POPULISM AND LOCAL DEMOCRACY:
A WINNING ANALYSIS ON PAIR CANDIDATE OF CELLICA – JIMMY IN
KARAWANG REGENT ELECTION 2015

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Abstract

The major victory of the Cellica-Jimmy couples in the elections of the Karawang regency’s head of
2015 with 51% of the vote to frustrate the other five candidates is an interesting phenomenon to be
examined. The rise of populist politics has seeped into the local political scene by addressing the
issues of local leader and immigrants as political campaigns. This study uses qualitative methods with
a critical analysis that aims to describe the existing symptoms or reality. The findings in this study
confirm that the populist issue and the campaign strategy of the Cellica-Jimmy couple gain the
sympathy and support of voters in Karawang. So it is directly proportional to their victory.

Keywords: populism, local democracy, Karawang regent election 2015
INTRODUCTION

In the past few years, populism has attracted a wide range of scientists, from sociologists to politics to taking part in research whose phenomenon is prevalent in any hemisphere. The meaning of populism itself is problematic, at least that is experienced by a group of social scientists in interpreting this concept. So it is very easy to understand when some political scholars prefer to limit the definition of populism by showing the geographical location and time period.

In the West political tradition, populism began to be known in the literature since the 1930s in Latin America. Post-World War II, a new populist movement emerged that culminated with the emergence of Juan Domingo Peron (1895-1974), with his first wife Eva Duarte or Evita de Peron (1919-1952) and his second wife, Maria Estela Martinez or Isabel Peron (1931- ). Meanwhile, in the dictionary of sociology, populism is defined as "a peculiar form of political rhetoric, which considers the primacy and political validity of the people, views the dominant elite as corrupt, and that political goals will be best achieved by way of a direct relationship between government and people, without the intervention of existing political institutions "(Abercombie, et al., 1998).

The shift of political structure in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto regime is considered as a fresh breeze for the growth of democracy in this country. The birth of new parties and changes in the electoral system brought new dynamics of national politics. It is interesting to note that since 2005, a year after it was established at the national, provincial and district levels, Indonesia has made its first direct election to elect the governors, mayors, and regents. It is written in the Law no. 32 of 2004 which regulates the direct election of Pemilukada as a form of decentralization or manifestation of regional autonomy that distinguishes the two regimes namely, the New Order and the post-Reform Era.

After the direct of regional head elections, electoral politics in Indonesia has experienced many changes in terms of implementation, election format and candidate recruitment in local elections. This transformation is an implementation of the amendment of the 1945 Constitution that aims to practice democracy in a mature way so that voters are given the choices in electing their leaders. The implications of this direct election affect the rapidly growing trend in Indonesia, namely the emergence of populist regional leaders in various parts of Indonesia. For example Ridwan Kamil (City of Bandung), Dedi Mulyadi (Purwakarta Regency), Tri Rismaharini (City of Surabaya), Idham Chalid (Bantul Regency), and Jokowi-Ahok at Jakarta gubernatorial election of 2012 and others (Paskarina, 2015).

The election of the regional head in Karawang has 6 candidates passed by the local KPUD where the six couples who escaped are Cellica - Jimmy, Saan Mustofa - Iman Sumantri, H. Marjuki - Miing, Nanan Taryana - Asep Agustian,
Nace Permana - Yenih, Daday Hudaya - Eddy Yusuf. The last three of the six candidate pairs are from individual or independent representatives. While the pair of Cellica-Jimmy is a candidate pair that carried by the Democratic Party, PKB, PAN, PKS, and PPP (Romahurmuzsy camp). Meanwhile candidate number 6 Saan Mustopa and Iman Sumantri carried by the Golkar Party, Nasdem, Gerindra, PPP (Djan Faris camp). And the candidate pair number 2 which supported by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), UN, Hanura is H. Marzuki-Miing.

