Clientelism in Bandar Lampung's Mayor Election 2015: A case study of Herman H. N. and M. Yusuf Kohar as candidate pair

Klientelisme dalam pemilihan Walikota Bandar Lampung 2015: Studi pasangan Herman H. N. dan M. Yusuf Kohar

<u>Robi Cahyadi Kurniawan</u>, Dedy Hermawan, & Himawan Indrajat
Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Lampung
Address: Jalan Prof. Dr. Sumantri Brojonegoro No. 1, Bandar Lampung 35145
E-mail: robicahyadi9@gmail.com

Abstract

Clientelism is a renewal of the patronage concept, usually referred to as patron-client in some scientific literature. Research about patron-client in the context of domestic politics, specifically in regional elections, is rarely conducted. Previous studies have mostly examined national-level elections, namely president and legislative. Therefore, this research has tried to answer the question on how the clientelism process worked during the Mayor's Election in Bandar Lampung in 2015, particularly for candidate pair of Herman HN and M. Yusuf Kohar. This research was conducted in Bandar Lampung city from September 2016 to January 2017 as a part of the authors' dissertation. It employs qualitative method using in-depth interview method on respondents who are related to research objects. The informants consisted of political practitioners, members of campaign teams, and academicians. The findings showed that clientelism among voters occurred during mayor election in Bandar Lampung 2015. There is a mutualism symbiosis between the incumbent candidate (Herman HN) and the voters in Mayor Election of Bandar Lampung in 2015. The voters' votes can be influenced using the imagery portrayed by the candidates, particularly Herman HN. They can also be influenced by distributive politics or by giving what the voters' needs through infrastructure politics (such as the construction of roads and bridges), free education, free health care, and social/religion aids. The candidate pair who won the election had different campaign teams.

Keywords: clientelism; mayor election of Bandar Lampung; candidate pair of Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar; campaign team

Abstrak

Klientelisme merupakan pembaharuan dari konsep patronase, istilah patron klien biasa disebut dalam beberapa literatur ilmiah. Penelitian tentang patron klien dalam konteks politik lokal khususnya dalam pemilihan kepala daerah masih jarang dilakukan. Penelitian-penelitian terdahulu masih dilakukan dalam lingkup nasional, seperti pemilihan presiden dan pemilihan legislatif. Penelitian ini mencoba menjawab pertanyaan bagaimana proses klientelisme pada Pemilihan Walikota Bandar Lampung 2015, khususnya pada pasangan Herman HN – M. Yusuf Kohar. Penelitian dilakukan di Kota Bandar Lampung pada bulan September 2016 sampai dengan Januari tahun 2017 sebagai bagian dari disertasi penulis. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui pendekatan wawancara mendalam terhadap para informan yang berkaitan dengan penelitian. Informan terdiri dari beberapa pelaku politik, tim sukses serta akademisi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa klientelisme dikalangan pemilih terjadi pada pemilihan walikota Bandar Lampung 2015. Terdapat simbiosis mutualisme antara kandidat petahana (Herman HN) dan para pemilih dalam Pemilihan Walikota Bandar Lampung 2015. Pemilih dapat dipengaruhi pilihannya dengan pencitraan dari kandidat khususnya Herman HN dan juga dengan konsep politik distributif atau memberi kebutuhan yang dirasa perlu bagi masyarakat pemilih dengan kebijakan infrastruktur; jalan dan jembatan, pendidikan gratis, kesehatan gratis, dan bantuan sosial keagamaan. Pasangan yang menang dalam Pemilihan Walikota ini tetapi memiliki tim sukses yang berbeda.

Kata kunci: *klientelisme; pemilihan Walikota Bandar Lampung; Herman HN-Yusuf Kohar; tim sukses*

Introduction

The phenomenon of patron-client in Indonesia has existed since the study of Geertz (1960) with classical categories, namely Muslim boarding house students (*santri,* hereafter), Islam *abangan,* and

nobles (*priyayi*). It shows there to be a clear political division and that the patron-client relationship between them is relatively stable, particularly within a traditional society between politicians and *ulama'* (religion teachers) along with their *santri* network. During the New Order era, the government tried to maintain its administration as a single patron. In modern clientelism, the patronage relationship is an instrumental power relationship in which the clients need security. Among their attempts, political patronage starts when the elites within the cliental system try to rule the society members by supervising and controlling various permits and other facilities. A patron also seeks compensation in the form of obedience and political support from the clients (Philipus & Aini 2011:45).

