

POLITICAL STRATEGY IN LOCAL ELECTIONS: STUDY OF BANDUNG MUNICIPALITY MAYOR IN THE 2003 AND 2008 ELECTIONS

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the political strategies of candidates in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election. The research location is in Bandung Municipality, West Java Province. The research uses qualitative methods. The results of the study show that the candidates used political strategies to win the election. Those who acted as patrons won in the indirect election elected by the Regional House of Representatives (*DPRD*) of Bandung in 2003. Dada Rosada was a very influential figure in bureaucrat and government even though his party ranked third in the election. Politicians used political network strategy to convince the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) and the Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) which were in first and second positions. The post-reform political strategy was different from the pre-reform, which was determined by the center. Hence, the role of politicians was decisive in the 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election which elected by the Regional House of Representatives. In the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election, Dada Rosada used political network strategies to convince political elites and social network strategies to gain support and sympathy from the Bandung residents because it was directly elected by them.

Keywords: politics, capitalization of hatred, hate spin, mass mobilization

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini merupakan nganalisis strategi politik kandidat dalam Pemilihan Walikota Bandung 2008. Lokasi penelitian di Kota Bandung, Provinsi Jawa Barat. Pada penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa para kandidat menggunakan strategi politik untuk memenangkan pemilihan. Mereka yang bertindak sebagai pelindung menang dalam pemilihan tidak langsung yang dipilih oleh Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (*DPRD*) Bandung pada tahun 2003. Dada Rosada adalah tokoh yang sangat berpengaruh dalam birokrat dan pemerintahan meskipun partainya menempati urutan ketiga dalam pemilihan. Politisi menggunakan strategi jaringan politik untuk meyakinkan Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) dan Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) yang berada di posisi pertama dan kedua. Strategi politik pasca reformasi berbeda dengan pra-reformasi, yang ditentukan oleh pusat. Oleh karena itu, peran politisi sangat menentukan dalam Pemilihan Walikota Bandung tahun 2003 yang dipilih oleh Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah. Dalam Pemilihan Walikota Bandung 2008, Dada Rosada menggunakan strategi jaringan politik untuk meyakinkan para elit politik dan strategi jejaring sosial untuk mendapatkan dukungan dan simpati dari penduduk Bandung karena dipilih langsung oleh mereka.

INTRODUCTION

The system of Indonesian direct or indirect regional elections has either advantages or disadvantages. The direct regional election system involves a large number of public participation that makes the elected leaders more legitimate. While the positive side of indirect elections (elected by Local Parliament) relatively do not require substantial funding in the election process (Widodo, 2015). The direct regional head election is considered as the best solution in realizing local democracy in Indonesia because the previous elections elected by the Regional House of Representatives were unable to answer people's trust, especially in the new order period ([Agustino and Yusoff, 2010](#)). Several studies investigated the strategy for winning an election. One of them is the work of [Gautama \(2008\)](#), which explicitly explains the strategy of winning direct elections. Gautama explains comprehensively about the strategy of winning a direct election, both in the presidential, legislative, and regional head elections. Theoretically, he explains about how the winning strategy should be arranged and how it was carried out by considering the political environment, such as social, economic, and cultural organizations.

More comprehensive work had been written by Herry (2008), regarding the key to success in winning direct elections. Although his work is practical, it presents the praxis needed to launch the strategy of winning the elections. The study is considered to be theoretically deductive as it relies on logical reasoning rather than on factual data as formal scientific work. Therefore, empirical testing is needed so that it can obtain empirical support to legitimate its scientific nuance rather than fiction tendencies. [Edwin \(2005\)](#) seems very pessimistic about the development of democratization in the region due to the factor of money politics. Elected candidates are those who can provide more funds than others, so it is hard to get a clean leadership.

Another related study is the work of [Haris \(2004\)](#), *the 2004 Election: Opportunities for the Consolidation of Democracy, or Traps of "Status Quo" Politics?* In one point of the conclusion, it is stated that the behavior of elites and the quality of the policies produced are more aimed at preserving the political status quo rather than towards emerging better democracy, as well as clean and responsible governance. This conclusion then promotes the notion that in the end, people's hopes for the creation of a more responsible government, through a more democratic political mechanism, still cannot be achieved. In this context, a question arises whether or not the issue is created by the role of the elite who deliberately manipulates the situation to attract the maximum support from the voters without thinking of the impact or indeed an inevitable fact that people still prioritize material needs rather than democracy.

There is a little difference between urban and rural areas. In rural areas, the pattern of power relations that binds the elite (community leaders) and the community is still solid. As found in the research conducted by [Kristiadi \(1996\)](#), it was concluded that "Community leaders, both formal and informal, are treated as role models". Thus, the variable of role model and political party identification

more determine than flow variables. [Widjaja \(1982\)](#) promotes that such conclusions are in line with Anderson's view, "The pattern of leadership in Indonesia is closely related to social structures that are divided into the elite-mass dichotomy". The social disparity between the lower and upper-class communities forms a social order that is functionally related to existing social status. The leader is the source of initiative, while the community is considered as supporters who must follow what the leaders decide.

Another scientific work, which is related to the role of the bureaucracy and has been considered to distort the electoral process in Indonesia, is Nurliah Nurdin and Andy Ramses M, *Neutrality of Civil Servants in Elections* (2009). It accepts the need for neutrality so that the bureaucratic process can be regulated and the elections can be free from the political change. This paper can be a guide to the 2008 Regional Head Election process in Bandung Municipality. Dada Rosada utilized the bureaucracy under the incumbent's control to win the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election. Even though at the national level, bureaucrats were no longer involved in elections, like what occurred in the New Order era, but there were indications that in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election, they were used to support the victory of Dada Rosada.

Candidates victory in the general election is influenced by various factors, such as political networks owned by parties supporting the coalition, social capital owned by candidates, capabilities and track records, and programs offered. It is also affected by the financial capabilities of the candidates and their supporters for carrying out campaign activities and buying votes. In this financial aspect, there was a signal about the closeness of Dada Rosada with entrepreneurs operating in Bandung. It later became the mainstay for the success of the 2008 post-conflict local election. Specific mass organizations, as well as Dada Rosada, have close relations with several entrepreneurs in Bandung.

