



PRIMARY RESEARCH

The victory factors for non-ethnic Malay candidates and primordialism in the 2015-2020 Riau Islands governor election

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Abstract

This scientific paper was conducted to find out how Faktor Kemenangan Caleg Non Etnis Melayu dan Primordialisme pada Pilgub Kepri 2015-2020?. The politics of local ethnic areas is unique, where local leader figures always win in local head choose. The paper applies using an approach by excavation with explanation techniques to answer this research question. The technique used to collect data did the job interview in-depth and did not prosper, and selects the data through purposive sampling technique. The findings show that Malay ethnic voters have an open attitude to accepting other ethnicities and strong Muslims. They have the same characteristics; Islamic identity, daily use of the Malay language, and wearing traditional Malay clothes. The governor-elect has a Malay Islamic name and is considered a "son of the region," which voters strongly consider. The dominant perspectives of the non-Malay ethnic victory are 1) Strong Malay Identity Primordialism, 2) the candidate's emotional closeness to ethnic Malays; 3) Religious symbols in the gubernatorial election such as Islamic names; 4) Members of political parties who do not show field evidence regarding the split-ticket phenomenon, Malay Customary Institutions in Pilkada do not support it, it is only informal, 6) Electability and experience of candidates as potential leaders.

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INTRODUCTION

The 1999 reforms were rolled out, the election of local heads and local deputy heads has been carried out directly, including the local head election. The Pilkada phenomenon that is always interesting to discuss is the election of governors, where since the implementation of local autonomy and the expansion of autonomous regions. Local leaders get a great opportunity to lead their respective regions. In [Muhtadi \(2018\)](#) research, the approach in studying voter behavior is cultural perspectives with religion and ethnicity as the political identity of the voting community ([Kustiawan & Samin, 2020](#)). The study approach to voters' behavior emphasizes character and popularity. To what extent the candidate proves his contribution to advancing the people with the policies carried out. For this reason, this study aims to

see an analysis of the Victory Factors in the 2015-2020 Local Head Election.

Discussion about the issue of Ethnic Identity Politics is increasingly important in a local election, especially when it is associated with the formation of a new local place that accident concurrently with the implementation of direct local head elections. As well as excesses, as well as ethnic conflicts, and so on. As a result, more and more people continue to talk about some changes, which means amendments to Law no. 32/2004 ([Anderson, 2010](#)). Political changes in Indonesia that have developed since 2005 were the start of direct provincial and district/city elections in Indonesia. Since then, more than three decades from authoritarian politics (establishment) to a democratic system with a multi-cultural society. However, this strengthens the spirit of pri-

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mordialism. So it is not surprising that today in Indonesia, new problems arise in social security, politics, and its people's culture. The direct election of local heads in Indonesia began in 2005 simulants with the election of governors, mayors and mayors Regent where candidates for local heads are elected through voting in the parliamentary institution. The province first held direct elections in Kutai Kartanegara Regency, East Kalimantan, in June 2005. The change in the indirect local head election system through the DPR to the direct local head election system shows that ethnic and tribal identity is very dominant, so the spirit of primordialism is getting stronger. With the power of diversity, it can be established and integrated between communities based on moral values (Ammelia & Kosandi, 2019). The general election in Arab, ethnic factor takes effect, and ethnicity is also dominant in India (Kaul, 2013). Ethnic politics emerged simultaneously with the era of local autonomy, where ethnic and religious identity politics became symbols of legitimacy tools in local political battles. Ethnic identity politics that occurred in the Pilkada took into account several things, namely 1) the strength of tribal symbols; 2) voter awareness is considered; 3) depending on the team's success with candidate selection and strategy (Aspinall, 2011). In the Pilkada of West Kalimantan, the strength of ethnic identity led to the victory of the Dayak ethnic candidates, a dominant political identity in West Kalimantan occurred (Christian, 2016). Since the direct election of local heads during the 1999 reform period, ethnic or tribal identity has been very strong and has colored the democratic election process. This is a sociological fact of the people, which states that power sovereignty citizens from the people for the people. Hemay and Munandar (2016) research shows that ethnic identity or ethnic politics has dominated the Bengkulu 2010 local head election. According to Nasution (2014), ethnic identity occurs in Medan with evidence. It also explains that ethnic identity is very dominant in local head elections in Indonesia (Aspinall, 2011). In the 2007 local head election in West Kalimantan, the Dayak ethnic identity politics won the election. In the 2014 elections in Indonesia, the politics of ethnicity and ethnic identity were a factor in the victory of candidates in the local elections in Indonesia.