Hicken (2011) explained that clientelism's definition contains at least three characteristics. First, there is contingency or reciprocity. The provision of goods and services from one party (either patron or client) is a direct response toward profit sharing from another party. Usually, material sources are exchanged with votes or other political support. Second, is hierarchy. There is an emphasis in an imbalanced power relation between patron and client. Third, there is the repetition aspect in which clientelistic exchange continually occurs (Hicken 2011:291).

Moreover, a research study conducted by Aspinal & Sukmajati (2015) was quite comprehensive in describing the patron-client relationship in the case of the legislative election in Indonesia in 2014. Another research study in Indonesia about the patron-client relationship was conducted by Richard & Ching (2016:1-5) who studied the patronage patterns between Suharto and his business partners, particularly Liem Sioe Liong.

In a more localized context, patronage and clientelism practices have also occurred at the provincial, regency, and municipal level, particularly during legislative election in 2014. The patronage practice has occurred in Bangka Belitung (Aspinal & Sukmajati 2015:126-146) and clientelism also happened in Palembang City of South Sumatra (Aspinal & Sukmajati 2015:174-199). Moreover, patronage practices have further occurred in Bekasi of West Java (Aspinal & Sukmajati 2015:247-271), Bandung Regency, and West Bandung Regency (Aspinal & Sukmajati 2015:272-293) while clientelism practices happened in Mojokerto, Jombang, Nganjuk, and Madiun Regencies (Aspinall & Sukmajati 2015:380-402). Finally, the practices of both patronage and clientelism have also occurred in East Nusa Tenggara (Aspinal & Sukmajati 2015:457-485).

However, research about the patron-client relationship in a more localized context, namely in the regency and mayor's election in 2015, has been scarcely conducted. This is because the election occurred on December 9th 2015 and it is different to other comprehensive research studies which have already been conducted by other researchers. Other studies have mainly studied about previous regional, legislative, and presidential elections prior to the 2015 elections. Research and studies about the patron-client relationship in simultaneous elections are necessary in order to more comprehensively examine and describe the patterns, relationships, and influence of the patron-client relationship in the elections.

On December 9th 2015, the first batch of simultaneous regional elections was held all over Indonesia. Lampung Province was one of the provinces holding regional elections with a mayor's election in 2 cities (Bandar Lampung and Metro) and regent elections in 6 regencies (South Lampung, Pesawaran, Central Lampung, East Lampung, Way Kanan, and West Coast).

The mayor's election in Bandar Lampung is intriguing and needs to be further examined, because the incumbent (Herman HN) won with an absolute number over Tobroni Harun (incumbent of the vice mayor) and an independent candidate. Based on the authors' early assumption, there was a clientelism practice occurring during the mayor election in Bandar Lampung in 2015 which caused Herman HN to win. This research study attempts to find an answer about how the patron-client process (clientelism) occurred in Bandar Lampung's Mayor Election in 2015, particularly in terms of Herman HN's winning conditions.

Research Method

This research employed a qualitative method through participatory observation and involved observation (Brannen 2005:11). The qualitative method's depth and details were derived from a small

number of case studies. Even though the number was too small to make a convincing generalization, a case study can be beneficial to better understand a certain problem or situation deeply in order to identify cases where there is a richness of information (Patton 2006:23). Richness in information implies that a huge issue can be examined through a certain phenomena.

The data types, which were employed in the qualitative research, were both primary and secondary data. Primary data can be collected using two research tools, namely interviews and observations. Moreover, the authors could also analyze the existing data in the form of official documents, reports, biography studies and other media. These were categorized as the secondary data (Harrison et al. 2007:91).

