

MODEL OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION TO ANTICIPATE DIVIDED GOVERNMENT IN DETERMINATION OF REGIONAL REGULATION

By Ratna Setyarahajoe

MODEL OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION TO ANTICIPATE DIVIDED GOVERNMENT IN DETERMINATION OF REGIONAL REGULATION

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ABSTRACT

The study on the establishment of regional regulations (Perda) in Indonesia relates to two institutions namely the executive (Regional Head) and legislative (DPRD). Both regional institutions should have a partnership and parallel relationship. Phenomenon Decision making area slow and convoluted, so inefficient, consequently the direction of regional development becomes inconsistent because the conditions with the interests of the dominant party (Sadu Wasistiono, 2010). The implementation of Regional Government can be harmonious if political

communication is "healthy", so it does not happen divided government. This research uses qualitative approach with purposive method and domain analysis. The result of the research shows that there is a political communication model that is "healthy" between the regional head and the DPRD in determining of regional regulation so that the performance of regional development can run more maximal. Political communication is mostly done informally through organizational communication and persuasion that occurs among party leaders, voice support is required through lobbying with parties with similar views. so that the divided government in Sidoarjo Regency can be avoided.

Keywords: Divided government, regional regulation (Perda), Political Communication

1. INTRODUCTION

The important role of divided government is discussed because it relates to the effectiveness of government administration in the post election area of Head of Region (Pilkada). By 2014, out of the 290 regions that have held elections, the majority (56.9%) of regions are marked by a divided government. In the attachment of Law No. 1 Year 2015 regarding the enactment of Law No. 1 of 2014 in Article 1 paragraph 22, it is mentioned that the Local Government is the organizer of Government affairs by the Regional Government and the DPRD Council according to the principle of autonomy and co-administration with the principle of the Unitary State of Republic Indonesia (NKRI).

The Provincial / Municipal Government Administrator is the Mayor / Regent with the City / Regency DPRD (Article 3 of Law No.32 of 2004). In the perspective of state administration, the position of Regional Head and DPRD is equal and has a partnership relationship.

The DPRD can no longer bring down the regional head before his term ends through a political verdict, but must first go through a legal process in court (Rozali Abdullah, 2011). The phenomenon in Indonesia shows that when the executive has made public policy, at the stipulation stage must involve the legislative body for approval. In this process is often protracted and full of political interests. Decision making becomes slow, verbose, so inefficient, consequently the direction of regional development becomes inconsistent because it is loaded with the interests of the dominant party (Sadu Wasistiono, 2010). In the Banyuwangi election conflict, the DPRD made a recommendation to the Governor and the Minister of Home Affairs to remove the elected Bupati (Irtanto, 2008).

Another empirical reality is a corruption case related to the Regional Revenue Budget (APBD). It was recorded extortion against several Heads of Regions conducting annual accountability reports and final accountability reports and in the election process of candidates for regional head (B.N.Marbun, 2005). It should be with the principle of decentralization can be reduced potential conflicts of interest and awakened harmonization in local government institutions. The key to the implementation of harmonious local Government is "healthy" political communication that can equate perceptions to prioritize public interests and release the interests of the group, so that the process of determining local policies can run that led to the optimal development in the region. Models Political communication is "healthy" should be designed into a legal norm so that there is a juridical foundation in its implementation. From the above phenomenon, the research team has made a model of political communication "healthy" in the process of determining the local regulations through the identification of triggers factors of divided government.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research is an explorative research with qualitative approach. The location of the research was conducted in Sidoarjo Regency Government of East Java province, effectively and efficiently Indonesia. Determination of unit of analysis using purposive sampling technique, researcher determine key figure related to research problem, that is Head of Region / Regional Secretary (Sekda)/ legal section, and DPRD Sidoarjo.

The data were excavated by interview method on the key informant into the ¹ unit of analysis, to obtain the primary data used interview guide and, observation to obtain secondary data.

This research uses domain analysis, that is the data that has been explored created categorization that reflects the domain based on social and political context (Spradly in Sugiyono, 2005). by making categorization as in table 1:

Tabel 1.
Analisis Domain

NO	DOMAIN	CATEGORIZATION
1.	Executive	Regent, Vice Regent, Sekda, Head of Legal Affairs
2.	Legislative	Chairman and member of DPRD Sidoarjo
3.	Regional Regulation	Perda

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Political Communication

Political communication is defined as a process of passing symbols of communications containing political messages from a person or group to others in order to open insights or ways of thinking, and influence the attitudes and behavior of audiences that are targeted politically (Hafied Cangara, 2009). According to Meadow in Nimmo (2004) political communication refers to any exchange of symbols or messages that to a significant extent have been shaped by or have consequences for the political system. Political communication in this research is the activity of delivering political messages from institutions related to the harmonization of Regional Government in the process of determining the local regulations.