The factors what is called the endogeneity of religiopolitical identity (Trihartono & Patriadi, 2016). The factors causing the emergence of identity politics has occurred in the post-conflict local election in 2004, where religious and ethnic identities are very influential in gaining votes. In Riau and Bali, there was an intense struggle for religious and ethnic identity (Schulte Nordholt, 2009; Solihah, Djuyandi, & Rahmatunnisa, 2018).

The behavior of ethnic voters in Medan, North Sumatra, in the 2010 direct election shows that ethnic identity affects political participation (Nasution, 2014). This situation is different from what happened to the Malay ethnic identity where there was no ethnic conflict, even though there were many ethnic groups in the form of associations in areas outside the Malay tribe such as the Javanese Ethnicity, Mining Ethnicity, Sulawesi Ethnicity, Batak Ethnicity, Chinese Ethnicity, and others in the Archipelago. Riau. Why did this happen? It can be seen that there are more and more local association groups that appear in Riau Islands. Religious and ethnic identity is a way to prevent divisions between communities. Social relations occur when there are individual relationships, as is the case in the Rao border area, Pasaman. The process of interaction affects changes in religious and cultural identity. In interaction with the Malay ethnic community, all elements participate in building a new identity.

The border people on Penawar Rindu Island imagines nationalism uniquely and differently from people living inland and non-border areas in Indonesia. The image of nationalism in border communities cannot be separated from the historical and cultural ties in which Malays become the raison d'etre of a shared identity that is transnational. This condition is also related to the current socio-cultural and economic-political context of border communities that love Indonesia. On the one hand, on the other hand, also want to be part of Singapore or Malaysia (Dedeas et al., 2016).

Riau Islands has been an area of 425,214,676 km². of that area consists of islands. The number of islands owned by the Riau Islands is 2,408 islands. The island stretches from the Malacca Strait to the South China Sea, adjacent to Asian countries like Singapore, Malaysia, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

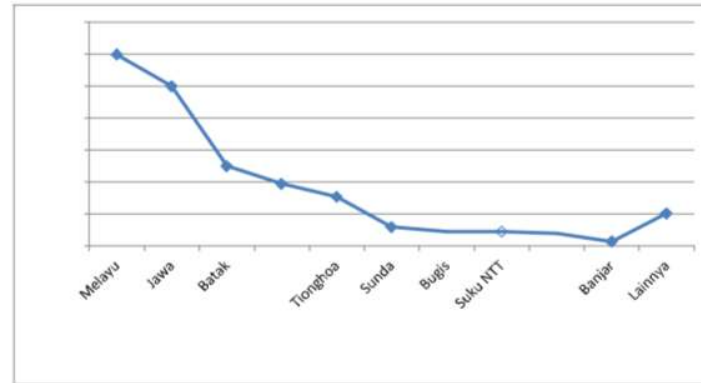


FIGURE 1. Ethnicity (Source: (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015))

Based on Figure 1 above, the ethnic Malay population is 29.97% genealogically (of Malay descent). However, in this study, people with Malay identity have the following characteristics; Islam, Malay language, and Malay customs (indige-

nous voters). So it is said that 78.15% of Malays with Islamic identity are native Malay voters. Based on population distribution by district/city and religion in the Riau Islands in 2019, district/city on the Riau Islands is 70% Muslim.