In the political contest, which was held on December 9, 2015, the candidate pair of Cellica-Jimmy was declared as the winner by KPUD Karawang as stated in Decree Number 20 / Kpts / KPU-Kab-011-329016 / 2015. This victory posed absolute votes from 5 other candidates, especially those who come from independent candidates. The following table shows the votes result of candidate pairs in Karawang regent election 2015:

### Tabel 1. Votes Result and Percentage of Pilkada Karawang 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pair of Candidates</th>
<th>Supporting Party</th>
<th>Total Votes</th>
<th>Percent age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nace Permana-Yenih</td>
<td>Perseorangan</td>
<td>22,570</td>
<td>2.23 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>H. Marzuki-Miing</td>
<td>PDI-P, PBB, Hanura</td>
<td>198,094</td>
<td>18.61 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cellica Nurrachadiana-Jimmy Jamakhsary</td>
<td>Partai Demokrat, PAN, PKS, PKB dan PPP</td>
<td>533,240</td>
<td>50.65 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Daday Hudaya-Eddy Yusuf</td>
<td>Perseorangan</td>
<td>81,022</td>
<td>7.93 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nanan Taryana-Asep Agustian</td>
<td>Perseorangan</td>
<td>8,981</td>
<td>0.89 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Saan Musthopa-Iman Sumantri</td>
<td>Partai Golkar, Nasdem, Gerindra, PPP</td>
<td>200,509</td>
<td>19.69 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KPUD Karawang 2015

Analyzing the constellation of Pilkada at that time, it can be emphasized that the battle is indeed lead to the three candidate pairs namely Cellica-Jimmy, Saan-Iman, and the last one is H. Marzuki-Miing. Without excluding the other three candidates with individual backgrounds, it is worth to note that the 2015 Karawang regent election is a political arena for the three candidates I mentioned before. Moreover, there are two candidates who are cadres of democrat party, Cellica Nurrachadiana and Saan Musthopa. Even the last name is willing to resign from his position as a member of the House of Representatives period 2014-2019 due to put more attention as a candidate for regent elections in Karawang.

Then a fairly calculated competitor is a candidate who carried by PDI-P that is H. Marzuki-Mi’ing. Marzuki is not a party cadre, but he is a successful businessman.
in Karawang. However the name of Mi’ing became a pretty promising tandem, not only because of his experience became a member of parliament of 2009-2014 period, but also his popularity as a celebrity politician. Additionally, he is internal cadre of PDI-P from Tangerang, Banten. Combining both from different backgrounds was believed to make this political contest competitive. Knowing the fact that the PDI-P are the winner on legislative election 2014 in Karawang. Nevertheless, the pair candidate of Cellica-Jimmy reached more votes from the voters.

The candidate's enormous triumph over other candidates cannot be denied to make some parties a bit hard to believe, given the fact that the opponents are fairly strong figures. A double-digit difference of up to 30 percent votes can be considered that the pair candidate of Cellica-Jimmy has won public sympathy. This splendid victory of Karawang regency election 2015 provides space for further exploration by researcher. In political perspective, it can be seen that Cellica as incumbent candidate benefited much by surrounding power infrastructure. However, there is a need for in-depth study and research to be able to answer that. Therefore, this study attempts to answer the question as follows: What is the populist issue of the Cellica-Jimmy couple to gain public sympathy in the Karawang elections 2015? How is the campaign strategy that is part of populism done by the Cellica-Jimmy couple in regent election of Karawang 2015? The purpose of this study is to analyze the politics of populism as an issue that the Cellica-Jimmy couple did in Pilkada Karawang 2015

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a descriptive research with critical analysis that aims to describe the symptoms or realities that exist, so that the data concluded in the study is deeply explained by qualitative methods. In qualitative analysis, there are three concurrent undertakings as follows:

a. Display data is a presentation of data sources, which begins with all available data from interviews, observations, literature studies and other sources.

b. Data reduction, defined as the selection process, focuses attention on simplification, abstraction and transformation of coarse data arising from field research records. Through this activity, the researcher can classify, direct and organize the data so that the final conclusion can be drawn.

c. Drawing conclusions or verification is the last step of the qualitative analysis activity. The application of this conclusion depends on the size of the set of notes in the field.