In this research, there were two types of data, namely primary and secondary. The primary data is also referred to as a primary source, and directly provides data to the data collectors (Sugiyono 2006:253). The type of data that was directly collected during the research was through in-depth interview with prominent figures in society and society members. The secondary data, or secondary sources, denotes the indirect provision of data to the data collectors through other people or documents (Sugiyono 2006:253).

Furthermore, the data source in this research was the key persons or informants who were considered to be capable or deeply understanding of the information needed by the authors. According to Mikkelsen (2001:85), the people who were considered to be key were knowledgeable or possessed certain opinions about the main issues. In this research, the authors purposely determined the informants and then continued with snowball sampling. Purposively choosing the informants was intended to capture and explain the central theme of the research objects by prioritizing the informants based on the information that they had (Patton 1991:81).

In terms of the qualitative data analysis, the data analysis is the process of systematically searching for and compiling data from the interviews, from the field study, and from any other materials that can easily be understood. The data analysis was conducted by organizing the data, describing it, arranging it in patterns, selecting the important ones, and making conclusions so then the results can be told to others. The data analysis was carried out from the start of the data collection process, but the more intensive stage of the analysis process was only carried out after the data collection had been completed. The data, which was collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and literature studies or documents, was analyzed descriptively using qualitative analysis (Sugiyono 2006:274).

The data analysis procedures, according to Creswell (2010:274-278), included several steps. First, came collecting the raw data in the form of transcriptions, field data, images and so on. Second, was processing and preparing the data for analysis. Third, was reading the data. Fourth, was encoding the data manually or using a computer, and then sorting it into certain themes and descriptions. Fifth, was the stage of connecting the themes and descriptions. Sixth, came interpreting the themes and descriptions.

Results and Discussions

The candidate pair, Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar, won the 2015 Mayor Election in Bandar Lampung, obtaining 358,254 votes or 86.66% of the total valid votes. The pair were supported by six parties, namely PDIP, Gerindra, Nasdem, Demokrat, PKS, and PKB. Herman HN has been very popular with the people of Bandar Lampung City; while his vice mayor, Yusuf Kohar, is a businessman who has long been involved in local politics as a politician from the Democrat Party.

The candidate pair was initially formed based on negotiation politics, which signifies the collective bargaining between political parties. Herman HN was suggested by *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* (PDIP) and he successfully recruited other parties to form a coalition; thus, a coalition of several political parties has made this pair stronger.

> "So it goes like this…pairing up with Mr. Herman is due to bargaining politics. It happens when I run [for election] on behalf of the Democrats, while Mr. Herman was on behalf of PDI and other parties. The concept was…to make the Democrats gain votes in Lampung Province… how to make its cadres obtain positions in executive positions, both as a chief or

as a vice leader in provincial administration. Bargaining politics occurs with the incumbent [Mr. Herman] and us as the vice mayor. So we secured a position for the Democrat, while Mr. Herman was from PDI. But Mr. Herman also joined Gerindra's hand…and there were also Nasdem, PKS and PKB. So we, in total, joined hands with 5 political parties" (Source: interview with Yusuf Kohar on October 12th 2016).

The candidate pair consisting of Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar were finally promoted by a coalition of political parties, namely *PDI Perjuangan*, *Partai Gerindra*, *Partai Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem)*, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (*PKS)*, *Demokrat*, and *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB).The total combination of votes from the 6 (six) political parties reached 37 out of 50 votes in the Regional House Representative *(DPRD)* of Bandar Lampung.

Absolute victory for Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar was possible due to several factors. First, was the successful development program conducted by Herman HN during his previous tenure as mayor with Thobroni Harun as the vice mayor, who managed to win more votes for him. Second, the background of Yusuf Kohar as an entrepreneur was also helpful in establishing new ties and relationships with other enterpreneurs and workers in Bandar Lampung. Moreover, Yusuf Kohar previously served as the Vice Chairperson of *Partai Demokrat* in Lampung Province and obtained full support from M. Ridho Ficardo, who simultaneously served as the chairperson of the party and the governor of Lampung Province.