Dada Rosada succeeded in building a coalition model to gain majority support in the Regional House of Representatives. Although the drive to join a coalition was not always the same for every party, the desire to control the majority votes in the Regional House of Representatives and win votes in the election was a decisive determinant for building coalition solidity and integration. There was a similar interest from political parties who were members of the coalition, although ideologically they were different, namely how to win Dada Rosada as Mayor of Bandung for the second time. The inclusion of the two Islamic parties namely the PAN and the PBB into a broad coalition promoted by the Golongan Karya Party and the PDIP showed that the ideological aspects were ruled out by the two parties in supporting the coalition of Dada Rosada.

Related to scientific works that discuss the winning of a candidate in the regional head election mentioned above, there is not much discussion about the role of candidates in utilizing political, social, and financial networks. For this reason, specialized studies are needed. The previous work does not

explicitly discuss the roles and capabilities of candidates in the process of winning the election. This research elaborates their roles and capabilities in-depth. Anwar Arifin in his study, has discussed in-depth about the political communication strategy of a candidate in the perspective of communication science. However, in this research they are discussed through the perspective of political science. As stated by Almond that political communication is not just a process of communication with political messages but also a part of the political functions of a political system.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Political strategy as a way to realize political ideals is not only for the victory of the candidates but also for the interests of political parties and society (Razaqtiar, 2016). In addition to the strategy through political campaigns, regional government candidates or political parties use political communication to influence other parties and the community to win the candidates (Vel et al., 2017). Political strategy is defined as a way to mobilize the community to gain victory in the elections. This mobilization is called political marketing. It is done through an excellent campaign to mobilize voters ([Ediras et al., 2013](#)).

According to [Schroder,2009](#) a political strategy is a plan for action where the preparation and implementation of a strategy affect success or failure. In this case, Schroder explains that the political strategy is divided into two, namely offensive (attack) and defensive (defense) strategies. Offensive strategies are always needed, for example, if the party wants to increase the number of voters or if the executive wants to implement a project. All the offensive strategies applied during the election campaign must clearly show the difference among the competing parties to gain votes. Political strategies can be carried out in two ways. First, political campaign is used as an offensive base expansion strategy which aims to form new voter groups in addition to the existing voters. Second, political implementation is a product offered, namely new politics or rather the benefits generated by the new politics need to be advertised.

Another theoretical approach used is patron-client theory. When a relation between leaders and community is bound by interests to help each other, or often termed a dyadic relation, a patron-client relationship pattern will be built. The patron acts as a protector, advisor, and guide, while clients play a role in defending the interests of the patron, such as maintaining honor and obeying orders. The relationship between the interests of patrons and clients, which theoretically shows the existence of interdependence (dyadic), in fact tends to place the client's position more dependent on the patron, rather than vice versa.

Elite theory to explain the position of the patron is shown by Dada Rosada, the winner of the regional head election. Migdal (2001) argues, local strongmen success in mastering important positions and ensuring the allocation of resources because of their influence (own rules) and not because of the

official rules. According to Migdal, there are three arguments explaining the phenomenon of the success of this strong local person: a. Local strongmen have developed weblike societies through autonomous organizations they have in a socially fragmented society. b. Local strongmen carry out social control through the distribution of components called survival strategies from local communities. It results in a pattern of personalism, clientelism, and patron-client relations. c. Local strongmen master the state of agency and resources, so the policy agenda is the result of a compromise with the interests of local strongmen. Local strongmen exercise control and limitation on the autonomy and capacity of the state and successfully weaken the state in the process of achieving the objectives of social change.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach which is motivated by at the least three considerations. *First*, it is easier to adjust to factual reality. *Second*, its ability to present the nature of the relationship between researchers and informants/respondents. *Third*, it is more sensitive and adaptive to the patterns of value ([Moleong 1994](#)). The data sources in this study are mainly those involved directly with candidates Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda at the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election. They consist of the candidates themselves, the success team, the central figures around Dada Rosada, and the elite of the Bandung Municipality, either from parties and community organizations, or other organizations.

This study uses qualitative data sources derived from both primary and secondary data obtained from different techniques. Both of these data were obtained through: *First*, in-depth interviews with the speakers and key informants which were carried out through two techniques: (a) free interview technique which was done by asking free questions to the informants; (b) structured interview technique which was conducted by asking a number of questions to the speakers and informants who had been arranged in such a way in the questionnaire. *Second*, structured observation. This method aimed to observe the symptoms that appear related to the problem in this study. *Third*, literature study. It was done by conducting selection and analysis of various written sources and trusted documents related to the research problem, such as research reports, magazines, newspapers, essential documents, and legal regulations. *Fourth*, documentation studies. In this technique, researchers collected written materials related to the research problem. Data obtained by qualitative methods, such as interview data, library study data, and qualitative information documentation, were all processed into qualitative data ([Miles and Heberman 1992](#)).

The collected qualitative data were then selected, simplified, and then analyzed to find the essence, the main theme, the focus of the problem, and its patterns ([Goldstein and Keohane 1995](#)). Furthermore, the qualitative data were analyzed and described using qualitative analysis techniques. In the analysis of the interpretation, the author used a political strategy approach carried out by politicians through the strategy of political networks and social networks.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Local Political History and Political Development Towards the Election of Regional Head in Bandung Municipality

Political History of Bandung Municipality

The Bandung Municipality was established in the early 19th century AD. In 1810, the capital of Bandung Regency was moved from Karapyak to Cikapundung (now Bandung City). The capital city of Bandung allowed the new capital city to develop. Its strategic location, which was located on the roadside of the Anyer-Panarukan post and in the middle of the Priangan residence, and its surrounding land which was very fertile, made it develop in the economic realm. The Bandung Regent, Raden Adipati Wiranatakusuma IV (1846-1874) was famous as the first architect of the development of the Bandung Municipality. The plan is known as the *Plan der Negory* Bandung (Archives of Bandung Municipality 1956). In 1850 a residence and grand mosque pavilion were built. Each of these buildings served as an office as well as a regent's house and a public place of worship, which was one of the main conditions for a capital regency at that time. The regency pavilion was located in the south of the square, and the grand mosque was located in the west of the city square.