This research took place, overall, in Karawang Regency which was held almost six months, from March until September 2017 to gather data and doing observation to interview some informants. The informants are purposively selected by researcher in
order to fulfill the qualifications and recognize the topic as well. In doing so, I interviewed Vice Regent of Karawang, Jimmy Jamakhsary, Success team member of Cellica-Jimmy and lastly the people who had the right to vote in Pilkada Karawang 2015.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
In this study, researcher used the approach of populism as a political strategy. Since this approach is very common among sociologists and political scientists where there are three variants that focus on different aspects of political strategy: policy choices, political organization, and forms of mobilization. At the direct election of regional heads in Karawang regency which was held on 9 December 2015 to witness that the incumbent victory is surprising. Many people judge it to occur beyond expectations or predictions. This landslide victory is one factor for researcher to explore answers to some previously determined informants. Therefore, in this section will discuss the results of interviews that elaborated with the interpretation of researcher then draw a conclusion.

Cellica-Jimmy Populist Issues in the Karawang Regent Election 2015
One of the informants interviewed by researchers named Dede as the successful team of the Cellica-Jimmy partner states that: "Many of the populist issues proclaimed by the couple, among them are: easy subsidized fertilizer for farmers, the way to the small alleys will be diturab, irrigation for current rice fields and employment opportunities for indigenous people. This explanation is more targeted to farmers in the countryside, especially Telagasari area. Given the vice regent candidate who is often called Kang Jimmy is the original comes from the district. However, this does not mean that this proclamation is not enforced elsewhere. Long before the frenzied elections, a year earlier Kang Jimmy was quite aggressive socialization to the villages. Because at first he intends to advance as Falkirk 1 before finally paired with Cellica. In fact he also had time to launch ngabako ka program overtime. An idea where the dialogue and friendship between elements of society put forward related to the latest social political issues in Karawang regency. And it is also important to note that he is quite active in criticizing the policies that Cellica has presented.

Nevertheless, the political dynamics that are difficult to guess make both become a couple in Pilkada Karawang 2015. This is also influenced by the touch of Purwakarta Regent Dedi Mulyadi to be able to hold both. From the perspective of Dede, researcher captured a message that is also discussed by the public about the issue will advance Cellica in the election of governor of West Java in 2018 later. It's just the assumption that cannot be confronted more deeply.

While from Cellica itself not too many new programs are offered, he just strives to continue the existing development policy. So it can be considered reasonable if the popularity of
Cellica is always the highest compared with other candidates. Cellica intensity as a bupati in conducting visits, socialization of programs prior to the implementation of elections Karawang regency strengthen the collective memory of the public will influence as a candidate who come back. What is interesting is that the populist issue promoted by this couple especially by Jimmy is "the people of the region must be sovereign in their own region". So it is not strange if he wants cheap fertilizer for farmers, good village roads, irrigating rice fields smoothly, and the workers or factory workers must come from Karawang. In the context of the campaign, they are generally complementary to each other, especially Cellica is an incumbent that has greatly benefited from media publications and inherent powers.

