



Dynamic Local Political Elite in Process for Proposing Regional Expansion

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ABSTRACT

Regional expansion though still in the moratorium stage, but political movements carried out by the local political elite are getting stronger at the local level. The dynamics of the local political elite in the process of proposing regional expansion is based on issues in the political elite that support, also reject. In the case of proposing the Cirebon Province, the regional division movement into a Province has been carried out since 2009, precisely when the Presidium for the Establishment of the Cirebon Province was declared, but until 2019 it could not form a solid coalition at the local level. This study uses a qualitative approach with case studies that use interviews, observation and documentation as data collection techniques. The results showed that until 2019 there had not been a solid coalition at the local level, because the issues of ethnicity, regional development, political history and natural resources became a tool used by local political elites to not join coalitions at the local level, these results showed differences with the case in Gorontalo and in Banten, when the political elite joined to fight for the division of the Province on the basis of the same political history.

Key word: *Dynamics of Political Elite, Local Politics, Elite Coalition, Regional Expansion, Cirebon*

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1. Introduction

The proposed expansion of the province continues in various regions in Indonesia, although the expansion still in the stage of a moratorium by the central government (Swasanany, 2016). This political phenomenon, because many regions in Indonesia feel marginalized from the regional centre (Winarno, 2004; Budiman, 2012; Personal, 2016), the marginalization is related to the economy, culture, ethnicity, and politics (Syuhudi, 2016). Other reasons that are no less important are the main concentrations for the welfare of people because the areas that want to be expanded are lagging far behind other regions (Farida, Dharmawan and Tonny, 2010; Lubis, 2013; Singkoh and Sela, 2013), and the reasons on political history become the foundation of regions expansion (Muqoyyidin, 2013).

According to Article 1 of Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 78 the Year 2007 concerning Procedures for Formation, Elimination and Merger of Regions, it is explained that the regional division is the division of provinces or regencies cities into two or more regions. There were eight times of Expansion of the province since 1999.

Based on these data shows that since the New Order regime is no longer in power, regions in Indonesia want regional expansion. This condition is due to differences in terms of ethnicity (Haba, 2012; Tirtosudarmo, 2005; Haboddin, 2012), political history (Agustono, 2017), uneven distribution of natural resources (Arianti and Cahyadinata, 2016), and cultural marginalization (Suryawan, 2014).

Table 1. Expansion Result

Province	City	Waktu Peresmian
Maluku	Sofifi-Ternate	4 Okt 1999
Banten	Serang	17 Okt 2000
Kep. Babel	Pangkal-Pinang	4 Des 2000
Gorontalo	Gorontalo	22 Des 2000
Papua Barat	Manokwari	21 November 2001
Kep. Riau	Tanjung Pinang	25 Okt 2002
Sulawesi Barat	Mamuju	5 Okt 2004
Kalimantan Utara	Tanjung Selor	25 Okt 2012

Sources : Data research 2020

Efforts to make regional expansion need to get political approval from the executive and legislative institutions at the local level, province, until the Minister and DPR RI (Santoso, 2012). In this stage, there is an attraction of interest because regional expansion will have an impact on the number of legislative seat elections in local and national-level (Istania, 2009).

This condition indicates that the political elite has an essential role in the process to form a new province in Indonesia which adopts a decentralized system (Sulistiowati, 2014; Jati, 2016). Political elites who have a position in the theory of Kimura (2010), They are elite at the bottom (Regency / City), middle (Province) and top (central government). They have political decisions to create a new province.

Political approval of the three elite groups based on Article 5 section 1 of Government Regulation No. 78 of 2007 concerning the procedures for the formation, elimination, and merger of regions stating, that the formation of the new Province includes the approval of the DPRD in City or District level and Regents / Mayors, the approval of the Provincial DPRD and

the Governor, and also Minister's recommendation. In addition, in Article 8 of Government Regulation No. 78 of 2007, there must be a minimum of five Regencies / Cities that are required for the expansion of the Province.

The regulation above which regulate the process to create Provincial Expansion has a political impact. The impact is the dynamics politic that occurs in each process of proposing Provincial Expansion in Indonesia. It was conducted by Kimura Research (2010) in Gorontalo Province, Riau Islands and West Papua. Rohmah (2018) conducted a study in Banten Province. Both studies show that there is a conflict of interest among the elites at the Regency / City, Provincial and Central Government levels.

