

Political, Social Exchange in The Selection of Concurrent Regional Heads in Indonesia

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Abstract--- *The selection of regional heads in Indonesia had already begun in 2005 until now has been implemented for about fifteen years. Then in the year 2015 changed the pattern of application to the selection of regional heads simultaneously. The research method uses a qualitative approach with phenomenological variants and interactive data model analysis with data collection flows, data reduction, data presentation and withdrawal conclusions. The results of the study showed that the regional head of concurrent elections in Indonesia tended to political social exchange in local communities. This social, political exchange as a development of the old habits of the local community in his social life, where social exchange is experiencing a standing in the political election of regional heads simultaneously. Political, social exchange in the form of goods and money, which is received as a form of exchange of decision in the vote of regional head. This social exchange is due to factors shifting the value of the local community, not institutionalized the prohibition of political money in local communities and the absence of the transparency of local community leaders.*

Keywords--- *Political, Social Exchange, Political, Social Value, Regional Head Selection Simultaneously*

I. INTRODUCTION

The selection of regional heads in Indonesia had begun in 2005 until now it has been conducted for about fifteen years. Then in the year 2015 changed the implementation pattern to be the selection of regional head simultaneously. Until now the selection of regional heads was carried out simultaneously within the period of three waves of seven waves namely, 2015, 2017, and 2018. Year 2015 is a joint implementation in about 204 provinces, cities, regencies consisting of 8 provinces, 26 cities, 170 counties and in 2017 around 101 provinces, cities, districts consisting of 7 provinces, 18 cities, 76 regencies and in 2018 around 171 provinces, cities, counties consisting of 17 provinces, 39 cities and 115 districts.

The development of the phenomenon of regional head elections in Indonesia has always been colored with various cases of political social exchange conducted by the candidate. The phenomenon of political, social exchange is crowded in every election of regional heads and growing and expanding in local communities. Political, social exchange phenomenon is very dominant coloring and quite massive occurs at the time of the electoral stage of the regional head simultaneously in Indonesia. The phenomenon of political, social exchange occurs on a multilevel basis in the selection of regional heads simultaneously from the provincial level, city to district.

Nevertheless, the trend of research is more focused on the political behavior of prospective couples in the selection of regional heads in Indonesia, Vel research in 2017 about as in the candidate's competitor aspect [1], Darwin's research in 2017 about women's strength in the elections [2], Haryanto research in 2017 about client relations in the elections [3], and Lay et.al in 2017 about the contestants in the election [4].

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Meanwhile, the research of political social exchange phenomenon in the selection of concurrent regional heads in Indonesia is still minimal although in the know of political social exchange phenomenon increasingly real and massive happening in local communities, whose reality has implications on political social order as well as organizing local governance.

The assumption of the political, social exchange phenomenon as a manifestation of the transformation of social exchanges that have long existed in local communities that have changed from time to time to a political exchange involving the form of money as a symbol of the exchange.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Sjahrir in 1999 expressed his view from the point of anthropology that at the Indonesian context at the time of elections, the political money is a negative thing that has been known in general, the development is related to the local economy but the most widespread influence on the political social system [5]. Relevant to this Parry and Bloch in 1989 stated that in an effort to understand the use of money, it is important for everyone to understand the culture that supports the use of the money. In fact, money is raising solidarity and gaining unity in the nation [6].

Then Parry and Bloch in 1989 posited as a simple ethnic society has used the money that is known as a transaction tool. The money is in the form of coins, there is a bracelet or necklace, there is also a sheet of cloth. The money is only circulated and is applicable among the limited groups agreed to interact; And the money can be used as a means of dealing for certain objects/goods or necessities [6]. Along with the Mauss in 1990 in this past society, social exchange is a common thing, such as when in the winter all the people's core family of one group gathered in the parent settlement in a large house made of wood. These families joined a series of religious ceremonies together, where the ceremony contained elements of exchanging treasures, eating together, singing and dancing together to heighten collective consciousness and intensify social Solidarity [7].