TABLE 1. Religion

District/City		Religion					
		Islam	Protestant	Catholic	Hindu	Buddha	Other
District							
1.	Karimun	85,06	3,64	0,99	0,01	9,95	0,36
2.	Bintan	87,58	5,00	2,20	0,08	4,81	0,33
3.	Natuna	96,97	1,39	0,35	-	1,13	0,15
4.	Lingga	91,63	1,72	1,10	-	5,49	0,06
5.	Anambas Islands	93,26	2,06	2,29	-	2,38	0,01
City							
1.	Batam	71,73	17,94	3,28	0,06	6,86	0,12
2.	Tanjungpinang	79,58	6,32	1,35	0,02	12,49	0,25
	Riau Island	78,15	11,89	2,43	0,05	7,31	0,18

Source: The office of community and village empowerment, population and civil records of the Riau Islands Province

The local head election in the Riau Islands has been held for four periods, namely 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2020. During the four periods of the governor election, Non-Malay ethnic candidates always won. Then the 2010 local head election, Sani and Soerya Respationo, as a non-Malay ethnic candidate pair, managed to win the governor election (Kompas.com, 2010). Many of the Malay groups questioned, there were various perceptions of the identity of the original Malay ethnic group. However, the attitude of the original Malays did give a good response. Based on the above background, this study wants to see how the victory factors in the 2015-2020 local head election for the Riau Islands found that ethnic Malay voters were open in their thoughts determining factors for the victory of non-Malay candidates on the 2005-2015 local head elections are 1) the strengthening of Malay identity as a symbol; Islam, Malay language, Malay

customs, promote Malay so that it is identified as the son of the Malay region; 2) the elected candidate can mingle with the Malay community; 3) there is support from ethnic minorities such as ethnic Mining, and others as well as political parties. 4) Candidates originally from Malay ethnicity did not win because of their character and did not contribute to the Malays.

Governor election This study explains how far primordialism and Malay ethnic voting behavior in the governor election with the Riau Islands locus discussed is 2015-2020.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical approach used is a voter behavior approach. According to Adman Nurse, the approach to voter behavior in choosing is four types of voters: rational, psychological, active, and passive.

In addition, the Mutakin theory identified primordialism with the grouping of Indonesians based on kinship genealogist (silsilah) (Mutakin, 2004) then, community network is power by using local politics, according to Hapsa and Purnomo (2016).

Based on the theoretical explanation above, it can be understood that political identity does not have to be an ethnic interaction model, but how far the relationship between community identity and democracy is. Primordialisme, Instrumentalism, Constructivism is ethnic identity theories. Constructivism theory is a defensive of the minority group to face the hegemony of the majority group. This social construction process shows the intervention of elite groups in influencing minorities.

Looking at the explanations of the theories above, it can be understood that the theory of ethnic identity has a relationship with the focus of the research problem on factors causing the candidate's victory in the Riau Islands local head election in 2015-2020 seen from the point of view of Malay ethnic voting behavior can be used in an ethnic identity theory approach, namely from the perspective of primordialism, instrumentalism, and constructivism. This model of the inter-ethnic interaction approach in the Riau Islands is a positive case for developing democracy in Indonesia. The results of the previous study described above show that local politics is strengthened due to political identity. Malay people, in this case, become a different object from previous research. Regarding research on ethnic behavior in choosing ethnic Malays and the election of the governor of Riau Islands, two studies can be seen as guidelines to answer the formulation of the research problem. Aspinall (2011) research can be used as a foothold. This study finds that the strengthening of political identity is due to the polarization of political power, institutional factors, traditions of Indonesia. Then other factors, such as mobilizing tribal symbols; be considered by voters.