Priangan residence was moved to Bandung in 1859 because it was considered better than the Cianjur Municipality as the capital of the Priangan Regency. The transfer was only carried out in 1864 when the Priangan Regency was lead by C. Vander Moore (18-58-1876), thus since then, the Municipality of Bandung also became the capital of the Priangan Regency. At the end of the 19th century, Priangan Regency oversaw the regencies of Bandung, Cianjur, Sumedang, Sukapura (later became Tasikmalaya), and Limbangan which later became Garut Regency (Ekadjati 1981). Ciamis and Sukabumi Regencies were also included in the Priangan Regency in 1915 and 1921 respectively. The original Ciamis Regency included of Cirebon and Sukabumi Regencies originating from Cianjur Regency.

In 1867 a building was built at the Priangan residence, located near the Preangen Hotel which later became the provincial irrigation office. Then the Priangan residence occupied the Pakuan building on Otto Iskandardinata street number 1 Bandung and became the official residence of the West Java Governor whereas the residence office moved to Braga street in the building that is now used by the Regional Police Command VIII Langlangbuana office. The colonial of the Dutch government adopted direct and indirect rules in implementing power in Indonesia ([Suhartono 2000](#)). In the first pattern, the direct rule was regulated in accordance with the governance adopted by the Dutch. However, they were not directly confronted with the Indonesian people but ruled through their respective regional heads. The position of the lower regent was held by the Indonesian people, while the higher was always held by the Dutch. Whereas for the indirect rule, the government was run by the local king, and in carrying out administration the king obtained concessions from the Dutch government.

In the early 20th century, the Dutch government granted autonomy to its colonies in Indonesia to implement the decentralized system they just had adopted. For this reason, *gemeente* was established in 1950 in several cities as an autonomous institution. With the formation of the *gemeente*, several central government jobs and authorities were handed over to the *gemeente*. It had to arrange its affairs over time. Bandung Gemeente was formed on April 1, 1906, together with the formation of the Cirebon Gemeente, based on the decree of the Governor-General J.B. Van Heutz on February 21, 1906, or the state sheet of 1906 number 121.

At the time the Japanese occupied Bandung Municipality, based on the law Osamu No. 7 and 28 in 1942, the Japanese military government divided the Java Island into 17 residencies. They appointed Raden Duke Aria Wiranata Kusumah as an advisor who accompanied the Priangan resident Colonel Matsui. In addition, the residency council was formed consisting of three departments, namely the Department of Public Administration (*Naizibu*) led by Y Aneha, the Ministry of Economy (*Kaizibu*) led by M. Hayashi, and the Police Department led by G. Kokawa. So, all departments were led by Japanese people. On the advice of Raden Adipati, Aria Wiranatakusumah Raden Priangan Katsui appointed Raden Ating Atmadinata to become the Mayor of Bandung Municipality (Bandungshico). Meanwhile, Raden Yusup was appointed as the Chief of the Priangan Residency Police until the Japanese military government surrendered to the allies.

The first Mayor of Bandung after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia was Raden Ating Atmadinata. He was replaced by Syamsurizal two years later. The third mayor was Ukar Bratakusumah. Syamsurizal became the Mayor of Bandung replacing Raden Ating Atmadinata who at the same time served as chairman of the Indonesian National Committee of Bandung. At his request, Raden Ating Atmadinata left his position because of illness. Since November 1, 1945, Syamsurizal became the official Mayor of Bandung concurrently as the chairman of the Indonesian National Committee of Bandung. Originally appointed as a replacement for Raden Ating Atmadinata was Ir. Ukar Bratakusumah. However, he was kidnapped. Hence, the position was handed over to Samsurizal.

After the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, Bandung Municipality was controlled by British and Dutch troops causing the resistance of Bandung residents. The resistance was famous for the *Bandung Lautan Api* (Bandung Sea of Fire) incident. The condition of Bandung became increasingly precarious because of numerous weapons clashes between Bandung residents and British soldiers. Based on this situation, the Commander of the 23rd Division of the British army General Hawthorn reported to his Commander in Chief in Jakarta that he intended to occupy the entire Bandung Municipality.

After the *Bandung Lautan Api* incident, the Mayor of Bandung, Syamsuridzal, who lived and had an office in the house owned by Suria Kartalogawe often commuted from Garut to Yogyakarta because there was no real work and he felt less suited to the task. In the end, he submitted a request to quit when he was

in Yogyakarta, resulting in a leader vacuum. To fill the vacuity and to accept the return of the Bandung Municipality government from the Dutch, it was necessary to re-arrange the municipal government of the Republic of Indonesia. Ukar Bratakusumah was then appointed to become the Mayor of Bandung with a residence in Garut ([Ekadjati 1981](#)).

To accept the return of Bandung Municipality, the government not only prepared the structures and personnel of the government but also a regional revenue and expenditure budget to rebuild the municipality after it was scorched. However, all the preparations could not be completed because the Dutch did not surrender Bandung Municipality, but it launched an attack on Garut with its first military aggression in July 1947. The next phase after successfully defending the independence was the emergent of rebellions in various regions in Indonesia. After the rebellions were successfully resolved, then in the 1960s political parties (PNI, Masyumi, NU, PKI, and Parkindo) and community organizations such as Labour Union and Farmer Union played an essential role in the course of politicizing the Bandung residents.

Mayors of Bandung from the Early Period to the Reform

As a big city, Bandung has had mayor who is in charge since the Dutch colonial era. Mayors in this municipality had a significant role in fighting for Indonesia's independence. Especially in the famous event namely the *Bandung Lautan Api*, where Bandung residents participated in burning the area to avoid colonialism and invasion from enemies or invaders who returned to Indonesia. The names of the Mayors of Bandung from the early period to the reform are presented in the following table.