> "Mr. Herman was an incumbent, so he did many things which were not done by previous mayors. By doing so, it elicited empathy among society members. For instance, there were road repairs… road infrastructure. Also free hospital and health care, and then free education. Mr. Herman had his power in such things, while I have power in the business world. My background is the business world… I have managed my business for more than 15 years, so I have my own power. From Mr. Herman, he has his own market, and I have my own" (Source: interview with Yusuf Kohar on October 12th, 2016).

The political costs paid for by Yusuf Kohar for his personal campaign and for the operational team were quite hefty. The operational cost encompassed the purchase of food and beverages, stickers, T-shirts, small gifts, and various properties. It excluded the allowance or wages given to the members of the campaign team who were personally formed by him. The total fund accumulated to more than two or three million rupiah, excluding honorarium or allowances for the personal campaign team.

> "Being friends, [there was] no command. So we gave our pocket money, of course. They were tired of following us everywhere, so we just gave them pocket money. [We] spent quite a bit of money, but not in vain. We bought T-shirts. Then we also ate, so there were the operational funds available for meals, and fuel. Only those kinds of cost. We did not give money from politics [to the potential voters]. There was no instance where we gave pocket money or similar things…no such things. About 2-3 billion rupiah was spent for eating, drinking, and operational [costs]. The largest sum was for food and drink… and stuff for demonstrations, though it was limited. We also paid for stickers, shirts, and T-shirts" (Source: interview with Yusuf Kohar on October 12th 2016).

Table 1.
Personal campaign team for Yusuf Kohar

Family network	Friend network
Wife	A team of 6 people.
Nieces/nephews	Was selected from their friends, party members, and fellow entrepreneur.

Source: processed from interview with Yusuf Kohar (2016)

The incumbent Bandar Lampung mayor, Herman HN, had a separate network outside of the campaign team network of his running partner, Yusuf Kohar. The campaign team, who served as Liaison Officer (LO) and who was officially reported to KPU Bandar Lampung, consisted of three people (thus, we

call them 'Team 3'), namely Rahmat Husein DC, Resmen Khadafi, and Aryanto Yusuf. The three of them were directly chosen by Herman HN without involving Yusuf Kohar. Yusuf Kohar only knew about it and gave his consent.

The tasks of Team 3 encompassed formulating strategies. It covered the entire content of the candidate's speeches, preparing the campaign material, formulating an approach pattern for the constituents, and providing legal assistance in case there were reports of alleged violations during the regional election. This team also had the authority and freedom to implement their strategies in the field and to also evaluate the campaign activities themselves. The team members coordinated directly with Herman HN and each member had their own respective duties and work specifications.

> "(campaign team) Aryanto and Khadafi. So, at first, he had no burden at all, which was made or decided in terms of the winning campaign in the last election. Everything was the result of our discussions together. It is indeed true that Mr. Herman was a candidate, but then whatever he did, even the contents of his speeches, was also [decided by us], because we took care of similar issues… Khadafi took care of legal affairs, while I took care of political affairs, and affairs with the people. For Ariyanto, he communicated with the election organizers. I was surely covering all issues about Mr. Herman. [The tasks] were indeed divided. Khadafi was legal issues. Ariyanto dealt with the election organizers, like KPU. While I took care of the campaign contents with Mr. Herman" (Source: interview with Rahmat Hussein on October 12th 2016).

Team 3 was the core of the campaign team and officially reported to KPU Bandar Lampung. It also consisted of other assisting teams which were not reported officially to KPU as election organizers. The assisting teams were led by several coordinators at various administration levels, namely the coordinator at the sub-district level, the coordinator at the urban village level, and the coordinator at the neighborhood level. The tasks of each coordinator were to prepare the campaign stages and to gather potential voters. For the activities' operational fund, each coordinator at the urban village level was given two million rupiah to provide food and drink for the masses who attended the campaign.

> "There were some coordinators (at the levels of the sub-district, urban village, and neighborhood), but it was true that we could not register them to KPU… because we definitely did not want any traitors from sub-district's coordinator who shared our free daily needs (*sembako*) [to society members]. That's why we avoided it… [coordination] via handphones… this was by phone and face-to-face… The [coordinator's tasks] were to prepare the campaign stages… For instance, from 20 sub-districts, we counted that the snacks for one meeting cost 3,000 rupiah each…then there were also tarps and everything else. It resulted in, for instance, one urban village needing two million rupiah each… For instance, there were seven urban villages in one sub-district, so the coordinators of the sub-district should keep money amounted to 14 million rupiah for that… one campaign spot cost two million rupiah" (Source: interview with Rahmat Hussein on October 12th 2016).