The elements of political communication that are the body of knowledge are: political communicators, political messages, channels of political media, political goals. The function of political communication in this study as written by McNair (2003) is providing information to the community about what is happening in the surrounding environment, Accommodate political issues and make a discourse based on ethical democratic values, make publications to government and political institutions.

5

Divided government

Divided government occurs when different branches of the federal government are

Preliminary studies

controlled by different political parties. This is possible due to the separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches.

(<http://study.com/academy/lesson/divided-government-definition-effects-proscons.html>).

3

Local government

the implementation of government affairs by the regional government and DPRD according to the principle of autonomy and duty of assistance in the system and principles of NKRI as referred to in the 1945 Constitution (Article 1 paragraph 2 of Law No.32 of 2004).

Regional Regulation (Perda)

Local regulations are made with the aim to regulate all things related to the wheels of government and community life in the region.

Table 2
Prior Research About Local Government and Political Communications

Year	Researcher	Topic / Title	Research result
2009	I Made Suantina	Autonomy and Governance	Implementation of regional autonomy is determined by: human resources, administrative leadership and managerial skills, organizational change and development, SIMDA, work systems and procedures, and interregional cooperation and privatization.
2010	Ari Nugroho Susanto	Executive and Legislative Relations	The ideal pattern of relationships between the executive and the legislature depends on the established political system, the more democratic
2010	Ratna Setyarahajoe	Political Behavior of Women of East Java Legislative Member in Public Policy Process	the political system the more balanced the relationship will be. There are internal and external factors that influence the role of women legislative members in political communication.
2013	Ratna Setyarahajoe	Mapping Conflict Anarkhists Between The Election Candidate Support Regional Head (General Election) District In Indonesia And Prevention Through Communications Political Formula	Efforts to prevent anarchist conflict in the election in Indonesia requires a formula of political communications in accordance with the conditions of their respective regions. The effects of political communication in the form of understanding of political targets to exercise their right to vote in a rational, elegant and peaceful way can be achieved.
2015	Ratna Setyarahajoe	The Model of Political Communications Prevention of The Election Violent Conflicts	Development of an effective model of political communication by integrating political communication through modern media and traditional media with different communication approaches tailored to the target audience. The effects of the development of the model are: peaceful election and integrity so as to present the legitimate regional head.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Planning of Regional Regulation

The district regulation is formed by the Regency DPRD with the approval of the Bupati. Regency regulation is not subordinate to provincial regulation. Planning for the drafting of the law is contained in article 15 paragraph 2 of Law No.10 of

2004 **on the Establishment of Legislation** states that "planning for the drafting of local regulations is carried out in a Regional Legislation Program (Prolegda)".

The draft regulation (Raperda) may come from the DPRD or the regional head (Bupati). The draft regulation prepared by the Bupati was submitted to the DPRD. While the draft prepared by the DPRD submitted by the leadership of the DPRD to the Bupati. The deliberations of the draft legislation in the DPRD are conducted by the DPRD with the Bupati. The discussion is conducted through 2 (two) levels of communication, namely: level 1. In the Commission / Committee / Balegda in committee meetings / committees / parliamentary fittings specifically dealing with legislation; level 2. Endorsement in a plenary session. Raperda which has been jointly approved by DPRD and Bupati is submitted by the Head of DPRD to the Bupati to be ratified into Perda, within a period of no later than 7 days from date of mutual agreement. The draft regulation was approved by the Bupati by signing within 30 days of the draft regulation approved by the DPRD and the Bupati. If within 30 days after the Raperda has been agreed together, it is not signed by the Bupati, then the Raperda shall be declared valid to become Perda (articles 42 and 43). The content of Perda is all material made in the framework of the implementation of regional autonomy and co-administration tasks that accommodate the special conditions of the reg¹³ as well as the further elaboration of the higher legislation. There are 3 (three) stages in the process of drafting local regulations:

- a) the drafting process of the draft regulation (whether from an Executive / Bupati initiative or from a Legislative / DPRD initiative,
- b) the process of obtaining approval in discussions in the DPRD and
- c) the process of ratification by the Regional Head and the promulgation by the Regional Secretary.

Table 3.