Table 1. List of Mayors of Bandung

No.	Mayor's Name	Tenure	Period of Regime
1	E. A. Maurenbrecher	1906-1907	Dutch government
2	R.E. Krijboom	1907-1908	Dutch government
3	J.A. Van Der Ent	1908-1909	Dutch government
4	J.J. Verwijk	1909-1911	Dutch government
5	C.C.B van Vleiner	1911-1912	Dutch government
6	B. Van Vlenier	1912-1913	Dutch government
7	Bertus Coops	1913-1920	Dutch government
8	S.A. Reitsma	1920-1928	Dutch government
9	Ir. J.E.A. Van Volsogen Kuhrt	1928-1934	Dutch government
10	Mr. J.M. Wesselink	1934-1936	Dutch government

11	N. Beets	1936-1941	Dutch government
12	R.A. Atmadinata	1941-1945	Japan Colony-Independence
13	R. Syamsurizal	1945-1947	Independence transition
14	Ukar Bratakusumah	1947-1949	Independence transition
15	R. Enoch	1949-1957	Independence transition
16	R. Priatna Kusumah	1957-1966	Independence transition / Old Order
17	R. Didi Djukardi	1966-1968	Old / New Order
18	R. Hidayat Sukarmadidjaja	1968-1971	New Order
19	R. Otje Djundjunan	1971-1976	New Order
20	H. Utju Djoenaedi	1976-1978	New Order
21	R. Husein Wangsaatmadja	1978-1983	New Order
22	H. Ateng Wahyudi	1983-1993	New Order
23	Wahyu Hamidjaja	1993-1998	New Order
24	H. A.A. Tarmana	1998-2003	New Order / Reform
25	Dada Rosada	2003-2013	Reform
26	Ridwan Kamil	2013-Present	Reform

Source: History of Bandung Municipality Period of Independence Revolution 1945-1950, Sadjarah Bandoeng Tempo Doeloe, Development of Dignified Bandung Municipality 2008.

Since the period of the Dutch colonial to the reform, the Mayor of Bandung was the highest position in the municipality which had gone through various political processes in his appointment. During the New Order, the position of mayor was held by the military and cadre of Golongan Karya Party. It was because the regime exercised strict control of the change of leaders at the local level. With a centralized system of government and substantial control over the region, the New Order regime was able to become the only single force that controlled the political power of Bandung Municipality. The mayor who served during the New Order was a cadre of the regime who came from bureaucrat and military background. It was because the military power and bureaucrat were the primary foundation to maintain power at that time.

Political Strategy of the 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election

The 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election reflected Bandung local politics post-reform. This election was dominated by the forces of local charismatic elites who came from bureaucrats, academics, and entrepreneurs. Politics of Bandung Municipality was formed through power relations that occurred among

these elements. With the mastery of this network, control of power in this municipality could be more open and easy to obtain. The 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election was the first regional election held after the reform. It was elected by the Regional House of Representatives. It was the first post-reform election to apply such a mechanism. Therefore, it had experienced a difference.

1. Political Strength in the 1999-2004 Bandung Mayoral Elections

In the 1999 Elections, the elected candidates of the Bandung Municipality for the period of 1999-2004 numbered 45 people. This number was the result of adjustments to the balance of the population in Bandung following the applicable law. In the 1999 Elections, the PDIP won the most seats by occupying 14 seats in the Regional House of Representatives of Bandung, eight seats for the PAN, six seats for the Golongan Karya, three seats for the PPP, one seat for the PKS, and five seats for TNI-Polri.

PDIP dominated the Regional House of Representatives of Bandung with 14 seats. It was followed by the PAN with eight seats, six seats for the Golongan Karya, five seats for the PBB, five seats for the TNI-Polri, four seats for the PPP, two seats for the PKB, and one seat for the PKS. As a political party with the highest number of seats in the Regional House of Representative of Bandung, PDIP controlled political power in the Bandung Municipality Legislature. However, it received the second position in the Bandung Municipality administration, by placing Jusep Purwaganda as the prospective Vice Mayor of Bandung, to accompany Dada Rosada. Dada Rosada as a candidate for Mayor of Bandung from the Golongan Karya won the third position in the election. It happened because his figure was very influential in bureaucrat, government, and politicians. He had a level of popularity above other candidates, and even the PDIP candidate should volunteer to occupy the second position (Secretariat of Regional House of Representatives of Bandung Regency, 2003).

2. Political Constellation of Bandung Municipality

In the 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election, competition among the three pairs of candidates was very sharp and tight. They were Dada Rosada and Jusep Purwasuganda, A.A. Tarmana and Hilman, and R.M. Sugih and Iwan Ridwan. The competition occurred between Dada Rosada, who was a former regional secretary and was fired by the Mayor of Bandung, with A.A. Tarmana who was then became the Mayor of Bandung when Dada Rosada was fired.

Dada Rosada-Jusep Purwasuganda were supported by nationalist political parties, while A.A. Tarmana-Hilman were supported by Islamic political parties and the TNI-Polri faction, and R.M. Sugih-Iwan Ridwan were supported by Islamic political parties. It was not only a competition between Dada Rosada and A.A. Tarmana, but also involved the elite of the Golongan Karya and the TNI-Polri, because in reality not all Indonesian police factions supported A.A. Tarmana. Therefore, in the post-reform election, there was a competition between the candidate A.A. Tarmana and bureaucrats. It indicated that the influence of the New Order was still active and it raised strong partners from bureaucrats who

were TNI-Polri or Golongan Karya cadres

3. The 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election

In the 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election, the three pairs of candidates were H. Dada Rosada and H. Jusep Purwasuganda, H. A.A. Tarmana and H. Hilman, and Sugih Wiramikarta and Iwan Ridwan Armansyah. Dada Rosada's background was a bureaucrat in the Bandung Municipality administration, whose last position was the regional secretary. The influence of elite bureaucrats was still powerful.

Table 2. Background of Candidates in the 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election

No	Candidate's Name	Background of Career
1	H. Dada Rosada, S and drs. H. Jusep Purwasuganda	Bureaucrat-Member of House of Representatives
2	H. A.A. Tarmana and Drs. H. Hilman, MH.	Mayor-Member of House of Representatives
3	Drs. H. M. Sugih Wiramikarta and Ir. H. Iwan Ridwan	Entrepreneur-Humanist

Source: Documentation Regional House of Representatives of Bandung

The three pairs of candidates for the 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election had various political backgrounds. As non-incumbent candidates, Dada Rosada and Jusep Purwasuganda received the support from the Golongan Karya and PDIP, A.A. Tarmana and Himan were supported by the PPP and PKP meanwhile Sugih Wiramikarta and Iwan Ridwan were supported by PKBB. The epicenter of local power and bureaucrats in Dada Rosada's figure was apparent in this election. It was due to the closeness of his figure to the Bandung residents, bureaucrats, and the various achievements he made in developing the municipality.