In each case, the dynamics of the political elite in the process of proposing regional expansion was following by issues raised from the political elite (Baldassarri and Bearman, 2007; Meteray, 2017; Bank and Karadag, 2013). Kimura's research (2010) shows the issue of economic and political marginality between Gorontalo and Minahasa, resulting in Gorontalo's desire to separate from North Sulawesi. Rosmah's research (2018) shows that there are differences in political and cultural history between Banten and West Java, so Banten wants to separate itself from West Java.

The case of proposing the expansion of Cirebon Province has begun since 2019. It began with the declaration of the Presidium for the expansion of the Province of Cirebon (P3C). At the beginning of the formation of P3C, Majority political elite from local level was supporting the

expansion of Cirebon Province, but until 2019 there was no elite coalition formed at the local level, because five Regencies / Cities that were projected to be part of the Cirebon Province, there were only Cirebon Regencies, Cirebon Cities and Indramayu which approve the expansion, while Majalengka and Kuningan regencies reject it (Ramdhani, 2020).

Based on these problems, this research focuses on discussing the dynamic of the local political elite in the regions of Cirebon, Majalengka, Kuningan and Indramayu. The analysis of this study uses Kimura's theory about the coalition of local political elites in an expansion of regions in Indonesia, so it can be seen the existence of elite dynamics in the process of proposing regional expansion.

2. Method

This study uses a qualitative approach that is not limited to certain categories in data collection. The research method uses case studies that the results of case studies are a generalization of typical case patterns from individuals, groups or institutions (Nazir, 2011).

The location of this research is Cirebon City, Kab. Cirebon, Kab. Indramayu, Kab. Kuningan and Kab. Majalengka.

This study uses an open interview, observation, and documentation as data collection techniques. The data collection techniques are relevant to explain the research problem because it will be more exploratory. Then, the data that has been obtained is analyzed using data reduction, data presentation and

drawing conclusions. Analysis of these data is very important to sort data, sharpen data and categorize data according to research problems.

The type of data analysis in this study is a content analysis which is not only in the form of text, but the context (White and Marsh, 2006; Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). So that researchers look at the results of interviews, observations and documentation in carrying out the analysis.

The type of analysis is descriptive which aims to describe aspects related to the dynamics of the political elite, and analysis of the results use the theory of Kimura (2010), about the dynamics of the local political elite that forms a coalition vertically or horizontally to create a provincial expansion, so conclusion can be drawn as a research novelty.

3. Findings and Discussion

The Issues on Local Political Elite which are approve and rejected of Provincial Expansion in Cirebon

The local political elite who rejected the formation of Cirebon Province was the local political elite in Majalengka and Kuningan Regencies. Sutrisno as Majalengka Regent for two periods on 2008-2013 and 2013-2018 reminded the initiators do not to link Cirebon Province with Majalengka Regency. Sutrisno assert that Majalengka Regency will be a part of West Java Province. Sutrisno suggested making Regency expansion first if the number of regencies that supported the expansion of Cirebon Province was considered ineligible (Nastain, 2012).

The history of Majalengka Regency under the authority of Sunan Gunung Djati, could not be

the reason for the initiators of Cirebon Province to include the Majalengka Regency on their plan. The rejection by the Majalengka Regent related with thousands of residents of Majalengka Regency who refused the expansion of Cirebon Province. It was considered to be able to destroy the development in Majalengka, which had been increasing year by year (Ruslan, 2012). It indicates that the issue of political history did not make the political elite in Majalengka Regency approve the expansion of Cirebon Province. Instead, the issue of regional development was raised by the political elite in Majalengka Regency to reject the proposed expansion of Cirebon Province.

The rejection is also coming from Aang Hamid Suganda as Kuningan Regent from 2003-2008 and 2008-2013 because he focused on development in Kuningan Regency. If there is an expansion of Cirebon Province, it will disturb and cause turmoil in society.