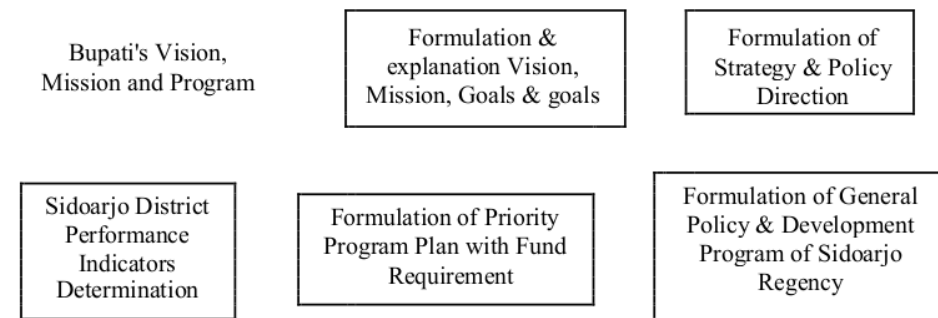
Discussion of local regulations in DPRD

STAGE	RAPERDA OF EXECUTIVE / BUPATI	RAPERDA OF LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVE / DPRD	DISCUSSION
I	Explanation of Bupati on Raperda	Elucidation of Commission / Joint Commission / Pansus on Raperda	Paripurna Meeting
II	General view of DPRD members	Response of Regent to	Paripurna Meeting

	through Faction against Raperda from Bupati. The Bupati's answer to the general view of members of the DPRD	Raperda from DPRD. Answers Commission / Joint Commission / Pansus DPRD to Bupati's response	
III	Discussion of Raperda in Commission / Joint Commission / Pansus with Bupati. Discussion of Raperda within DPRD (commission / joint commission / committee)		Commission Meeting Joint Commission Meeting Pansus Meeting
IV	Report on the final result of the third level talks Final opinion of each Faction Decision-making Bupati's Speech		Paripurna Meeting

Processed from the interview

Table 3 above explains that if in the final meeting in the DPRD has been completed and approved by the DPRD, the Raperda is then sent by the DPRD to the Bupati through the District Secretary which in this case is the Head of Legal Section for the numbering of local regulations and authentication. Furthermore, the Regent authorizes and signs the regulation to be enacted by the District Secretary. The research team describes the process of formulating the draft up to the stipulation of the law in Figure 1 following flow chart:



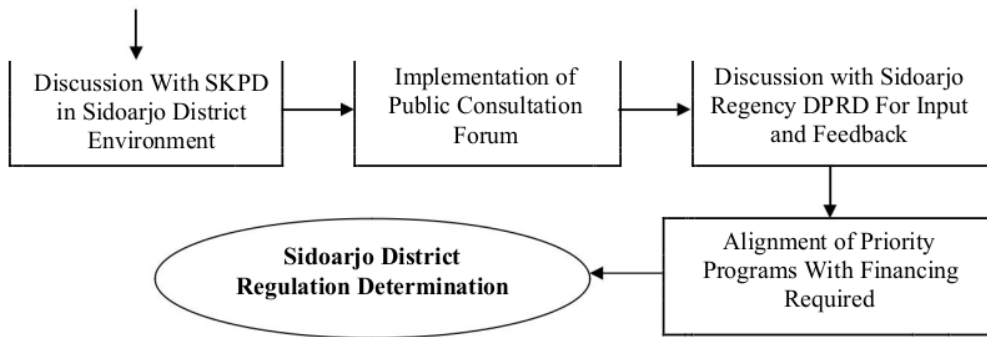


Figure 1. Flow Chart of the Process of Formulating and Deciding Perda

the Bupati and 8 (Eight) Raperda comes from DPRD. Which has been set to Perda Sidoarjo regency as much as 3 (three): Perda No.1 on Revocation of Local Regulation No.5 of 2011, Perda No.2 on the Implementation of Job Training and Productivity Service, and Perda No.3 on HIV / AIDS Prevention and Control.

The dominant factor that triggers division of government in the process of determining the law.

Government is a consequence of the implementation of direct Pilkada, where the election of Regional Head and DPRD is done directly by local people as voters. This indirect election system is made possible by elected regional heads by popular vote which is not a representation of the power of the majority of DPRD, as the voters are not "contaminated" with the Regional Head carried by the Political Party or a combination of Political Parties. The eligibility of the Head of Region to be the voter's judgment to determine his choice.

The above conditions as the trigger of the emergence of obstacles to the wheel of development in local government. In this research, the team focuses on the process of establishing local regulations both on the initiative of the executive and from the local legislative initiation.

Regent of Sidoarjo period 2016 - 2021 that is pair of H. Saiful Ilah, SH., M.Hum and Nur Ahmad Syaifuddin, SH elected by majority vote (58,9% vote) which carried by National Awakening Party in Pilkada simultaneously in 2015 by setting aside 3 (three) other pairs.