Table 3. Candidates and the Parties of the 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election

No	Candidate	The Bearer Political Party
1	H. Dada Rosada, S and drs. H. Jusep Purwasuganda	Golkar, PDIP, PAN
2	H. A.A Tarmana and Drs. H. Hilman, MH.	PPP, Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan
3	Drs. H. M. Sugih Wiramikarta and Ir. H. Iwan Ridwan	PKBB

Source: Documentation of Regional House of Representatives of Bandung

The Golongan Karya proposed the candidates for Mayor and Vice Mayor of Bandung for the period of 2003-2008, namely Dada Rosada and Jusep Purwasuganda, on the grounds of Dada Rosada: (1) was a person who had bureaucratic experience in the Bandung Municipality Government; (2) had managerial skills in the field of government; (3) understood the problems of the municipality both in the fields of

government, development, and society; (4) had integrity and a strong commitment to building Bandung Municipality, especially towards improving the welfare of the locals. Meanwhile, Jusep Purwaganda: (1) was a figure of a politician who had experience at the local and national level; (2) understood the political life of Bandung Municipality and had broad political access, both vertically and horizontally; (3) had experienced in the legislative field in Bandung Municipality and at the national level; (4) his views on urban development were oriented to the interests of many people.

The PDIP had appointed Dada Rosada and Jusep Purwaganda as the candidates of Mayor and Vice Mayor of Bandung, on the grounds of Dada Rosada: (1) had long experience in bureaucracy; (2) had a vision and mission for the future development of the Bandung Municipality; (3) was familiar with the situation and conditions of Bandung Municipality with all its problems. Meanwhile, Jusep Purwaganda: (1) had been a member of the 1992-1997 Bandung Regional Parliament Level II as the chairman of the faction and at that moment served as a member of the House of Representatives of Republic of Indonesia; (2) was familiar with the situation of Bandung Municipality with all its problems (Interview with Ayi Vivananda in 2016).

The PPP set and announced A.A. Tarmana and Hilman as the candidates of Mayor and Vice Mayor of Bandung for the period of 2003-2008 with the following reasons: (1) The Bandung Municipality had special characteristics in the lives of its people, it needed to be led by two poles that live in the same society, namely the Nationalist Religion; (2) A.A. Tarmana's leadership had been tested, with the creation of a conducive atmosphere in the Bandung; (3) during the leadership there had been a harmonious atmosphere between religious communities in Bandung. The PKS gave reasons for its support for A.A. Tarmana and Hilman as follows: (1) the results of a public dialogue conducted by the PKP received a good response; (2) the results of the A.A. Tarmana's independent team assessment obtained a value of 77.50; (3) results of aspiration recapitulation of Mayor and Vice Mayor of Bandung, until the screening stage II obtained the best and highest results compared to other prospective candidates, with much support from the Bandung residents (4.529); (4) the figure of A.A. Tarmana was simple, had insight and experience in the field of government, had charismatic and authoritative. He had many friends and wealth, loyalty and high social, especially to poor people. He was smart in earning money and generous. He was also honest and open (transparent), forgiving and not vindictive, aspirational, and heard input from others, expressly occasionally seemed fierce.

The 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election was won by Dada Rosada and Jusep Purwasuganda. The results revealed that Dada Rosada-Jusep Purwaganda got three votes, A.A. Tarmana-Hilman got 16 votes, and Sugih Wiramikarta-Iwan Ridwan also received three votes. The victory of Dada Rosada-Jusep Purwaganda was not much different from the predictions of the observers at that time. It was because they not only had a high level of popularity and electability both in Bandung Municipality bureaucrats and the

Bandung residents but also controlled the majority of Bandung's political elite networks and controlled over the Bandung bureaucratic structure. It was evidenced his greatness in gaining support from major parties, namely the Golongan Karya and PDIP.

Table 4. Details of the 2003 Votes for the Bandung Mayoral Election

No	Candidate	Vote
1	H. Dada Rosada, S and drs. H. Jusep Purwasuganda	26
2	H. A.A. Tarmana and Drs. H. Hilman, MH.	16
3	Drs. H. M. Sugih Wiramikarta and Ir. H. Iwan Ridwan	3
Total Votes		45
Total Invalid Votes		-
Overall Total		45

Source: Documentation of Regional House of Representatives of Bandung Municipality

The number of voters in the 2003 Bandung Mayoral Election was 45 who were the members of the Regional House of Representatives. Dada Rosada and Jusep Purwasuganda received the highest vote with 26 voters, followed by A.A Tarmana and Hilman with 16 votes, and Sugih Wiramikarta and Iwan Ridwan with three votes only. It indicates that all members of the Regional House of Representatives used their voting right. In short, the election is good.

The election did not face significant obstacles because it was only attended by the three pairs of the candidate who got support from the political parties. However, considering that it was the first election after the reform, the influence of significant political parties was very decisive. It did not experience significant changes in the context of politicians. It was different from the context of winning strategies model that experienced significant changes. It happened because the previous election was elected by the Regional House of Representatives in which the decision was in the central government, namely the president. However, the election was directed at the legislature, where each of the members had the freedom to make his choice.

Political Parties Participating in the Bandung Election Process

In the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election, several parties that received seats in the parliament were the PKS, PDIP, Golongan Karya, Partai Demokrat, PAN, PPP, PBB, and Partai Damai Sejahtera. When the election would take place, these parties conducted political communication to nominate cadres to become mayor or vice mayor.

Table 5. Political Parties Participating in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election

No	Political Parties	Seat Acquisition of the Regional House of Representatives
1	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	11
2	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)	7

3	Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar)	6
4	Partai Demokrat	6
5	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	6
6	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	4
7	Partai Damai Sejahtera (PDS)	3
8	Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)	2

Source: Bandung Regional Election Commission, July 2004

Among the eight parties participated in the 2003 election, only two pairs of the candidate nominated in the 2008 election. They were Taufikurahman-Abu Sauqi from PKS and Dada Rosada-Ayi Vivananda from the coalition of the seven parties (PDIP, Golkar, Partai Demokrat, PAN, PPP, PDS, and PBB). These were the nominees for the mayor and the vice mayor of Bandung Municipality in the 2008 Mayoral Election.