Aang Hamid Suganda also criticized the P3C Team (Presidium for the expansion of the Province of Cirebon) which was too hasty in discussing the Province of Cirebon. The rejection by Kuningan Regent was in line with Kuningan society who refused to join the Cirebon Province because they felt closer to ethnicity with West Java, which is Sundanese (Ibranif, 2012). It indicates that the issue of regional development and ethnicity was raised by the political elite in Kuningan Regency to reject the proposed expansion of Cirebon Province.

The rejection of Majalengka Regency and Kuningan Regency indicates the dynamics of the political elite that have not resulted in the

realization of Cirebon Province. The impact of elite dynamics is the idea to split two new regencies. They are West Indramayu and East Cirebon (Hidayat, 2011).

The local political elite that approved a provincial expansion of Cirebon was the political elite in Indramayu Regency, Cirebon Regency and Cirebon City. They implemented it by holding a congress to expand provincial Cirebon because they felt the West Java Regional Government was marginalizing them. The political elite thinks if all policies regarding development do not touch the Pantura region, such as Cirebon, Indramayu, even Subang and Karawang. Hasyim Junaedi as the Chairperson of the Indramayu Regency DPRD promised to fight for the aspirations of the Indramayu people (DetikNews, 2008).

Following the views of the political elite, the people in the Indramayu Regency, Cirebon Regency and Cirebon City want the expansion of Cirebon Province. Roni Rustandi, as the student representative, revealed that the income of several regencies in Cirebon region was more than Rp 3 trillion, but only Rp 1 trillion returned to Cirebon for development. Amri, as a farmer representative, said that Cirebon farmer always failures every year because the Jatigede reservoir does not have a positive impact on farmers' needs (Tempo, 2009).

Furthermore, Rucita Dewa, as a representative of Cirebon artists, revealed that artists in the Cirebon region have never received an offer to perform overseas. This condition often causes jealousy of Cirebon artists with artists in Bandung (Tempo, 2009). It indicates that the issues of economic marginality, inequity in the

distribution of natural resources, welfare and inequality in local cultural empowerment, are issues raised by elite political groups who have agreed to expand Cirebon Province.

This phenomenon shows a contrast difference between the expansion of the Province in Gorontalo and the expansion of the province in Cirebon. Kimura (2010) states that North Sulawesi is historically a multi-ethnic province which includes Minahasa, Gorontalo, Sangir-Talud and Bolaang-Mongondow. One of the long-term problems of Gorontalo is the dominance of Minahasa in the north to monopolizing many political and economic activities in the province. In the other hand, Minahasa being a distinct ethnic group and historically Christian and has been in power since the Dutch colonial government.

Their special position continued during the Soekarno and Suharto eras. After the PRRI-Permesta regional uprising in the mid-1960s, the Minahasa remained the dominant economic and political group. This indicates that differences in ethnicity are a factor of marginality in Gorontalo, which leads to a sense of latency from regional hatred.

The development of a coalition of political elites in Gorontalo occurred because of the political history of the fragile North Sulawesi region, the vast territory, many ethnicities and religions that are within the administrative area of North Sulawesi. It has an impact on the unequal economic development between Minahasa and Gorontalo, and a low social development that is characterized by an inadequate number of schools in terms of facilities.

The reason for coalition local political elites in Gorontalo is the existence of equality of fate over the marginalization of political and economic monopolies in Minahasa. This condition has occurred since the days of the Dutch occupation until the New Order. The momentum of the 1998 reformation was a political opportunity for Gorontalo to expand the Province. It indicates that the issues of political history, political marginalization, economy, regional development, strengthening cultural values, ethnicity and religion became the issues that made the formation of a coalition of political elites in Gorontalo (Kimura, 2007).

Kimura's theory shows that the issues arose in the formation of territorial coalitions in Gorontalo stem from political history, political marginalization, economy, regional development, strengthening cultural values, ethnicity and religion. The issues made the formation of a coalition political elites in Gorontalo to make regional expansion.

In case of the proposed provincial expansion of Cirebon, the political elite who rejected, ignored the issue of the political history of Sunan Gunung Djati's power even the economic, regional development and ethnicity issues were used to sharpen rejection of elite groups who did not agree with the proposed regional expansion. On the other hand, elite groups that support the expansion use the issue of economic, cultural, political marginalization and regional development to form coalitions at the local level. The difference between Kimura's theory and political phenomena in Cirebon is used to analyze and explain the issues raised by

local political elite groups to form coalitions at the local level.