Second, the research conducted by Hedayat and Munandar (2016) with the title "Identity Politics and the Imaging of Governor Candidates." This study found that there are primordial strong in the 2015 Bengkulu governor election. It forming vote behavior is the figure, contributing positively, advancing the Malays. The Bengkulu Governor Election 2010 contained a political identity in two things that could be improved, not the same.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This scientific writing was carried out with a qualitative approach with descriptive techniques—the research method used by using secondary and primary data. Primary data,

conducted in-depth interviews with informants using it. The key respondents in this study were candidates for the Riau Islands local head elections of 2005, 2010, 2020, namely Ismet Abdullah, Soeryo, Isdiyanto, and Ansar Ahmad. Election Oversight Body (BAWASLU), Party Chair, Malay Customary Institution (LAM), Academics, Observers. Qualitative research data is designed with a simple method. So the results of the examination are predictable and unpredictable. The problem of primordialism and choosing ethnic Malays is related to facts on the ground that ethnic community in the Riau Islands. The research method of this research is focused on. Data collection techniques with the sample are determined based on key informants and supporting informants whose criteria are pointed by the author. The criteria for determining the informants in this study were based on the following order of candidates: the order of the governor and deputy governor candidates; Ismeth Abdullah (Governor of Riau Islands 2005-2010), Soeryo Restipiono (Vice Governor of Riau Islands 2010-2015), Ansar Ahmad (former Regent of Bintan 2005-2010 and 2010-2015, member of the Indonesian House of Representatives for the period 2019-2024), Huzrin Hood (Regent of Riau Islands 2001) -2003, Chairman of the Riau Islands Regency Local House of Representatives 1999-2001, Isdiyanto (Governor of Riau Islands 2019-2020), Abdul Malik (Malay Culture Researcher, Lecturer), Zamzami A Karim (Academic and Political Observer), and Datuk Encik Muhtar Abas, Abdul Manan (Malay figure)), Suriadi (Chairman of the Prosperous Justice Party of Karimun Regency), Sriwati (Member of the Riau Islands KPU for the 2013-2018 period, Chair of the Riau Islands KPU for the 2018-2023 period), Ishak (Chairman of the Lingga Regency Malay Customary Institution), Abusamah (Chairman of the Karimun Regency Malay Customary Institution), Suriadi (General chairman of the Karimun District Prosperous Justice Party), and Datuk Encik Muhtar Abas, Abdul Manan (Malay figure).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Local head election (Pilgub) of Riau Islands from 2005-2020:

A recent study from an article on the analysis of voter behavior in Handy's 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election showed that respondents who considered the implementation of the election are quite JURDIL and quite SATISFIED. Joko Widodo-Basuki won the pair electionTjahaja Purnama; however, they did not reach half the number of voters. Therefore, the selection lasts 2 rounds. For the socialization of the Cagub-Cawagub pair, in the majority and not over-

taken, the Fauzi Bowo-Nachrowi pair reached the top ranking very significantly. But it turns out the success of socialization from various media is not matched by victory in the election.

Since the divide in 2002, there have been four local head

elections in the Riau Islands province, namely in 2005, 2010, 2015, and 2020. In the 2005 local elections, the Riau Islands governor election was won by candidates number two. Results of the 2005 election as KPU recapitulation are as follows:

TABLE 2. The Recapitulation of General Election Commissions (KPU) in Governor Election of Riau Islands Province in 2005

No	Candidate Pair Nama	Total Votes	% Voice
1	Rizal Zein dan Firman Bisowarno	27.522	5,40
2	Ismeth Abdullah and H. Muhammad Sani	309.119	60,66
3	H. Nat Kadir and Soeryo Respationo	172.923	33,94
	Total	509.564	100

The next Riau Islands local head election was in 2010,

where the pairs of candidates are below.

TABLE 3. The Recapitulation of General Election Commissions (KPU) in Governor Election of Riau Islands Province in 2010

No	Candidate Pair Nama	Total Votes	% Voice
1	H. Nyat Kadir and H. Zulbahri	195.847	31,49
2	H. Muhammad Sani and Soeryo Respationo	231.951	37,30
3	Hj. Aida Zulaikha Ismeth and Eddy Wijaya	194.049	31,21
	Total	621.847	100

The following is the result of the recapitulation of the 2010 gubernatorial election votes. The winners were Muham-

mad Sani and Soeryo. Then the results of the 2015 local head election recapitulation.