Recruitment Process for Participants in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election

a. The Nomination Process of Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda

The election process for Dada Rosada-Ayi Vivananda was inseparable from the Golongan Karya and PDIP. These two parties previously had a coalition in the 2003 Mayoral Election. Five other parties, namely Partai Demokrat, PAN, PBB, PPP, and PDS provided input, suggestions, and criticism in the process of recruiting candidates.

In the Golongan Karya internal election process, Dada Rosada was appointed directly as the sole candidate based on various internal surveys. It showed that the majority of the Bandung residents wanted him to be the Mayor of Bandung for the period of 2008-2013. Due to these reasons and considerations, the Golongan Karya reappointed him as the candidate for Mayor of Bandung. Meanwhile, for the vice mayor, PDIP agreed with the coalition to appoint Ayi Vivanan. Finally, the coalition parties registered the two candidates to the General Election Commission of Bandung.

b. The Nomination Process of Taufikurahman and Abu Sauqi

PKS, the non-coalition party, agreed to appoint Taufikurahman-Abu Sauqi as the candidates for mayor and vice mayor in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election. These candidates were formed through selection within a communication. Communication in this context involved the role of elites, administrators, and cadres of the PKS. This party conducted screening on candidates by implementing an open mechanism, both for internal and external cadres. It allowed anyone to become the candidate for mayor and vice mayor in the Bandung Mayoral Election. Likewise, it had the principle of allowing cadres to choose anyone who was considered appropriate, including cadres of other political parties or those from other regions.

Cultures that have been built at the PKS were nominated (Interview with Tedi Rusmawan in

2016). For this reason, the PKS through the Regional Election Election Team conducted screening on cadres to become candidates for mayor and vice mayor. To find qualified candidates for the election, the PKS conducted a selection of several people who were considered to have the capacity. Taufikurahman agreed to become the candidate for mayor. Based on the results of the screening, PKS requested his willingness to become the candidate for the head of the PKS stretcher area. He accepted it as the mandate of his political party that should be carried out responsibly (Interview with Taufikurahman in 2016). PKS also chose Deni Triesnahadi and Abu Sauqi as the candidates for the Mayor of Bandung. The selection factor of Abu Sauqi was more on the historical side and figure. The PKS Faction members often communicated directly with Abu Sauqi. Whereas, Deni Triesnahadi was considered to have capabilities, morality, and community who were expected to increase the votes.

c. Recruitment Process of Independent Candidates

Independent candidates were increasingly discussed after the Indonesian Parliament ratifies the second revision of Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government dated April 1, 2008. One of the crucial changes of the law is to allow individual candidates or independent candidates to participate in the regional head elections. After being approved, the President of the Republic of Indonesia promulgated it through Law No. 12/2008, signed on April 28, 2008. The Election Commission of Bandung Municipality responded to the ratification by giving a positive signal for the participation of the independent candidates. The election stages for mayors decided by the Election Commission of Bandung were immediately changed to accommodate the new rules through the Plenary Meeting on May 6, 2008. Although the technical rules had not been completed, the Election Commission allowed the independent candidates to participate in the election. The statement was confirmed by Chairman of the Election Commission Abdul Hafiz Anshary at the end of April in Bandung. At that time, he promised to immediately issue the official technical rules to verify the independent candidates (Interview with Tedi Rusmawan 2016).

The regional head election process in Indonesia was not only participated by candidates who were supported by political parties. However, there are several candidates took part in the elections which were not supported by political parties. In the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election, there were several pairs of the candidate, namely Indra Perwira-Dedi Haryadi, Hudaya Prawira-Nahadi, Eddy Kusmayadi-Rahmat Riyadi, Asep Ridwan-Gagan Margana, Syinar Budhi Arta-Army Akhmad Arman, and Farhat Abbas-Asep Dedi. The backgrounds of the independent candidates were academic, practitioner, and activist movement.

d. Participants in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election

The individual participants of the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election are as follows:

- 1). Drs. H.E. Hudaya Prawira and Nahadi, S.Pd., M.Pd., M.Sc.

- 2). Synar Budhi Arta and Arry Akhmad.
- 3). Drs. Ahmad Setiawan, Akt and Drs. Mamat Rachmat, M.Sc.
- 4). Drs. HRM. Sugih Wiramikarta and Djoni Garyana, SE.

Of the four pairs of individual candidates, those who went to the next round were Drs. H. E. Hudaya Prawira and Nahadi, S.Pd., M.Pd., M.Sc. Verification of the number of collected and valid identity cards by the Bandung Election Commission was a decision that finally stated Hudaya and Nahadi as an independent partner in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election. Several other independent candidate pairs were considered, by the Bandung Election Commission, not to collect minimum stipulated conditions. Hudaya and Nahadi turned out to be an independent candidate pair who passed verification in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election after receiving support from 72.613 identity cards before registering in the Bandung Election Commission.

The community Supporting the Winning of Dada Rosada

In the winning process carried out by the team, a tribal volunteer network was formed as many as possible to strengthen the community of the Bandung Mayoral Election, both from religion and specific segments of society, such as accessible voters and professional workers. Dada Rosada's community formed a volunteer team at each district so that they could socialize and campaign for Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda.

The head of the Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda success team stated (Interview with the Success Team Leader Asep Dedi Ruyadi) that Dada Rosada was an incumbent candidate. Their most significant capital was their popularity, which was almost 100%. With the great support from the Golongan Karya, PDIP, PBB, PD, PAN, PPP, and PDS, the chance to win the election was enormous. These candidates were also supported by many organizations, such as Persis, Muhammadiyah, NU, and FPI. The Bandung MUI unofficially also supported them, marked by the support of its chairman and several scholars. This support had brought Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda to the victory of the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election with 65% votes.

With so much support in this period, *dakwah* could be done to support Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda. This *dakwah* was carried out by Islamic organizations such as Dakwah Islamiyah Council. They asked 215 *dai* and *dai'ah* (Islamic preachers) to fill out socialization in various Dada Rosada's programs both those that had been implemented and those that would. In addition to the Islamic organizations, he was also supported by community organizations of the coalition parties such as AMPI, KOSGORO, MKGR, AMD, Taruna Merah Putih, which certainly had a large mass in each district and even village. They were all recruited to support the victory of Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda.