Team 3 was given a weekly operational fund for each member, approximately between IDR 500,000 and IDR 1,000,000. The fund was spent on operational activities in the field, including fuel, communication costs, and meal costs. Meanwhile, the operational fund to gather the masses was given to coordinators at the sub-district level, depending on the number of urban villages in the sub-district. Thus, the amount of operational funds differed for each sub-district. After the mayor's election was concluded, the members of Team 3 were rewarded by Herman HN with prestigious positions as the Experts Staff of Bandar Lampung and they were paid a monthly wage amounting to IDR 7,500,000.

> "Our operational activities approximately cost 500,000 to 1,000,000 rupiah each week… for experts, it is too low… The principal was whenever I want to meet, she/he will met" (Source: interview with Rahmat Hussein on October 12th 2016).

Furthermore, Team 3 also functioned as liaison officers, connecting both internal and external parties. The external parties coordinated with KPUD, Panwaslu and the police at the municipal level, and then they also coordinated with Gakumdu and all other external affairs. For internal communication, they coordinated with the voting booth's observers, campaign team members, and both candidates.

> "If we talk about whether there was another team, [of course] there was. We cannot get 86.6% [votes] only with 3 people. It implies that there was a campaign team…then there were observer teams at the ground level…and we communicated with every level. For observers, at each sub-district, we had 3 observers. At each voting booth, we had 2 observers. For all of those observers, we conducted observer training, cooperating with coalition parties. From the LO team, we worked to establish communication [with all parties]." (interview with Resmen Khadafi on October 21st 2016).

Table 2.
Members of campaign team for Herman HN-Yusuf Kohar

Team 3 (LO)	Operational team	Political party team	Voting booth's observer team
Rahmat Husen (Politics)	Coordinator for sub-district	Combination of six political parties in the coalition	Rahmat Hidayat Association members of Qur'an recitation (all women)
Resmen Khadafi (Legal)	Coordinator for urban village	PDIP, Nasdem, PKS, Gerindra, Demokrat, PKB	Led by Eva Dwiana, the wife of Herman HN
Aryanto Yusuf (Relation with institutions)	Coordinator for neighborhood-level		

Source: processed from the various interview results in 2016

The whole campaign team for the candidate pair, Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar, was structured as in Table 2 above. It is a structure that was drawn up by the authors based on the interview results. Most members of the campaign teams were personal acquaintances of Herman HN. The main team (Team 3), which served as Liaison Officers, were appointed by Herman HN as the mayor incumbent based on personal ties. The three of them had cooperated with Herman HN during his previous tenure as mayor between 2010 and 2015.

All of Team 3's members, Rahmat Husein, Remen Khadafi andAryanto Yusuf, were all Herman HN's inner circle and were given responsibilities as expert staff of Bandar Lampung with a monthly salary of IDR 7,500,000 before they became Liaison Officers. They resigned after being appointed as Liaison Officers, but they returned to their positions after the candidate pair of Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar were officially inaugurated as the elected mayor and vice mayor.

Besides Team 3, the field coordinator team, and the campaign team, there was another team created by Herman HNas the observers for voting booth. The observer teams mostly consisted of housewives. Choosing housewives as the observers was not without reason. Firstly, housewives were considered to be more consistent at keeping track of data in the voting booths. Secondly, they were more critical if there were any peculiarities and irregularities during the vote counting process.

The majority of the housewives in the observer teams belonged to the *Rahmat Hidayat* recitation group, which was led by Eva Dwiana, Herman HN's wife. The observer team was supported and assisted by a team from the political parties' coalition for Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar. The tasks of the political party team were to observe vote acquisitions from the voting booths up to sub-district level. Different from the others, in the working framework of Herman HN's campaign team, observer positions were given to the housewives while the observers from political parties only assisted them. This change of position was acknowledged and approved by the coalition of political parties supporting Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar.

