputy Regent of Belitung:

Table 4. List of Names, Religion, Ethnicity, and Occupation of Candidates for Regents and Candidates for Deputy Regent of Belitung 2008-2013

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Religion	Ethnic	Work
1	Andi SaparuddinLanna IsyakMeirobie	Islam Christian	Bugis Chinese	Bureaucrats Legislator &Entrepreneur
2	Soehadie Hasan Yudi Dharma	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Legislator Academics
3	Muhtar Motong Masdar Nawawi	Islam Islam	Bugis Malay	Legislator Entrepreneur
4	Usmandie A. Andeska Sri Hendrawanti	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Entrepreneur Village Head
5	AsmulyatiAzhar Harpan Effendi	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Bureaucrats Bureaucrats
6	DarmansyahHusein Sahani Saleh	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Bureaucrats/Incumbent Bureaucrats
7	Sudirman Norman DjamaludinZuhdi	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Bureaucrats Bureaucrats

Source: *KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2008)*

Table 4 presents the religious, ethnic and background backgrounds of the candidates for the candidate for Regent and Candidate for the Deputy Regent of Belitung for the period 2008-2013. From the table above, it can be seen that from the religious background, the majority of the candidate pairs came from Islam, only IsyakMeirobie from Christianity. While the candidate pairs from the majority ethnic background were of ethnic Malays, only IsyakMeirobie (Chinese) and Muhtar Motong (Bugis) were not of ethnic Malays. While from a variety of occupational backgrounds, they are distributed from initial work as bureaucrats, businessmen, legislators, and village heads.

Table 5. List of Candidates for Regents and Candidates for Deputy Regent of Belitung 2008-2013 Period Based on the Carrying Party and Total Support

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Carrying Party	Total Support
1	Andi SaparuddinLanna IsyakMeirobie	PDIP & PIB	5/25
2	Soehadie Hasan Yudi Dharma	Independent	-
3	Muhtar Motong Masdar Nawawi	PKB & PKS	5/25
4	Usmandie A. Andeska Sri Hendrawanti	Independent	-
5	AsmulyatiAzhar Harpan Effendi	PPP & PAN	5/25
6	DarmansyahHusein Sahani Saleh	PBB	5/25
7	Sudirman Norman DjamaludinZuhdi	Golkar, PDI, Demokrat, & PBR	5/25

Source: *KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2008)*

Table 5 shows that candidate pairs have party support and varying amounts of support. Andi SaparuddinLanna-IsyakMeirobie, received support from PDIP and PIB with the total support of 5 out of a total of 25 legislators in Belitung Regency. Soehadie Hasan-Yudi Dharma received support from the people as independent candidates, as well as the Usmandie A. Andeska-Sri Hendrawanti couple. Muhtar Motong-Masdar Nawawi, supported by PKB and PKS, has as much as 5/25 support. AsmulyatiAzhar-Harpan Effendi received support from PPP and PAN with the total support of 5/25. DarmansyahHusein-Sahani Saleh received support from the PBB party with the total support of 5/25. Sudirman Norman-DjamaludinZuhdi provided support from Golkar, PDI, Demokrat, and PBR with the support of 5/25.

Table 6. Recapitulation of Results of Voting Results for Candidates for Regent and Candidate for Deputy Regent of Belitung 2008-2013

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Number of Votes	Percentage
1	Andi SaparuddinLanna-IsyakMeirobie	21,030	27.23%
2	Soehadie Hasan-Yudi Dharma	2,241	2.90%
3	Muhtar Motong-Masdar Nawawi	3,700	4.79%
4	Usmandie A. Andeska-Sri Hendrawanti	15,058	19.50%
5	AsmulyatiAzhar-Harpan Effendi	3,827	4.95%
6	DarmansyahHusein-Sahani Saleh	27,952	36.19%
7	Sudirman Norman-JamaludinZuhdi	3,425	4.43%
	TOTAL	**77,233**	**100%**

Source: *KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2008)*

Table 6 presents a recapitulation of the number of votes and the percentage of each candidate pair. Based on the table above, the DarmansyahHusein and Sahani Saleh pairs obtained the highest number of votes with 27,952 (36.19%) votes. While the pair Andi SaparuddinLanna and IsyakMeirobie and the Usmandie A. Andeska-Sri Hendrawanti pair were second and third with 21,030 (27.23%) and 15,058 (19.50%) respectively. Thus the pair DarmansyahHusein and Sahani Saleh were named the Elected Candidate Pair in the 2008 Election of the Regent and Deputy Regent of Belitung.