In Indonesia according to Laksono in 2009, there is a sequence that is reflected in various Javanese traditions, both in the Kingdom and the rural sphere, which has shared compatibility and correspondence such as model mediation and the model of how Javanese people see the reality in their society, which not only emphasizes differences but also equations, each according to the context [8]. Then Lupitasari in 2017, showing the tradition of *Munjung* of the Javanese wedding party is a tradition of giving food. The traditions used in *Munjung* have changed from the original goal, where the feeding of the initial food for sincerity in delivering food turned into exchanges. This tradition is not only used for wedding parties, but also for other parties such as circumcision, aqiqah and *Wirid* [9].

Suryadi in 2017 mentions the tendency of political life today on the practice of pragmatism primarily on the election of regional heads e.g. Political money, violation of political ethics, etc. This condition assumes the consequences received generally in the implementation of regional head elections, which is unconscious and automatically more fertile in the midst of the existence of local political communities and the nation of Indonesia [10]. In this case Stokes et al. In 2013 suggests that the current conditions constitute the buying and selling of votes a candidate has made to expect the goodness of his election in the hopes that later voters provide voice support for the candidate's spouse [11].

III. DATA COLLECTION

The research method uses a qualitative approach with the phenomenological variant, in the three provinces, namely West Sumatra, Central Java, and South Kalimantan in the simultaneous selection of regional heads of Indonesian territory. This qualitative research method is used to explore the community's understanding in-depth for

their response to the electoral conditions of regional heads simultaneously and how they understand the regional head elections associated with the political social exchange phenomenon.

Data collection techniques used three activities are field observations and interviews with secondary data documentation that supports research. The informant technique of Lawrence in 1997 using purposive sampling selectively of voters who had been involved in the regional head selection simultaneously [12]. The main informant in this study is individuals who have participated in the election of regional heads and have experience with the phenomenon of social political exchange. This experience can be a direct experience or a hearing experience for others.

IV. DATA ANALYSIS

Data Miles and Huberman in 1984 analysis used qualitative data analysis with interactive models [13]. This interactive Model consists of data collection activities, data reduction, data presentation, and draw conclusion, which is done until the data is saturated. The interactive Model further guarantees the accuracy of the data acquired in which researchers are more flexible than one sub-activity in other sub-activities, which form an interactive cycle. In the data collection phase, it is intended that all individual data in the regional head elections be collected without limitation, meaning that any data obtained in the field is temporarily useful. Then the data are checked again or reduced to sort the indispensable data in this study. The analysis is carried out continuously until saturated with the validity of the data used method triangulation.

V. STUDY RESULTS, SUMMARY AND CONTRIBUTION

The territory of Indonesia as a whole consists of 35 provinces, 98 cities, and 416 districts. The simultaneous selection of regional heads that began in the year 2015 will be completed throughout the country within seven waves. An estimated seven waves of regional head elections will be simultaneously ended in 2027. It is expected that later 2027 will be held concurrently in the regional elections throughout Indonesia.

However, initially the determination of the deadline for regional head selection simultaneously suffered a long debate in the central legislative body, where there is still a difference in the early election year of regional heads simultaneously. Some propose deadlines to conduct regional head elections simultaneously in 2021 on the grounds that the community has been conditioned and other proposals in the year 2022 on the grounds that the community is more conditioned to accept the change.

However, the seven-wave treaty was based on the importance of not disconnecting the tenure of a current regional head and to reflect political justice for those who still are in office. In addition, consideration of drastic political changes will lead to unexpected political effects compared to political changes done slowly or gradually. In 2027, the implementation of regional head elections simultaneously at provincial, Regency and city level throughout Indonesia, will continue in the next five years. Currently the selection of regional heads together has been implemented in three waves ranging from 2015, 2017, and 2018.

The assumption that this wave of elections will be repeated every five-year period. Regional head elections were simultaneously held again in 2020 to replace the designated regional head in 2015. The selection of the replacement of the regional head of the 2017 election results will be held in 2022, and the replacement for the regional head in 2018 will be held at the election in 2023, and so on until completion.

In the year 2015 is the simultaneous application of around 204 provinces, cities, regencies consisting of 8 provinces, 26 cities, 170 counties and in 2017 around 101 provinces, cities, districts consisting of 7 provinces, 18 cities, 76 regencies and in 2018 around 171 provinces, cities, counties consisting of 17 provinces, 39 cities and 115 counties.