Management issues conducted by this couple can be said accepted by the public of Karawang. Moreover, Jimmy as a vice regent candidate in every oration is quite agitative that emphasize ethno-populism. Farmers, laborers and other Karawang people in general must be the perpetrators of the rapid development that has occurred in the last ten years. The statement seemed to confirm that Karawang has become a haven for immigrants, but otherwise becomes difficult for all the local people. Ranging from formal employment in the industrial, hospitality, housing and informal sectors that attract many migrants as workers. Not to mention talking about those who trade or entrepreneurship in the area of Karawang. Seeing this reality, Jimmy is very concerned to maintain the potential that is owned by Karawang actually enjoyed by many parties from outside the region. In populism as a campaign strategy, a distinctive line and reinforce the identity of the constituents in determining their choice. This causes the sound obtained by this pair to have a considerable distance compared to other candidates. So that the electoral trials in Karawang 2015 is very late for the couple Cellica-Jimmy. From the explanation described above, the researcher came to a conclusion that the populist issue that the Cellica-Jimmy couple conveyed to the elections of Karawang regency 2015 was several points: first, to continue the already implemented development such as infrastructure development, improvement of public services, acceleration of economic sector and prosperity for the people of Karawang. Secondly, there is a program proclaimed by vice regent Kang Jimmy who has a tendency to lead to ethno-populism. An idea to make regional people be a master in their own territory. From the two aspects researcher considered to have a strong relationship with the victory of the Cellica-Jimmy spouse.

Cellica-Jimmy Campaign Strategy in Karawang Head Election 2015

In a political contest involving candidates for regent and vice-regent, it is important to underline that each must have an influence and a mass base to gain support for the political event to take place. Instead of wanting to win the
contest, but mistakenly in choosing a partner will impact on a defeat. Therefore, the Cellica-Jimmy couple can be said to be a matching pair, suitable, appropriate, and complementary to each other. Regardless of the debate before the two paired up as candidates for the regent and vice regent candidate. Even in an interview, according to Kang Jimmy, with a joke what the main attraction of both in addition to the work program offered is because one is beautiful, and the other handsome.

Political figures of both cannot be considered fragile. Cellica obviously has a strong influence as an incumbent, while his deputy candidate is the chairman of the DPC PKB Karawang regency and once served as a member of DPRD Karawang period 2009-2014. Viewed from the political experience, both of them already know the true characteristic of social and political reality in Karachi. And the most important is how effective executive and judicial relations in the framework of successful development that manifests the vision and mission of the elected regents and vice regents.

The researcher interviewed vice regent Jimmy as key informant, he answered about the absolute victory over five other couples. In his outlook, the victory they achieved was very logical and not surprising. Because the names Cellica and Jimmy are the top two names before becoming candidate pairs in surveys conducted ahead of the election. Jimmy who initially wanted to run for Karawang regent and often vocal and criticize the policies made by Cellica. That fact is not necessarily both of them cannot be put together. Due to the dynamics development of the political situation, the two candidates were eventually juxtaposed as candidates for the district head and vice regent candidate. Discussing the strategy of the couple's campaign, they do mapping while the campaign takes place, each of which is followed by the staging party has a target to master the voice on a particular social base. Suppose Cellica benefits because it has an inherent power infrastructure as an incumbent. Therefore, he targets the voice of government bureaucrats and urban communities. While on the other hand, Jimmy focused on winning sympathy from the clerics, workers, and farmers in the countryside. He also added that the pairs of Cellica-Jimmy are strongly supported by NU mass organizations, where the grandfather was one of the founders in Karawang regency. His position as chairman of the National Awakening Party reinforced his bargaining power with other competitors.

Still in the matter of political mapping, what is interesting from the interviews of researchers with vice regents is a stern assertion that they are not working hard to seize the votes on which their rivals are based. In other words, the staging party and the volunteers struggled to focus more on constituents untouched by other candidates during the campaign as well as those who did not have the choice or undecided voters. This impact on the acquisition of candidate Cellica-Jimmy candidate at the end of the competition.
In addition to the question of the movement of political machine to the grassroots Kang Jimmy said that the coalition parties have been working as it should, it can be seen from their solidity in the field. The party that carries both are Democrats, PKS, PKB, PPP and PAN are all out to be able to win the couple by using various ways (in a positive sense of course). From conventional ones such as door to door visit to residents' homes, open campaigns in a location to social media use to deliver or socialize programs to young voters in urban areas that are very closely related to gadgets.