> "The role of political parties at that time…we asked them to take responsibility as a backup… because if these mothers [from recitation group] encountered obstacles in their movements and network to communicate to higher-ups… They were a bit slow and could only focus on their own areas. Political parties' tasks…these 6 parties should escort [election process] from the voting booth… and also from the sub-district level to the KPU. So their tasks were… it was not that we did not involve political parties at the front line, but we tried to rotate [the roles]. In the previous election, political parties were usually at the front line, and then the family team or internal team performed as backups…but they tended to be incapable of protesting [election results]. If we rotate it… family team or internal team perform as observers. They have an official mandate letter. Then the political parties also have official mandates from their own political parties. They all can voice objections if some issues occur in the field, because they have all had power." (Source: interview with Resmen Khadafi on October 21st 2016).

The tasks of the political party as the assisting team for the observer team from *Rahmat Hidayat* were divided based on the electoral districtof each political party supporting the candidate pair of Herman HN-Yusuf Kohar. The division of the working zones for the political parties was also determined by the vote acquisition for each political party in the various sub-districts in Bandar Lampung. Each political party had various supporting teams according to the vote acquisition map in a particular region.

The involvement of the supporting parties is determined by the zones based on vote acquisition and the parties' mass bases in certain regions. P*artai Nasional Demokrat* (Nasdem) obtained campaign zones around Kemiling District, Langkapura District, Tanjung Karang Pusat District, which were all their mass bases. However, on the same day, the campaign team of Nasdem also campaigned in the same sub-district at different hours and were accompanied by another party within the coalition, like PDIP, in the Kemiling sub-district at two o'clock in the afternoon. Next, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Nasdem held a joint campaign with PKS in Tanjung Karang Pusat District.

> "We divided the electoral districts. So there were political parties with a larger share of parliament chairs. For instance, Gerindra had more areas with sub-districts which had more of a population and voting booths. In the case of PKB, for instance, they only gained one chair in the regional house of the representative (HOR), so they only obtained votes in one sub-district based on the election area. We also employed *Majelis Talim Rachmat Hidayat*, and then previously we also had Herman's supporter's posts. Based on those facts, as soon as we obtained the election districts from KPU, we directly organized the schedules and stages. We campaigned. Three of us organized new election areas and then communicated with our contacts at various urban villages" (Source: interview with Resmen Khadafi on October 21st 2016).

During the campaign period for Herman HN and Yusuf Kohar, the campaign expenditure reached one and a half billion rupiah (IDR 1,500,000,000). These funds were relatively cheap, because during the simultaneous regional elections in December 2015, all of the campaigns' operational requirements (such as billboards, banners or pamphlets) had been paid for by KPUD of Bandar Lampung as the election commission. Other campaign properties allowed by the KPUD were limited to the distribution of T-shirts, mugs, and calendars with a unit price no greater than IDR 25,000. Yusuf Kohar also helped by printing 100,000 t-shirts to be distributed to campaign teams, supporters, and community members.

> "I forget about the details, because the bookkeeping was kept by Aryanto. But as far as I recall, it was at the 1.5 billion mark, if I am not mistaken… [cost]. As far as I know, it belonged to Mr. Herman's personal fund. While for Mr. Yusuf… it was in the form of 100,000 t-shirts." (Source: interview with Resmen Khadafi on October 21st 2016).

The operational teams, which consisted of coordinators from the sub-district, urban village, and neighborhood levels, were also occupied by the supporters and personal sympathizers of Herman HN. The observer teams, which consisted of the *Rahmat Hidayat* recitation group, were formed and appointed by Mrs. Eva herself without any interference from Herman HN.

The authority to determine the political party team was the prerogative of the political party chairman. However, because it was only a supporting team, the coordination should be first directed to the three-member team in terms of the campaign's implementation or activities in the field.