TABLE 4. The Recapitulation of General Election Commissions (KPU) in Governor Election of Riau Islands Province in 2015

No	Candidate Pair Name	Total Votes	% Voice
1	H. Muhammad Sani and Nurdin Basirun	347.515	53.20
2	Soeryo Respationo and Ansar Ahmad	305.688	46.80
	Total	653.203	100

In 2015 lection, non-Malay ethnic pairs, M Sani (Javanese ethnicity) and Nurdin Basirun (Javanese ethnicity), managed to win the Riau Islands governor election against Soeryo (Javanese ethnicity) paired with Ansar (Sunda-Arab ethnicity). The can be seen in Table 4.

In the fourth governor election in 2020, candidate pair 1 Ansar Ahmad (ethnic Sunda-Arab) and Marlin Agustina (ethnic Malay) managed to defeat 2 deputy governors, each candidate pair 2 Isdianto (ethnic Javanese) and Suryani (ethnic Javanese) Javanese ethnicity) and 3 candidate pairs of Soeryo Restipiono (Javanese ethnicity) and Imam Setiawan (Malay ethnicity).

Based on the analysis of the four times the governor elections have been held in Riau Islands, it can be concluded that the victories of the non-Malay ethnic candidates are actually

of Javanese descent who already consider themselves to be Malays because the candidate pairs from Javanese ethnicity already have symbols of Malay identity, namely Islamic people, language, and has identified as are 'sons of the Malay people.'

The victory of non-Malay ethnic candidates proves that Malays are open to any ethnicity. The people have a Malay identity such as Islam, language, and culture and advance the Malay nation. However, candidates from the original Malay ethnicity (such as Nat Kadir) have not won the governor election because the original ethnic Malay candidates such as Nyat Kadir have not been able to prove leadership that advances Malays. The defeat of ethnic Malay candidates in the governor election can be understood that the mobilization of candidates has not been maximized, and

the team has succeeded in attracting voters' sympathy; as a result, Malay voters are not segmented for ethnic Malay candidates such as Nyat Kadir (former Chairman of LAM Batam). The position of the Malay Customary Institution, which is neutral and impartial, makes the Malays ask who we should choose. LAM itself has no call to side with one

of the ethnic Malay candidates. LAM allows ethnic Malay voters to choose freely without being bound by fatwas, appeals, and so on. In the 2020 presidential election, during the pandemic, the Riau Islands Province Governor Election was held.

TABLE 5. The Recapitulation of General Election Commissions (KPU) in 2020 Governor Election of Riau Islands Province

No	Candidate	Total Votes	% Votes
1	Soeryo Respatiano & Imam Setiawan	183.317	23,74%
2	Isdianto & Suryani	280.160	36,29 %
3	Ansar Ahmad & Marlin Agustina	308.533	39,97%

Recording in the 2020 Riau Islands Governor Election results, the Ansar-Marlin pair won the 2020 Governor Election with 39.97% votes, a slight difference from the Isdianto-Suryani pair 36.29% votes. Thus, the elected Governor of Riau Islands in 2020 with only a difference of 3% votes.

Based on the analysis of the implementation of the 2015-2020 local head election, the authors found primordialism and Malay ethnic voting behavior from 2005 - 2020 still showed non-Malay ethnic candidates with Javanese ethnicity who lived in the Riau Islands already had an Islamic identity, spoke Malay, and had customs. The prospective governor candidates identify themselves as the sons of the Malay region. The study results found that there have been four local elections in the Riau Islands; non-Malay ethnic originating from Javanese ethnicity has always won the governor election. In addition, the potential winners can be increased development in Riau Islands. The role of figures also influences the election of governors during the four local head elections in the Riau Islands. The elected governors (Ismeth (Sunda), Muhammad Sani (Java), Nurdin Basirun (Java), Ansar Ahmad (Sunda-Arabic) were non-Malay candidates. Genealogically, he is not originally from Malay blood, but because he has lived in Malay for a long time, he identifies himself as a Malay; this is Malay ethnic primordialism. It is interesting to examine the phenomenon of the governor candidate's victory in the Riau Islands related to democracy. In many cases, primordialism always distorts democracy. So that regional primordialism becomes exclusive. Even what happened closed other candidates who did not have these primordial elements. The concept of primordialism which is understood mostly in the local political phenomenon in Indonesia, closes other candidates who do not have primordial elements. So that the relationship between primordialism and democracy is not healthy. However,

based on the results of this research in the field, it was found that the Malay ethnic primordialism in the Riau Islands did not distort democracy; in fact, there was a healthy relationship between democracy and the Riau Islands Malay ethnic primordialism.