In 2013, the Belitung Regency Election was attended by seven candidates. The following will be presented the sequence number, name, religion, ethnicity, and background of the 2013 candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent of Belitung:

Table 7. List of Names, Religion, Ethnicity, and Employment of Candidates for Regents and Candidates for Deputy Regent of Belitung for 2013-2018

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Religion	Ethnic	Work
1	TellieGozelie TaufikRizani	Christian Islam	Chinese Malay	Bureaucrats Bureaucrats
2	Andi SaparuddinLanna Junaidi M. Tamin	Islam Islam	Bugis Malay	Legislator Legislator
3	WiryatiHusein Suharyanto	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Legislator Entrepreneur
4	JunaidiHaminte HarsonoKatis	Islam Islam	Bugis Malay	Bureaucrats Bureaucrats
5	Sahani Saleh Erwandi A. Rani	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Bureaucrats/Incumbent Bureaucrats
6	YuslihIhza Abdullah Ma'ruf	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Bureaucrats Bureaucrats

Source: *KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2013)*

Table 7 presents that almost all pairs of candidates have a Christian background, except for the Tellie Gozelie-Taufik Rizani Couple who has a Christian-Islamic background. While from ethnic backgrounds, there are three ethnic partner categories, namely Chinese-Malay (candidate pair Tellie Gozelie-Taufik Rizani), Malay Bugis (Andi Saparuddin Lanna-Junaidi M. Tamin and candidate pairs Junaidi Haminte-Harsono Katis), and ethnic couples Malay-Malay (Wiryati Husein-Suharyanto, Sahani Saleh-Erwandi A. Rani, and Yuslih Ihza-Abdullah Ma'ruf). The differences in ethnic backgrounds both became a compelling reason to give a new atmosphere to the struggle for power.

Table 8. List of Candidates for Regents and Candidates for Deputy Regent of Belitung for the 2013-2018 Period Based on the Carrying Party and Total Support

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Carrying Party	Total Support
1	TellieGozelie TaufikRizani	PDIP & PKB	4/25
2	Andi SaparuddinLanna Junaidi M. Tamin	PDK, PKBIB, PNBKI, Barnas, PPRN, PNIM, PPDI, PBR & Buruh Party	4/25
3	WiryatiHusein Suharyanto	Demokrat, PAN & PKPI	4/25

4	JunaidiHaminte HarsonoKatis	Gerindra, PKS & PDP	4/25
5	Sahani Saleh Erwandi A. Rani	Golkar & Hanura	5/25
6	YuslihIhza Abdullah Ma'ruf	PBB & PPP	4/25

Source: *KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2013)*

Table 8 shows that the pairs of candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent of Belitung for the period 2013-2018 have party support and varying amounts of support. Tellie Gozelie-Taufik Rizani received support from PDIP and PKB with the total support of 4/25 of the number of legislators. Andi Saparuddin Lanna-Junaidi M. Tamin, received the same support with Tellie Gozelie-Taufik Rizani with support from PDK, PKBIB, PNBKI, Barnas, PPRN, PNIM, PPDI, PBR and Labor Party with as many as 4/25 people. Wiryati Husein-Suharyanto received support from three parties, namely Democrats, PAN and PKPI with the total support of 4/25. Jumaidi Haminte-Harsono Katis also received 4/25 support with three parties, namely Gerindra, PKS, and PDP. While the Sahani Saleh-Erwandi A. Rani pair received more support, namely 5/25 with two bearers, namely Golkar and Hanura. Meanwhile, Yuslih Ihza-Abdullah Maruf was carried out by the PBB and PPP with the total support of 4/25.

Table 9. Recapitulation of Results of Voting Results for Candidates for Regents and Candidates for the Deputy Regent of Belitung for the 2013-2018 Period

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Number of Votes	Percentage
1	TellieGozelie-TaufikRizani	27,026	31.95%
2	Andi SaparuddinLanna-Junaidi M. Tamin	9,989	11.81%
3	WiryatiHusein-Suharyanto	7,514	8.88%
4	JunaidiHaminte-HarsonoKatis	3,285	3.88%
5	Sahani Saleh-Erwandi A. Rani	27,186	32.14%
6	YuslihIhza-Abdullah Ma'ruf	9,591	11.34%
	TOTAL	**84,591**	**100%**

Source: *Berita Acara PlenoNomor: 94/BA/X/2013 KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2013)*

Table 9 shows the recapitulation of votes for the 2013 Belitung regional election by placing the Sahani Saleh-Erwandi A. Rani pair as the pair with the most votes, namely 27,186 (32.14%). The Sahani Saleh and Erwandi A. Rani couples were at the same time designated as Elected Candidate Pairs in the 2013 Regent and Deputy Regent Belitung Elections. In the minutes of the plenary meeting, the pair number 5 won the most votes with a percentage of 32.14%. Number 1 pair Tellie Gozelie-Taufik Rizani followed this acquisition with 31.95%.