During the three waves of regional head elections, politics, the social exchange phenomenon became fertile at the local community level. Political, social exchange is not something that is avoided, but considered as normal in every event of the regional head of the elections in Indonesia. With his condition, many people agree with the practice of political, social exchange in the election of regional head in comparison with those who do not approve the practice of political social exchange. But the practice of political, social exchange is not something new is happening, but it is a continuation of something that has long existed in the local community.

The practice of political, social exchange follows the development of local communities, if the community receives the practice of politics, social exchange, then this practice of political, social exchange will continue to occur, but if the local community rejects this practice then this exchange practice will disappear on its own.

The practice of political, social exchange has occurred since the start of regional head elections in 2005, but experienced the development of the form of exchange, where the practice of political, social exchange in the selection of regional heads simultaneously shows the increase in the number of goods and value of money given to the community, as follows:

Table 1: The Development of Political, Social Exchange in Regional Head Elections

2005-2014	Groceries, Clothes, Prayer Material
2015-2017	RP. 50.000-750.000

Source: interview result, 2018

From the table above, shows the development of political, social exchange from the form of giving goods in the form of giving money. In the form of giving goods also varied according to the development of the year and in the form of giving money also varies according to the development of the era.

In the selection of regional heads from 2005 to 2014, the form of giving goods in the form of groceries including the type of fulfillment of basic needs, such as sugar, rice, instant noodles, soy sauce, biscuits, sambal, canned milk. Clothing delivery includes women's and men's clothing, for men's clothing such as shirts and women's clothing such as long-sleeved shirts and robes. Then in the form of prayer equipment including prayer equipment for women and men such as prayer mat, *Mukena*, beads, cocoa clothing, gloves.

The development of political, social exchange in the election of regional heads continues to increase in the number and type of goods, according to the development of local community needs. Then in 2015 to 2017 there are drastic changes that no longer form the goods but the form of money. The amount of money given has undergone a development that was initially only 50,000 then increased to a greater amount of about 750,000. The increase in the amount of money adjusted to the demands of the development of living conditions of local communities who expect

more form of money than the form of goods. The reasons for the form of money can be used more than the form of goods, for example money can be used to buy a variety of goods daily necessities while the form of goods can only be used according to the type of goods, such as sarong, clothes.

The increase in the amount of money given is due to the incentive of competing among candidates. The assumption is that if the candidate gives more than the other candidate, then the candidate that gives the more it will get the vote of the local community. Of the three waves of regional head selection simultaneously fluctuation of the value of money from 50,000 to now 750,000 every selector in several cities and districts in Indonesia.

A form of money becomes a kind of polemic without solution in the application of regional head selection simultaneously. This polemic became a debate, an argument between a candidate and a voter who if asked of a candidate, why make money, then the answer accused the people who ask otherwise if asked in the community why accept the form of money then the answer is a candidate that gives.

Fighting argument occurs in the phenomenon of political, social exchange, such as finding out who is wrong between the giving and the receiving, the Figurin looking for who is between the egg with chicken, where who first does between the giving and the receiving in the practice of political social exchange.

The practice of political, social exchange in the selection of regional heads becomes fertile because of the cultural character of people who are familiar with the provision of goods and money as a form of exchange. The practice of political, social exchange becomes legitimately when community leaders justify Community action in accepting this gift. This justification occurs when an individual or group meets with a community leader to seek advice on the provision of goods and money from one of the prospective candidates whose tendency of public figures gives advice to receive goods and money on the grounds as a sustenance from God.

Soliciting individual or community council to the community is a kind of habit that has long been rooted in society. Advice from community leaders is an affirmation for people who accept the form of goods and money as a habit not as a prohibition. Receiving political, social exchange in the form of goods and money by implication on the individual or community to perform the act of selecting candidates on the day of voting later.

Then historically Indonesian people have old habits in social exchange. This occurs in every region in Indonesia as an example in rural areas of South Kalimantan give gifts made by the community when the community went to the Doctor Who exchange treatment services with the provision of goods in the form of garden products, such as vegetables or seafood, such as fish.