Based on the results of the research in 2021, it was found that Primordialism and Ethnic Malay Voting Behavior in the 2015-2020 Governor Elections.

Islamic names on candidates-potential votes

Islamic names such as Muhammad Sani, Ismet Abdullah, Ansar Ahmad and others are influential for ethnic Malay voters. Field findings prove that in the 2020 governor election, the incumbent candidate, Isdianto, the younger brother of the late 2nd term governor Muhammad Sani surprisingly narrowly lost only 3% of the votes to the governor candidate Ansar Ahmad. Indian and Ansar Ahmad are Malays, and both have strong supporters among the Malays. He lost to Isdianto because one of the factors is that Isdianto's name is not Islamic names. At the same time, Ansar Ahmad is an Islamic name.

Strong Malay identity primordialism

The primordialism of the Malay ethnicity in question is that those who the Riau Islands should be from the Malays themselves. A person's Malay identity is so strong by showing Islam; the typical Malay showed, the culture and customs held, and Malay music. These are all primordialism and Malay ethnic behavior.

Candidate's easygoing attitude with Malay Identity and Public Opinion

Governor candidates favored by ethnic Malay voters are candidates who have closeness to the community and like to blend in with the Malay language. In 20 years (4 local heads), the voting behavior of ethnic Malays has always

been consistent and always open. However, something is interesting about ethnic Malay voters in the 2020 election year, namely candidates with Islamic names favored by ethnic Malays. The figure carries the Malay symbol by preserving Malay, such as the Penyengat Island Festival, Caring River Festival.

The split-ticket phenomenon in the 2015-2020 governor elections

The split-ticket phenomenon in the 2020 Riau Islands local election occurred. Split-ticket voting is a political phenomenon where voters divide their choices into several elections, such as the legislative and governor elections. In the 2015 Pilkada, Soeryo's voters chose Sani as a candidate for governor. Likewise, in the 2020 Riau Islands Pilkada, Isdianto's younger brother of Muhammad Sani (the Riau Islands Governor in 2010) chose the Ansarmarlin governor candidate in the 2020 Pilkada.

LAM's non-involvement in the governor election

LAM is not involved in determining who will lead the Riau Islands in 2020. However, in the 2015 Riau Islands governor election, there was clear local identity politics. There must be a Malay who leads the Riau Islands.

Candidate's electability and experience as potential votes

Electability is an important instrument to win the governor election. This was done by Ansar, with the experience of leading Bintan 2 for a successful period that succeeded in attracting the hearts of ethnic Malay voters.

DISCUSSION

Malay ethnics voters' preference for names with Islamic nuances

Muhammad Sani's victory over Soeryo in the 2015 governor election and Ansar Ahmad against Isdianto and Soeryo in the 2020 governor election was the factor of the nuanced Islamic name of Muhammad Sani and Ansar Ahmad being so strongly attached so that the behavior of choosing ethnic Malays thought that Sani and Ansar had strong ties with Islamic identity.

Strong Malay identity primordialism

Primordialism and the behavior of choosing ethnic Malays in the 2015 and 2020 governor elections are inherent in the love of Malay customs and culture, so there is a strong desire to develop, preserve, and raise noble Malay culture and customs, as quoted from an interview with Ishak, a former district regent candidate.

"Malay primordialism lies in love for Malay customs, concern for preserving Malay culture" (Interview with Ishak, Chairperson of Lam Lingga Regency, June 11, 2021).