Dynamic Local Political Elite in Process for Proposing Provincial Expansion of Cirebon

Political dynamics is the interaction and interdependence between institutions which results in negotiation between institutions (Nurhasanah and Lambung, 2018). In this research, political dynamics aims to interaction and interdependence of the political elite in the City and Regency of Cirebon, Majalengka, Kuningan and Indramayu, which was initiated by P3C in forming the Cirebon Province.

The process of provincial expansion of Cirebon began in 2009, precisely when the formation of the Province of Cirebon was declared. Several council representatives came to express their agreement on the formation of Cirebon Province. The Presidium made the declaration for the expansion of the Cirebon Province (P3C) in a hotel ballroom at street Tuparev, Cirebon Regency. There were around 1,000 people and the entire Committee for Supporting the expansion of the Province of Cirebon was present. In addition, representatives from DPRD were also seen, they are Chairperson of DPRD Cirebon, the Deputy Chairperson of DPRD Cirebon, the Deputy Chairperson of DPRD Majalengka. The Chairperson of DPRD Indramayu. The only representatives of DPRD members who were not present in the Cirebon area were Kuningan Regency (Tempo, 2009).

The political dynamics that occurred until 2019 have not been able to realize the coalition at the Regency and City level, because P3C has not been able to influence the political elite in

Majalengka and Kuningan Regencies to join the coalition. Since 2009 only Indramayu Regency, Cirebon City and Cirebon Regency have joined the coalition. In such a political condition, it cannot form a new province because it is not following the legal provisions contained in Article 8 of Government Regulation No. 78 of 2007 which states that there must be at least five regency or cities to make a provincial expansion.

The dynamics of local political elites at the Regency and City level in the regions of Cirebon, Indramayu, Majalengka and Kuningan (ciayumajakuning) gave rise to elite dynamics between the elite groups who approve and reject the formation of the Cirebon Province.

Efforts to expand the area of Cirebon Province, which was initiated by P3C, received a response from Ridwan Kamil as Governor of West Java in the 2018-2022 period. Ridwan Kamil did not agree with the provincial expansion in the West Java region. He considered that the expansion of the second-level region was more important than forming a new Province, such as the expansion of the South Sukabumi and South Garut regions (Abdussalam, 2019).

At the central level, there are 314 proposals for the New Autonomous Region, six of which are proposing the expansion of new provinces, are Sumbawa Province, Buton Islands Province, Nias Province, Tapanuli Province, Bogor Province and Cirebon Province. However, the Ministry of Home Affairs will make exceptions related to strategic government decisions in the short term by dividing the two Provinces in Papua. The Ministry of Home Affairs wants to concentrate more on

optimizing 514 regency/cities and 34 existing Provinces. The reason is, according to the evaluation of the Directorate of Regional Autonomy of the Ministry of Home Affairs, from 514 regencies/cities as a result of the expansion from 1999 to 2019, which fulfilled the requirements for a new autonomous region of no more than 23 per cent (Rahardjo, 2019).

Regarding P3C's proposal to political parties about the provincial expansion of Cirebon, it has been conveyed to Rokhmin Dahuri as Chairperson of DPP PDI on-field Maritim. He stated that increasing population and a demographic bonus is required the Ciayumajakuning area to become a separate province from West Java Province. However, H Ono Surono as a Member of the Indonesian Parliament from the Cirebon-Indramayu electoral district only gave his approval for the expansion of the West Indramayu Regency (Sadewo, 2018).

The dynamics of the local political elite were shown to create a political coalition at the local and national level in order to expand the Cirebon Province. The elite theory in process of regional expansion, coming from Kimura that the case of the provincial expansion shows what is called the politics difference. Different simultaneous values can be the basis for forming a coalition of political elites (Kimura, 2010). In other words, a coalition of political elites can be formed because of differences, not just overruling differences. This is following the national or regional movements that occur in Indonesia.

interrelation of political interests between the government elite and non-government elites such as business people, religious leaders and cultural figures.