Social exchange in Java area takes place in the implementation of the event of termination that if anyone comes in the event of such a delay with food served, but when the event ends, they will be given a meal to take home in a wrapper *beseq* (local term small basket food place). However, if the person attending the event will also do the same thing by giving the same food so on, alternately the exchange is done.

Furthermore, exchange of prizes also occurred at the marriage ceremony that the family of marriage organizers noted, all the awarding of the goods from the person who came in the marriage. The notes contain the name of the giver and the type of goods received, such as the person's name and item type.

This note is to remind the family of the marriage organizer if then one time the person giving the item also holds a marriage, then the person will give the same item as he gave. The form of giving goods continues to take turns today. Social exchange in the form of goods in the wedding ceremony is inherent in the social relationship of the day, which undergo the process of change and transmission from group to group and from time to time.

Social exchange with the provision of goods is a culture in Indonesia that has been long lasting and rooted in the life of local people. Although there is now a change in the direction of politics through giving exchange in the form of goods and forms of money.

The exchange of the provision of goods and forms of money has a substantial similarity that the exchange of giving is done on the basis of mutual giving and accepting as a manifestation of the goodness and harmony of life in society. The exchange of this provision is done in hopes of a response from the person given to choose a candidate on the day of voting later.

The choice on the candidate's spouse becomes a political, social exchange in the form of goods and money. This action is an act of mutual kindness, which gives goods and money to demonstrate the goodness of a person even if the person who gives it expects the answer of kindness in the form of his chosen voice.

This practice of social exchange is likely to occur in the elections of concurrent regional heads in the province of South Kalimantan, where the local community is not active in the official reports in the general Election supervisory agency despite the strict provisions of the rules concerning the prohibition of political social exchange practice. Then data in 2015, year 2017 and year 2018 mentions the absence of official reports from the community related to the practice of political social exchange to the agency general elections. Although in its reality in the South Kalimantan community indicates a complaint with the submission of an unofficial report of the practice of political, social exchange in every election of regional head, as follows:

Table 2: Seven Provinces Prone to Money Politics

Amount	Province
7	North Sumatra, South Sumatra, Lampung, West Nusa Tenggara, West Kalimantan, North Sulawesi, West Sulawesi

Source: Office of the Election Supervisory Body, 2017.

Reports from the Central Election Supervisory agency demonstrated a tendency to practice social, political exchange in seven provinces in the Indonesian region. The seven provinces have been conducting regional heads simultaneously. Although the research conducted by the election supervisory agency does not include 3 other provinces, such as a South Kalimantan province, Central Java and West Sumatera province.

This article develops research in 3 provinces above, this is done to avoid justification of the results of the research conducted by the supervisory agency of the election. Although the results also showed a similarity to the trend of political social exchange. For example, one of them is the province of South Kalimantan, which indicates the occurrence of political social exchange practice, as follows:

Table 3: Amount Year of Money Politic Report

Year	Case
2015	493
2017	600

Source: Office of the Election Supervisory Body, 2017

The table above shows findings from the election supervisory agency about the number of political cases of money between 2015 and 2017. Findings in the research report of the Electoral Supervisory Agency demonstrated the practice of political, social exchange in the selection of regional heads in the community.

Despite the difficulties in the follow-up of political, social exchange with the supervisory agency of the regional elections because the absence of public involvement is a witness of the exchange. Local communities are not

accustomed to witness in the process of proving social, political exchange practice, where they tend to be faced with the perpetrator directly.

Especially if the person who is doing social, political exchange is his own family so it will be harder for them to be witnesses in this regard. Although the mechanism of this case handling rule can only be heard in court if someone reports and has a witness.

At the moment the role of society is more likely to become journalists but does not want to be witnesses. If the political case of money is only reported, but no witnesses, it cannot be proved in the courts or social exchange actors cannot legally be in the law in Indonesia.

Tendency local communities are unaware of the negative impact of political social exchange practice. Local communities only understand this political, social exchange for short-term that is considered beneficial to them, especially to relieve the economic burden. While it is not thought of long-term impacts, where the prospective head of the district they choose will attempt to refund the cost of political social exchange when the regional head is held. Anyway will be done by the head of the selected area to refund the political social exchange fee. Moreover tendency the head of the chosen area will forget the people where the regional head will care more about its own interests.