In the era of rapid advancement in digital technology, contemporary political contestation is very difficult to free itself from social media as an entity of the political medium itself. Political parties or candidates who advance in the battle are important to prepare a team that guerrilla in cyberspace, be it facebook, twitter, instagram and so forth. Because there are many attacks or black campaign that tends to drop one’s candidates image that lead people to switch options to another candidate. The team was formed to counter hoax news earlier with more accurate and objective comparison. In short, the political struggle is not enough to be done only in the real world, but must penetrate into the virtual world whose implications are also significant in influencing the thoughts and feelings of constituents and determining the voters.

According to Jimmy concerning the line of communication and coordination between party bearers and volunteers centered in a winning office which is also used as a media center. It is very commonly used by candidate pairs in the face of political struggle which has a function as a consolidation and socialization for those who come to recognize more about the work program offered from this couple. To further rationalize the movement, not only do political parties go down to the grassroots but also involve volunteers from Cellica-Jimmy partners such as Barcel (Barisan Volunteer Cellica), Barca (Cellica-Ahmad Volunteer Brigade), IAC who is a Jimmy volunteer (Ikatan Alumni Cipasung ), Talagamanggung Volunteers, Friends of Cetar (Cellica Cinta Rakyat), Cellica Cinta Rakyat (Cellica Cinta Rakyat), Cellica Volunteer Cellica (BRC), Cellica Volunteer to Become Head of Karawang (Relli Dakar), and Ahmad Zamakhshyari (RAJA) volunteers and other unorganized supporters.

**CONCLUSION**

This study reviews and describes the politics of populism in relation to local democracy that occurred in Karawang in the elections of regional heads in 2015. The victory of the Cellica-Jimmy couples over five other competitors to strengthen the existence of the characteristics of populism in which the discussion among political scientists and sociology. Therefore, in this section the researcher tried to conclude what the findings on the field and has been discussed in the previous chapter. First, the populist issues conveyed by the Cellica-Jimmy partner in the elections of Karawang regency 2015 are several points: first,
continuing the already implemented development such as infrastructure development, improvement of public services, acceleration of economic sector and prosperity for the people of Karawang. Secondly, there is a program proclaimed by vice regent Kang Jimmy who has a tendency to lead to ethno-populism. An idea to make local people to be a master in their own territory. From the two aspects, researcher considered to have a strong relationship with the victory of the Cellica-Jimmy couple.

Secondly, the researcher concludes that the politics of figure cannot be completely separated from national and local political culture which is still rooted. Even in the context of populist politics, this can be said to be the discursive style that the leader possesses. Therefore, the need for a leader who has leadership is needed by the public for those who are running, not least the Cellica-Jimmy couple. Campaign style was done in a conventional and contemporary style that involves volunteers and cyberspace teams. Without putting aside the role of the party, all three aspects had a significant role in the victory of the Cellica-Jimmy couple in the elections of Karawang regency's regional head in 2015.

From the above conclusion, the researcher also offers some suggestions regarding the study of the politics of populism and local democracy that analyzes the victory of the candidate pair of Cellica-Jimmy in the elections of Karawang regency 2015. First, the Karawang regency government through the regent and the elected vice regent of the Cellica Nurrachdiana-Ahmad Zamakhsary pair not to dismiss their political promises during the campaign period. Especially what is known as populist issue proclaimed by the winners of contestation such as infrastructure development, improvement of public services, acceleration of the economic sector and welfare for the people of Karawang. In other words, the rapid development of the city of Karawang must be accompanied by the government's alignment with the local community. Supported through pro-people policies towards Karawang in general as a form of mutual benefit. Second, the Cellica-Jimmy couple who win the contestation with a huge victory at the Pilkada Karawang regency 2015 can be translated with high public support for the government. In fact the government itself is able to capture the aspirations of the people and work optimally for them. Because it is not possible, if both can work optimally then public will trust and continue to be maintained on this candidates. And it can be a social and political capital in future race.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