In a provincial expansion of Cirebon case, there was an interrelation. It happens between the interests of the non-government elite and the elite in the government. The proposed provincial expansion of Cirebon Province also shows changes in elite composition in the government. Its impacts for changes in the coalition of political elites at the local level, as in early 2009 the Majalengka political elite supported the proposal to form Cirebon Province, but in 2014 when there was a circulation of the political elite as a result of the election of members the legislature, the Majalengka Regency elite did not support the proposed expansion of Cirebon Province. The dynamics of the elite that occurred create a solution to the expanding of two new regencies. They are West Indramayu Regency and East Cirebon Regency.

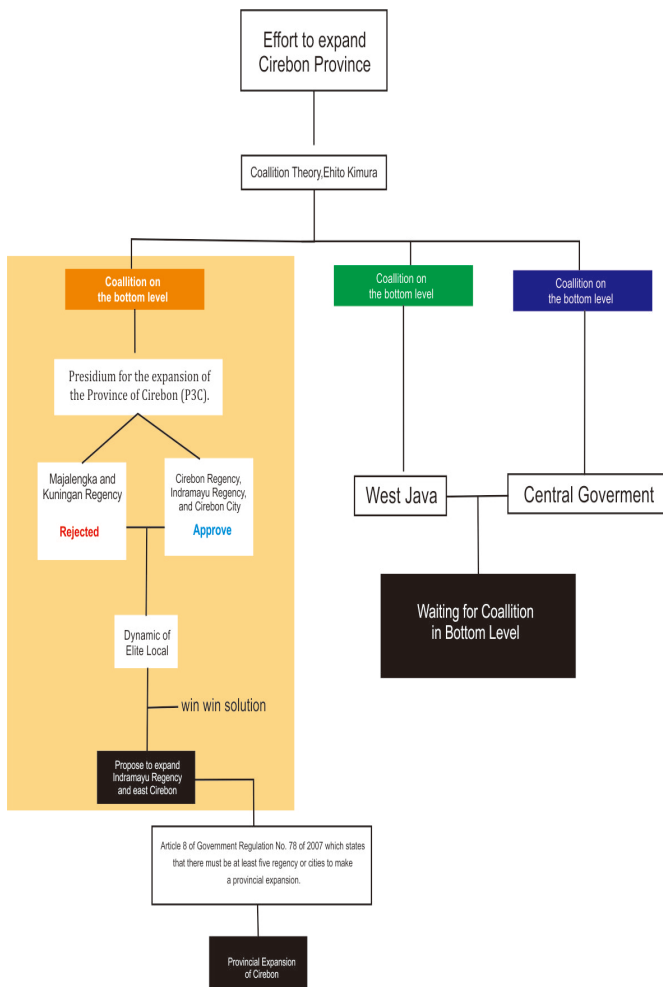


Figure1. Dynamic Structure for political elite local on expansion of Cirebon Province.

The dynamics of the local political elite in Kimura's theory shows that differences make political coalitions happened. In Gorontalo case, Kimura explained that there was a change of composition from the elite in P4GTR, the emergence of other elite groups, such as Presnas and KP3GRT, to create the Province of Gorontalo. The dynamics that occur between the non-government elite and the DPRD at the local level are the negotiations that take place for the political interests of legislative members, the

4. Conclusion

Interaction and interdependence between political elites in the regions of Cirebon, Majalengka, Kuningan and Indramayu, showed progress and decline in the process of proposing a provincial expansion of Cirebon during 2009-2019. The dynamics of the local political elite that occurred did not result in a coalition between the local political elite in the Cirebon, Majalengka, Kuningan and Indramayu regions. Instead, it gave an idea to expand East Cirebon and West Indramayu Regencies. This indicates that the local elite groups in Cirebon, Majalengka,

Kuningan and Indramayu regions show the dynamics between those who approve and reject the provincial expansion of Cirebon, even though politically history has similarities.

Suggestion

For further research, it is more interesting to look at the role of the Kasepuhan Cirebon, because theoretically, it shows that political history has an impact on regional desires for expansion. Also, Kasepuhan Cirebon has a strong influence in the Cirebon region.

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