The current condition of the local community has not felt the social or financial loss of regional head elections through the practice of political social exchange. Although in reality, the local community senses that they are forgotten by the head of the chosen area, but are regarded as ordinary things only.

The selection of regional heads seems to be considered only as a ceremonial choice for the head of the area, whoever the person is without the intention to find someone who is able to build his territory. The two factors that led to the development of political, social exchange in the selection of regional heads simultaneously, as follows:

First, the increasing value of pragmatism in society. The community experienced the social transformation of the agrarian community toward non-agrarian, where the community structure automatically changes the structure of values marked the value of changing the old value to a new value that is the value of pragmatism.

The old value in the community is considered incapable of answering the challenges of the existing problem so that the old value is slowly lost in the community. Old values are considered irrelevant in answering the problems that arise in local communities so they try to find new values that are more promising.

Pragmatic value is more in adoption because they are considered more in line with the times. This value promises convenience and comfort so that the adoption is directly, unfiltered in accepting this value. Over time this old value was abandoned where, when the community left the old value, the community had no new value that had been tested, but immediately adopted a new value that had not yet known negative impacts.

Old values such as social exchanges are reflected in the mutual relationship of giving and accepting something in the form of goods, experiencing the development in the direction of politics as a form of exchange of responses to the goodness of one's gift in the form of goods and forms of money.

The exchange of forms of money is more acceptable to the public, where the money can be more flexible to use for other purposes than the form of goods that are limited to use only for the goods. Compared with money can be used various types, for example to buy the needs of other goods that suit their needs.

For example, if they were given items, such as refrigerators or angina fans, they would need a room or place to put the item in. But if they don't have that space, then the stuff doesn't really matter to them. Especially if they already have such kind of goods so social exchange political form of goods is definitely not desirable.

They may be selling goods if they are given similar goods they have, it is definitely considered troublesome because they have to sell such goods, so it will look different if given in the form of money where they do not do the job twice

but can quite once use the money directly to buy the goods. Their acceptance will be greater when given in the form of money. This is why the pragmatic value of this type is more fertile because it complies with the condition that promises ease.

Secondly, it does not institutionalized the prohibition of social, political exchanges in society. The prohibition of political, social exchange is not adhered to and ignored by local communities. This prohibition of political, social exchange is considered unworkable because it does not match the growing value in local communities. This prohibition of political, social exchange is only an ornament in the selection of regional heads simultaneously.

The formation of value in society is not something that is directly in society. But the formation of the value takes a very long time, not only yearly, but can be up to centuries. In addition, the value that is already used by the community usually has been in process for a longer time.

The public has no experience in rejecting political, social exchange in the form of money, so it is not considered a problem and prohibition. Therefore the political, social exchange of this form of money is not recognized as a ban on the value, so the efforts of rejection of the political, social exchange form of money is not widespread in the thinking of everyone.

In the view of social exchange political money forms have more value than the value of the solution so that the prohibition value is not a workaround in controlling the political social exchange of money from. Social exchange of political forms of money is seen as part of local community customs. Therefore, political, social exchange form of money becomes an absolute thing in the community relations of the region.

Third, the absence of the character or community leaders. There are no figures nor community leaders who demonstrate the attitude of transparency by refusing social exchange in the form of money, so that today the local community continues to use the value of this exchange in establishing social relations among them.

The tendency of community leaders is not a role model in the practice of the example of refusing social exchange form of money, for example when there is an individual case or a group of people who come to the community leaders seek advice about the provision of money from one of the candidates but the habit of the community figure instead give advice to accept the gift as a gift from God.

It also proves that the elite structure in the community does not recognize the prohibition of political, social exchange value in the form of money so the elite of this community cannot be mempedomaninya as an act of action for the community, especially in responding to this case of political money.

This is what ultimately encourages social exchange of the form of money growing in local communities, such as mushrooms in the rainy season, increasingly acute over time and increasing the amount of money in accordance with the demands of the Times and the development of currency exchange rates of the country.

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