Table 4.
Candidate Pair of Sidoarjo Regent and Support Party

Serial number	Couple of candidates (% Votes)	Support Party (Earned Votes)	Voters
1.	MG Hadi Sutjipto Abdul Kholiq (26,72%)	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) Partai Demokrat Partai Nasional Demokrat (NasDem) Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)	192.414
2.	Utsman Ikhsan Tan Mei Hwa (8,94%)	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra) Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	64.375
3.	Saiful Ilah	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	424.611

	Nur Achmad Syaifudin (58,94%)		
4.	Warih Andono Imam Sugiri (5,37%)	14 Partai Golongan Karya (Partai Golkar) Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	38.664

Processed from various sources

Table 4 above shows that majority 13 seats out of a total of 51 seats against the party support (PKB). The PKB, which has Sidoarjo Regent's current counterpart, is the "catalyst" for the smoothness of the outlined in the

following table 5: regulatory process proposed by the Bupati as

Table 5.

Party and Number of DPRD Chair of Regency of Sidoarjo Period

2014-2019

No	Name Faction	Chairman	Chairs
1	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	Achmad Amir Aslichin	13
2	PDI Perjuangan	Tarkit Erdianto	8
3	Partai Gerindra	H. Widagdo Kayan SH	7
4	Partai Amanat Nasional	Bangun Winarso, ST	8
5	Golkar Bintang Persatuan	Warih Andono, SH	7
6	Partai Demokrat	Juanasari, ST	4
7	PKS – Nasdem	Aditya Nindyatman, ST	4
	Amount		51

Processed from various sources

The model of political communication in the process of determining perda.

The process of stipulating raperda into perda required several stages as described in table 5 above. Every stage of political communication necessary "healthy" so that the discussion is not complicated and suggestions of political interests. For that we need the right model of political communication in anticipation of the delivery of government in local government. The political communication model that researchers have designed in Figure 2 follows:

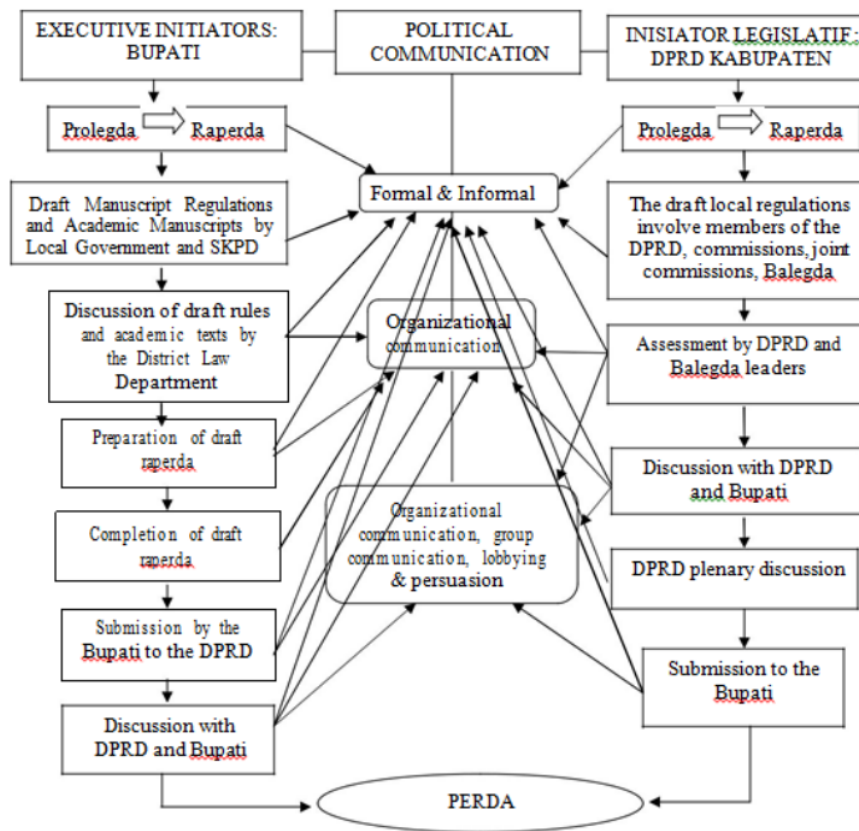


Figure 2.
 Flow of Political Communication In Decision Perda

4. CONCLUSION

From the mapping of the dominant factor that triggers the divided government is the head of the region that is not carried by the majority party in the legislative body (DPRD). The results of the analysis show that if the elected regional head is promoted by a minority party then the deliberations of the draft regulation into local regulations can be constrained by the interests of the majority party. This is due to the alignment

of regulations to be stipulated by a majority vote in the DPRD.

Divided government can be anticipated if applied a political communication formula which is a combination of modern political communication pattern with traditional political communication pattern with formal approach in accordance with provisions of applicable regulations and informal approach with group communication which is incorporated in Commission, Pansus and Faction in DPRD, as listed in figure 2.

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