Furthermore, according to a public policy observer and the chairperson of the Unila Faculty of Social Science, Department of Education, Dr. Dedi Hermawan, the development programs carried out by Herman HN was only limited to the populist policies and only aimed to portray certain political imagery. Priority programs, such as road construction, free education, free health care, merely aimed to project certain imagery to bind the potential voters in Bandar Lampung. The programs actually required a large amount of APBD funds and led to a budget deficit. Herman's development programs also included socio-religious programs, which were previously discussed as they were eroding municipal government funds, particularly the funds from social assistance posts.

> "During his previous tenure [as a mayor], Herman HN's work was fruitful in terms of eliminating his competitors. His imagery construction was very powerful by using populist policies, though one of the impacts was the budget deficit. The allocated budget was very large, from building a flyover, widening the roads, and then providing education and health care cards. Everything was designed to project a positive image for the second election." (Source: interview with Dedi Hermawan on November 26th 2016).

Herman HN's concern toward his potential voters have been shown by him providing various social aids, namely death compensation, mourning money, financial assistance to the mosque and other religious activities, and also providing aids for society members who hold traditional ceremonies (such as circumcisions or marriage ceremony) by sending flower wreaths, providing drinking water, or even attending the event. All of his aids and attentions have tightly bounded the society members to vote for Herman HN during the mayor's election in 2015.

Conclusion

The clientelism patterns employed by Herman HN to maintain the quantity of political support from voters in Bandar Lampung can be categorized into four programs. It started from the main programs, which became the campaign promises of Herman HN, between his early tenure in 2010 and after winning mayor election of Bandar Lampung in 2015. Four identified patterns encompass the infrastructure development, particularly roads and flyovers within the city limit and extending to the provision of regional health care cards beyond Jokowi's BPJS and KIS, the provision of free education for primary schools, middle schools, and high schools through community development programs and various social and religious aids.

Herman HN's strength was also positioned in his solid supporters who were mobilized by a working team. The working team (Team 3) consisted of Rahmat Husein, Resmen Khadafi, and Aryanto Yusuf. Besides, the *Rahmat Hidayat* recitation group also significantly influenced the number of female voters. It also became a potential vote source, maintaining his victory during the Mayor's Election of Bandar Lampung in 2015.

The victory of the mayor incumbent, Herman HN, in Bandar Lampung's mayor election is considered to be an easy victory, if we assess it based on the various investments that he conducted since his first service as mayor in 2010. Herman HN's victory proves that imagery politics is hugely successful among society members. His victory was made possible because his performance as a mayor was considered successful and convinced the public to vote for him again. His victory was also possible because he formulated many pro-people policies during his previous tenure as mayor.

References

Aspinall E & Sukmajati M (2015) Politik Uang di Indonesia Patronase dan Klientelisme pada Pemilu Legislatif 2014.Yogyakarta: PolGov UGM.

Brannen J (2005) Mixing methods: The entry of qualitative and quantitative approaches into the research process. International Journal of Social Research Methodology 8 (3):173-184.

Creswell JW (2010) Research Design Pendekatan Kualitatif Kuantitatif dan Mixed.Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Geertz C (1960) The Religion of Java. New York: The Free Press.

Harrison R, Papp B, Pal C, Oliver SG, & Delneri D (2007) Plasticity of genetic interactions in metabolic networks of yeast. Proc Natl Acad Sci USA 104 (7):2307-2312.

Hermawan D (2016) [Personal communication 26 November.

Hicken A (2011) Clientelism. Annual Review of Political Science (14):289-310.

Hussein R (2016) [Personal communication] 12 October.

Khadafi R(2016) [Personal communication] 21 October.

Kohar Y (2016) [Personal communication] 12 October.

Mikkelsen B (2001) Metode Penelitian Partisipatoris dan Upaya Pemberdayaan Terjemahan Matheos Nalle. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.

Patton MQ (2006) Metode Evaluasi Kualitatif Terjemahan Budi Puspo Priyadi. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Philipus Ng. & Aini N (2011) Sosiologi dan Politik. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.

Richard B & Ching N (2016) Liem Sioe Liong dan Salim Grup Pilar Bisnis Soeharto.Jakarta: Kompas Gramedia.

Sugiyono (2006) Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D. Bandung: Alfabeta.