Models of Political Campaign Strategy

There are several models of political campaign. First, componential model in which the campaign is identified by the transmission approach rather than the interaction and this model is more one-way. Second, Ostergaard's campaign model, where the first step for campaign sources is to identify the actual problems, then do the campaign. This model ends at the stage of directing audience behavior. Third, the five functional stages development model which focuses on the stages of campaign activities, not on the process of exchanging messages between candidates and audiences. Fourth, the communicative functions model that starts from surfacing (mapping) and then mapping the campaign area. The primary stage is to focus the attention of the audience on the candidate. The final stage is the selection stage which is carried out when the campaign is over.

In the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election, a series of political campaign activities were carried out to win the election. Political campaigns were carried out through various forms of activities, both activities that are directly descended from the community and through media (Venus 2007). Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda implemented the fourth model, namely the communicative functions model.

Dada Rosada had conducted surfacing in his previous tenure (2003-2008). This political campaign aimed at providing a positive image to the community. During this period, he took advantage of his momentum and position as the Mayor of Bandung to gain public sympathy and also mobilize political forces. In each road, alley, and ditch improvement programs carried out by the Bandung Government, he always visited the locations and met the community in person. After being present in every infrastructure development program, he was also diligent in attending every social and religious meeting carried out by the government and the people of Bandung. One of the examples is the *Tabligh Akbar* held by the community of the Ujung Berung District in order to enliven the Islamic New Year 1428 Hijriah, on January 10, 2008.

To mobilize local forces, while serving as the Mayor of Bandung, Dada Rosada also held frequent meetings with religious, community, youth and media figures. One of the activities carried out was a meeting with 14 Islamic organizations and providing grant assistance to them, as well as providing assistance to education and prosperity for operational needs. Furthermore, his very spectacular breakthrough when he was the Mayor of Bandung in the 2003-2008 period was the success of seven priority programs in the view of the people of Bandung. The seven priority programs were smart Bandung, healthy Bandung, prosperous Bandung, Green Bandung, Bandung art and culture, Bandung achievement, and religious Bandung. These programs were reported by almost all local media in Bandung with positive and essential leadership of Dada Rosada.

Some of the facts above indicate that the surfacing stage was indirectly carried out by Dada Rosada while serving as the Mayor of Bandung. With these facts, the campaign about the appearance of figures with positive images became easy to implement, although all of the things described above are part of the

government's duties.

"Mr. Dada Rosada can be said as an incumbent candidate. As a candidate for incumbent, I think it is very common when facing the elections, government apparatus will be maximally pushed to carry out their duties, and the budget will be increased for development and social assistance. All of that is, of course, to attract public sympathy and maintain the good name of the leader. It was also done by Dada Rosada while serving as the Mayor of Bandung, and I think that is normal. The maximization of the program, in my opinion, is not the politicization of bureaucracy (Interview with Asep Dedi Ruyadi in 2016).

The position as the Mayor of Bandung became the dominant factor in supporting the process of imaging and raising local elites as part of the winning process. In addition to the easy positive image to be built through programs funded by the state, local political forces also become easier to control and collaborate to participate in the process of winning the election. In addition, political capital as a mayor eased Dada Rosada to participate in the election and get the support from political parties in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election

RESULT OF THE 2008 BANDUNG MAYORAL ELECTION

The 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election which took place on August 10, 2008 became the first election for the people of Bandung. The previous election was elected by the Regional House of Representatives of Bandung. Of the three pairs of the candidate, two of them came from political parties and a coalition of political parties. Meanwhile the last was independent.

Candidates of the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election based on the serial number:

1. H. Dada Rosada, SH., M.Si and Ayi Vivananda, SH.
2. Dr H. Taufikurahman and H. Abu Sauqi
3. Drs. H.E. Hudaya Prawira and Nahadi, S.Pd., M.Pd., M.Si

The first pair of candidate, Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda, was supported by a coalition of six political parties, namely the Golongan Karya, PDIP, Partai Demokrat, PPP, PAN, and PBB. These candidates received the most support from the parties who were the members of the Regional House of Representatives of Bandung. They were supported by 34 members. The 34 members consisted of six from the Golkar party, seven from PDIP, six from the Partai Demokrat, six from the PAN, four from the PPP, three from the Partai Damai Sejahtera, and two from the PBB.

PKS in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election appointed the second pair of candidate namely Taufikurahman and Abu Sauqi. They would previously be supported by Partai Demokrat and PAN. However, prior to registration, it turned out that both of the political parties supported Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda. PAN, which was previously successful in coalition with the PKS in the 2008 West Java Regional Head Election, where a cadre of the PKS namely Ahmad Heryawan paired with Dede Yusuf, a

cadre of the PAN, succeeded in becoming Governor and Vice Governor of West Java for the period of 2008-2013. In the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election, the two candidates were merely proposed by one party namely the PKS. It was because the PAN shifted its support to Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda. Although Taufikurahman and Abu Sauqi were only supported by one party, they were able to participate in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election because the PKS had 11 members in the Regional House of Representatives of Bandung. It met the minimum requirements to be the nominee for the election, which was 15% of the total members of the Regional House of Representatives.

The last pair of the candidate in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election was independent candidates namely Hudaya Prawira and Nahadi. The independent candidates in a Regional Head Election in Indonesia are based on the law of the Constitutional Court decision. The Constitutional Court issued a decision of the Constitutional Court number 5/PUU-U/2007 concerning an independent/individual pair based on Lulu Ranggalawe's complaint, regarding Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government which contradicted the 1945 Constitution. Hudaya and Nahadi could not immediately follow the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election process. They had to fulfill the minimum requirements of receiving support from 3% of Bandung residents or approximately 69.000 people in the form of an identity card.

The 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election took place on August 10, 2008. The election commission provided 3.843 polling stations throughout Bandung. Around 1.521.362 Bandung residents participated in the election. Meanwhile, there were 6.873 people registered by the Bandung Election Commission as voters from other polling stations. The election commission conducted a recapitulation on September 15, 2008. The recapitulation results provided data on the results of votes for each pair of the candidate, as well as the comparison between the residents of Bandung who participated in the election with those who did not. Of the total 1.528.235 voters, 69.49% or around 1.062.934 of them used their voting rights. The amount included invalid votes due to a technical error during the voting. Meanwhile, the number of voters who did not participate reached 30.51% or 466,301 people. These data revealed that the abstention rate was still high. It was not in accordance with the target set by the Bandung Election Commission in which around 80% of voters would participate in the election (Secretary of the Bandung Election Commission Council 2008).