Based on the interview above, it can be concluded that Malay primordialism is attached to the preservation of Malay cultural arts.

According to Datuk Huzrin Hood, Malay primordialism is still strong in the 2020 governor election. The following is an excerpt from an interview with Datuk Huzrin Hood.

"The people of the Riau Archipelago still choose their figures, from the Malay elements themselves, and the existence of primordialism is very strong" (Interview with the head of BP3KR, Datuk Huzrin Hood, June 9, 2021)

Side of Malay ethnic primordialism is in the sons of the local, and the track record of Ansar Ahmad cagub in the past is also good, while Isdianto is not. On the other hand, in the 2015 governor election, purely Malays supported the late Muhammad Sani.

The Malay identity is a joy in Malay music and the Malay community. This is as conveyed by Ishak, the chairman of LAM in Lingga Regency.

"First of all, look at the enjoyment of Malay music, its Malay appearance and then concern for Malay culture. Not only is he a Malay, but he cares. Then speak Malay words, eat Malay specialties. Then what is very important is closeness to the community. Then Islam has also become the identity of Malay itself." (Interview with Isaac, Head of LAM Lingga Regency, June 11, 2021)

it is shown that the Malay identity is so strong below. 1) Likes Malay music, 2) cares about Malay culture, 3) speaks Malay words, 4) eats Malay specialties, 5) closeness to the community, 6) Islam is the identity of Malays.

Candidate's easygoing attitude with Malay identity and public opinion

Another important variable to be discussed is that the 2015 Riau Islands governor election is very strong in identity politics because of the behavior of ethnic Malay voters in dealing with a non-Malay cagub opponent, Soeryo Restipiono. The Malays supported quality figures and blended in with the community, so they were identified as Malays or 'sons of the region,' namely Muhammad Sani. The 2015 governor election is a very dichotomy of Malay and non-Malay. Based on the findings in the field that the Malay primordialism that existed in the Ansar candidate in the 2020 gubernatorial election managed to win because Ansar identified himself as a Malay native and proved successful in leading the Malays (had been the regent of Bintan for two terms). Meanwhile, the other candidate, Isdianto, is also a Malay

native and cannot prove that he is a leader in advancing Malays, so the difference in votes is only 3%. Both cagub are Malays. This seems to have been revealed in an interview with Suriadi, Chairman of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) of Karimun Regency, who is also the Head of the INSANE Success Team, a supporter of Isdianto-Suryani in the 2020 election.

"If I saw yesterday that no one was involved in identity politics. In 2015, it was clear that there were Malay identity politics. Because in 2020, Mr. Ansar and Mr. Isdiyanto themselves are Malay, so the primordialism of ethnicity and identity politics is not very visible. But what I see is the popularity and electability of the figures themselves and the acceptance by the community itself." (Interview with Suriadi, Head of PKS Kab. Karimun, Former head of INSANE Success Team Isdianto-Suryani, July 5, 2021).

The voter behavior of Malay ethnic in the Riau Islands has an open nature. Based on the findings in the field with the results of the interview above, it shows that the candidate elected to become governor is a loyal person and has special attention to the Malay community. Especially in the case in Karimun Regency, the behavior of choosing ethnic Malays sees candidates from their electability, popularity, image, and achievements.

The split-ticket phenomenon in the 2015 & 2020 Riau Islands local head elections

In the 2020 governor election, the candidate pair Ansar Ahmad-Marlin Agustina won the Riau Islands governor election against Isdianto-Suryani and the candidate pair Soeryo Restipiono-Imam Setiawan. The factors that led to Ansar-Marlin's victory were, firstly, the quality of Ansar's leadership, which had proven successful in building the district of Bintan when Ansar served two terms as regent of Bintan. Second, the victory of the Ansar and Marlin candidate pairs is that the Ansar-Marlin candidate's success team is very solid. This is due to the experience of Rudi, the husband of the deputy governor candidates Marlin and Ansar, experience in Golkar and former regents. Second, the victory of the Ansar and Marlin candidate pairs is that the Ansar-Marlin candidate's success team is very solid. This is due to the experience of Rudi, the husband of the deputy governor candidates Marlin and Ansar, experience in Golkar and former regents. The third factor is that the funding for the Ansar-Marlin candidate pair is very strong has experienced cadres.