In the election of regional heads of Belitung Regency for the period 2018-2023, followed by four candidate pairs all of which came from the political party path. An independent route is a path that is carried by the community with a certain number of supporters. The following is a list of participants in the 2018 Belitung regional election:

Table 10. List of Names, Religion, Ethnicity, and Employment of Candidates for Regents and Candidates for Deputy Regent of Belitung for 2018-2023

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Religion	Ethnic	Work
1	AzwardyAzhar Erwandi A. Rani	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Entrepreneur Bureaucrats
2	Hellyana JunaidiRachman	Islam Islam	Malay Malay	Legislator Legislator
3	Andi SaparuddinLanna ZulfriandiAfan	Islam Islam	Bugis Malay	Legislator Entrepreneur
4	Sahani Saleh IsyakMeirobie	Islam Christian	Malay Chinese	Bureaucrats/Incumbent Legislator/Entrepreneur

Source: *KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2018)*

Based on table 10, it is known that the majority of candidate pairs have an Islamic background. Only candidate pair number 4 has a combined religious background, namely Christianity. From ethnic backgrounds, pairs number 1 and 2 have ethnic Malay-Malay backgrounds. While the number 3 pair has a Bugis-Malay ethnic background. Likewise, the number 4 pair has a background of ethnic Chinese-Malay. While from a work background, pair number 1 consists of bureaucrat businessmen. Pair number 2 is from the background of the legislator's work. The candidate pair number 3 comes from the work of legislators-entrepreneurs while the number 4 pair came from Bureaucrats/Incumbent-Legislators and Entrepreneurs.

Table 11. List of Candidates for Regents and Candidates for Deputy Regent of Belitung for the 2018-2023 Period Based on the Carrying Party and Total Support

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Carrying Party	Total Support
1	AzwardyAzhar Erwandi A. Rani	PAN, PKS & PKB	5/25
2	Hellyana JunaidiRachman	PDIP & PPP	7/25
3	Andi SaparuddinLanna ZulfriandiAfan	Golkar&Demokrat	5/25
4	Sahani Saleh IsyakMeirobie	Gerindra&Nasdem	6/25

Source: *KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2018)*

Table 11 shows that candidate pair number 1 has three supporting parties, namely PAN, PKS and PKB with the total support of 5/25. PDIP and PPP support pair number 2 with the total support of 7/25. Golkar and Demokrat support pair number 3 with the total support of 5/25. While Geridra and Nasdem support the candidate pair number 4 with the total support of 6/25. Of the four candidate pairs, the candidate pairs for Serial Number 4 Sahani Saleh-Isyak Meirobie get the most votes with the following votes:

Table 12. Recapitulation of Results of Voting Results for Candidates for Regents and Candidates for the Deputy Regent of Belitung for the 2018-2028 Period

Serial Number	Name of Candidate Pairs	Number of Votes	Percentage
1	AzwardyAzhar-Erwandi A. Rani	22,458	26.13%
2	Hellyana-JunaidiRachman	25,973	30.22%
3	Andi SaparuddinLanna-ZulfriandiAfan	9,163	10.66%
4	Sahani Saleh-IsyakMeirobie	28,366	33.00%
	TOTAL	**85,962**	**100%**

Source: *KPU Kabupaten Belitung (2018)*

The 2018 Belitung regional election was won by the candidate number 4 Sahani Saleh-IsyakMeirobie with a vote of 26.13%. This ethnic difference coalition can outperform other pairs. IsyakMeirobie had previously taken part in the regional election in 2008 but failed because she was paired with candidates from other ethnic minorities (Chinese-Bugis) so that she did not get votes from the majority of the constituents. IsyakMeirobie gets a victory when collaborating with prospective ethnic Malay couples who are the majority ethnic group.

The composition of the placement of candidate pairs concerning ethnic collaboration has great potential to get greater voice support from constituents. Malays are the main preference for the installation of candidate pairs. Installation of candidate pairs without including ethnic collaboration will not reap success in voting.

V. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to explore ethnic coalition patterns in regional head elections in Indonesia. Based on the results of the study, we identified that: First, Malay ethnicity as the largest ethnicity was the main preference in determining candidate composition. The structure of the placement of candidates from ethnic Malays can be placed both on the composition of candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent. Secondly, ethnic coalitions with the support of political parties have greater potential as winners of the elections rather than by advancing only from independents. However, the coalition of political parties does not correlate with the chances of greater victory because one party, the PBB party only supports the Regent and Deputy Regent of Belitung for the 2008-2013 period.

Third, collaborative support from political parties does not correlate with the victory of contestation. In the case of elections, candidate pairs from the incumbent have a greater chance of support than the other candidate pairs. The pair of incumbent candidates with the support of political parties remain Malay ethnic composition as their main preference. But the more candidate pairs from ethnic Malays, the placement of ethnic collaborative candidate pairs has a tendency to be chosen, especially the composition of Chinese-Malay or vice versa.

The results of this study are not represented for the entire Indonesian population but can enrich empirical knowledge about the pattern of ethnic coalitions in the political sphere and especially the ethnic coalitions in

districts/cities in Indonesia that are rich in ethnicity. The heuristic achievements of this article are very valuable for further research on inter-ethnic coalition patterns in regional elections in Indonesia and other countries in methodological and application aspects.

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