The results of the votes recapitulation obtained by the election commission at the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election declared that the winner was the pair of Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda. Therefore, they would be the Mayor and Vice Mayor of Bandung for the period of 2008-2013. They received 64.98% or 667.026 votes of the total valid votes. Taufikurahman and Abu Sauqi received 25% or 263.711 votes. Meanwhile Hudaya Prawira and Nahadi received only 9.3% or 95.728 votes.

Table 6. Details of the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election

Legitimate Acquisition of the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election District	No. 1 Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda		No. 2 Taufikurahman and Abu Sauqi		No. 3. Hudaya and Nahadi		Election Commission Total
	Valid Votes	%	Valid Votes	%	Valid Votes	%	
Sukasari	20.375	64%	8.001	25%	3.482	11%	31.858
Coblong	25.986	54%	16.665	35%	5.180	11%	47.831
Babakan Ciparay	40.187	73%	9.892	18%	4.652	8%	54.731
Bojongloa Kaler	40.193	72%	10.338	19%	5.057	9%	55.588
Andir	27.147	63%	10.896	25%	4.754	11%	42.797
Cicendo	25.829	64%	10.565	26%	3.863	10%	40.257
Sukajadi	28.784	67%	10.082	23%	4.205	10%	43.071
Cidadap	15.836	69%	5.013	22%	1.997	9%	22.846
Bandung Wetan	7.867	62%	3.297	26%	1.481	12%	12.645
Astanaanyar	23.386	70%	6.603	20%	3.620	11%	33.609
Regol	22.662	64%	8.819	25%	3.732	11%	35.213
Batununggal	35.514	65%	13.768	25%	5.540	10%	54.822
Lengkong	17.161	58%	9.672	32%	2.964	10%	29.797
Cibeunying Kidul	31.444	63%	14.143	28%	4.467	9%	50.054
Bandung Kulon	39.915	73%	10.283	19%	4.752	9%	54.950
Kiaracondong	35.976	63%	16.116	28%	5.389	9%	57.481
Bojongloa Kidul	26.276	76%	5.708	17%	2.512	7%	34.496
Cibeunying Kaler	17.772	61%	9.125	31%	2.365	8%	29.262
Sumur Bandung	8.503	66%	4.549	30%	2.073	14%	15.125
Antapani	17.621	55%	11.367	36%	2.995	9%	31.983
Bandung Kidul	14.483	66%	5.570	25%	1.943	9%	21.996
Buah Batu	23.006	60%	11.217	29%	3.943	10%	38.166
Rancasari	18.837	61%	9.398	31%	2.578	8%	30.813
Arcamanik	16.263	61%	8.184	31%	2.079	8%	26.526
Cibiru	21.471	70%	6.677	22%	2.352	8%	30.500
Ujung Berung	21.371	67%	8.289	26%	2.369	7%	32.029

Gede Bage	8.367	58%	4.645	32%	1.367	10%	14.379
Panyileukan	8.962	58%	5.320	35%	1.044	7%	15.326
Cinambo	7.061	71%	2.253	23%	578	6%	9.892
Mandalajati	18.771	66%	7.256	26%	2.395	8%	28.422
Jumlah	667.026	65%	263.711	26%	95.728	9%	1.026.465

Source: Technical Sub-Section and Public Relations of Regional Election Commission of Bandung

After the recapitulation was completed, the Open Plenary Meeting of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Bandung for the 2008-2013 period was held. It was done by signing the Minutes of the Open Plenary Meeting of the Bandung election commission No. 43/PW/BA/VIII/2008 concerning the determination of elected pair of the candidate in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election. Following article 107 paragraph (1) Law No. 32 of 2004 and article 95 paragraph (1) of government regulation No. 6 of 2005, that the candidate pair of regional head and regional vice head who obtained more than 50% votes of the total valid votes are designated as elected candidate pair. Based on the statutory provisions above, there is a pair of the candidates who obtained a valid vote of more than 50% of the total valid votes, namely Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda who obtained 64.98% or 667.026 valid votes from total valid votes of 1,026,465. Thus, Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda won the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election. The victory made Dada Rosada continued his position as Mayor of Bandung for the second time, while the position of Vice Mayor of Bandung was occupied by a new person namely Ayi Vivananda. For Dada Rosada, the success of running a position as Mayor of Bandung for the second period was the highest position for a bureaucrat as he was able to become the highest administrative power leader in the Bandung Municipality.

CONCLUSION

This research is unique because it reveals several facts related to the use of different political strategies and election formats carried out by the same figure. This study aims to analyze the political strategies of the candidates in the 2008 Bandung Mayoral Election. The political and social strategies undertaken by the 2003 and 2008 direct and indirect mayoral election winners was carried out by Dada Rosada. His victory was supported by several factors, namely the party coalition, the social network, and the political communication through mass media and campaigns All of these factors contributed positively to the victory of Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda, although there was a more decisive main factor, namely Dada Rosada as a political figure in the 2008 election. His position as incumbent allowed him to be better prepared to compete with newcomers. He could take advantages of all the resources available in government, including bureaucratic networks even though it was illegal.

In the case of Dada Rosada and Ayi Vivananda, there is an interesting fact because it turned out that the closeness of Dada Rosada to social power spread in the community both in mass organizations

and NGOs. Negative actions taken by political opponents such as problem of structuring street vendors and garbage in urban Bandung aimed to prevent Dada Rosada from winning the election. As if the negative campaigns did not affect the elites and the supporters of Dada Rosada, they kept the focus on supporting him to win the election. Because Dada Rosada served as mayor of Bandung, where he always tried to fight for the interests of the social elite, they were also committed to supporting local government policy at that time. A pattern of symbiotic mutualism relationships that have been built between the two, although in a pattern of appropriate relations between the leader being led, between the customer and the patron, where he acts as a protector and the social elite is placed as a client. In this relationship pattern, Dada Rosada's position greatly benefits because she can use her position to gain their support in the election.

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