In the defeated the pair Soeryo Respationo - Ansar Ahmad. Failure factor of Soeryo-Ansar candidate pair in the 2015 governor election was split-ticket by PDI-P voters. Many

ethnic Malay who supported Soeryo and Ansar turned to the candidate pair Sani-Nurdin in the 2015 local elections. In the 2020 governor election, Ansar-Marlin's victory was more on the programs and issues raised by Ansar-Marlin. Proof of the quality of Ansar figures who advance Malay. Likewise, Gerindra voters previously chose Soeryo in the 2015 local elections but chose Ansar-Marlin in the 2020 governor election. On the other hand, PDIP and PKS voters chose Ansar. This means that Ansar's success team is solid and vigorously campaigning.

LAM's non-involvement in the governor election

The criteria for Malay leaders, according to LAM, are like an interview with Raja Alhafis.

"The criteria for a leader are leaders who understand the customs and culture of the Malay people, then never violate the provisions of Malay customs, because Malays start from birth to become children to adults and until they become a leader. Malay provisions, meaning that there are provisions that have been outlined, such as, of course, people who know, people who have religion, because Malay and Islam are identical. The ancients, non-Muslims, if they want to convert to Islam, will not say they want to convert to Islam but say that they converted to Malay, so Islam and Malay are one. As it is said, "custom is based on Syariah. Syariah is based on the book of Allah". Islam with Malays, with the sunnahs of the apostles, have merged, and there will be no other choice but the Malays and then the Muslims. We also think that Muslims are part of the Malays." (Interview with Raja Al Hafis, General Secretary of LAM Riau Islands, 17 June 2021)

LAM's involvement in the governor election lies in moral support by providing criteria and nurturing other tribes regarding Malay leadership. Malays are one, so the Malays are people who have religion and knowledge. "customs are based on syarak, syarak is based on the book of Allah." Islam with Malays, with the sunnahs of the apostles, have merged, and there will be no other choice but the Malays.

Candidate's electability and experience as a potential leader

Malay primordialism exists in a person's Islamic figure, a very influential aspect, namely 1) aspects of leadership experience, 2) figures accepted by society. This is based on an interview with Zamzami A Karim said as follows.

"My conclusion is that from the 2014-2019 Pilkada experience and we see the current 2019 results, it turns out that it is not only a primordial aspect but an aspect of leadership experience, a figure who can be accepted by the community

as a supporting factor, increasing the electability level. (Interview with ZamZami A Karim, academic, 30 June 2021). Based on the interviews above, we can conclude that electability is not only primordialism but also leadership experience. Leadership experience is an important factor to influence because the figure or character of a Malay is very strong to become a policymaker in local government.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research results above, the authors conclude that victory factors for non-ethnic Malay candidates and primordialism in the 2015-2020 Riau Islands governor election found Malay ethnic primordialism in choosing a governor was very strong. The factor that determined the victory of Muhammad Sani-Nurdin (2015 election) and Ansar-Marlin figure (2020 election) was because Muhammad Sani and Ansar Ahmad had an Islamic background and were devout Muslims. The primordialism and voting behavior of ethnic Malays is more open than the Riau Malays or other Malays in Indonesia. Then the character factor that mingles with the Malay community also determines the victory

of the governor candidate. Finally, of the many factors that determine the victory of the Riau Islands governor election 2015-2020 is the Islamic factor of the governor candidate who is obedient and attaches the name of Islam to the Riau Islands governor candidate.

It is interesting to examine the phenomenon of the governor candidate's victory in the Riau Islands related to democracy. In many cases, primordialism always distorts democracy. Based on the results of this research in the field, it was found that the Malay ethnic primordialism in the Riau Islands did not distort democracy; in fact, there was a healthy relationship between democracy and the Riau Islands Malay ethnic primordialism.

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