

Elections and Potential Conflict in South Sulawesi

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ABSTRACT

One objective of the state is to create stability and prosperity for its people. To achieve this objective requires leader who have the capacity and integrity to accomplish the state welfare. In electoral context, one of the goals of the election is to elect a qualified leader, but the goals of fair election precisely have their own contrains, particularly conflict potentials that often occur in every election in Indonesia. In South Sulawesi, in particular, the conflict potential during the election frequently occurs in communities, which leads to friction at the elite level, so that the goals of peaceful and fair election are often far from the objectives of the public election laws.

Keywords: *Conflict potentials, Public election, South Sulawesi*

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the potential for conflict in the context of elections, problems This concerns the nation's electoral system, especially local elections. Appearance of the Act No. 32 of 2004 as the basis for the birth of Direct election in various regions in Indonesia, turned out to raise a series of conflicts in its implementation, it is comparable reversed with the aim of the direct election system which aims to give birth to leaders higher quality areas (Amirudin and Bisri, 2006:12). The conflicts that arise tends to culminate in a series of anarchist actions by certain elite supporters. It is If not handled seriously it is feared that it will lead to the problem of national disintegration and also become a paradox for this nation in carrying out political agendas at the level local (Harmes, 2020).

As happened in the political conception of fair justice in Democracy is the ideal of a society that is expected to be well organized free from the plurality of facts about comprehensive doctrines. Rawls said, "in a well-ordered society the political conception is affirmed by what we refer to reasonable offer lapping consensus". Any political conception

whatever is seen as useful publicly must always be reasonable, even though the conceptions are different and even contradictory because they come from doctrines different comprehensive. This is part of the fact of pluralism (Alaydrus et al., 2022).

Citizens of a democratic society must face and accept all of this became part of his life. Opposition between political conceptions about fair justice as the basis of a well-ordered society with doctrine comprehensive (religious teachings, philosophical views, and moral testament) requires every citizen the state to be wise in choosing and prioritizing fair justice above everything else. This must be taken through a long process. Agreement and mutual Understanding as a consensus is not easy to achieve. Everything went through offerlapping consensus that is well articulated and highly systematic. Fundamental concepts, principles and various political virtues should be seen as necessary basic assumptions considered (Andriyani et al., 2022).

According to (Frère, 2011), fair justice has the following three important aspects. First, requirements relating to justice are limited by the basic structure of society. Second, acceptance of justice is not based on a comprehensive view is particular. Third, the basic ideas about justice are familiar and come from public political culture. Rawls continues to believe that in a democratic society, facts regarding reasonable pluralism and offerlapping consensus remains a permanent condition. This is unavoidable. In fact, he emphasized pluralism as the main reality and most important in relation to all considerations relating to justice fair.

The essence of democracy in principle lies in the implementation of people's sovereignty, where the people hold full sovereignty, through elections the people are sovereign and power to determine future leaders. General elections or elections including direct elections for regional heads and deputy regional heads post-conflict local elections are an arena for channeling the political aspirations of local people to elect leaders in their area who have good and honest personal integrity, so that the government can running smoothly. General elections (elections) are one of the parameters for a country that carry out democratic principles. In holding elections, a country democracy like Indonesia, will hold elections for two times, the first is to elect members of the legislature who will sit as representatives of the people in parliament, and second is to elect a President and Vice President who sit as executives of this kind also applies to the regional level, namely by electing regional heads who include governor/deputy governor election, regent/deputy regent election, and election Mayor/Deputy Mayor (Sandi & ., 2020).

Conflicts often arise in the life of people who have different strengths balanced. If a society is sociologically inhabited by different residents religion and tribe or ethnicity, then these differences have the potential to trigger conflicts and violence. Sometimes conflicting parties often highlight interests personal and group; that high concern for own interests and low concern for other interests, often leads to disharmony social, economic, and political. In this context, religion and ethnicity are not the main sources in conflict, maybe

even just a tool for conflict, but the main source is issues of injustice, poverty, and well-being (Saleh Ali, 2021).

Conflict often occurs in the process of interaction between individuals, individuals with groups, as well as groups with groups, each of which is caused by differences both in the background of interaction, ability to interact, and purpose of interaction. No except that conflicts also occur in Indonesian people who have backgrounds different political, ethnic, and religious differences. From this diverse background, the pattern of conflict in Indonesia is also diverse (HIPOLAO, 2023).

Post-election conflicts that lead to acts of violence that lead to riots seen in the post-election riots for the regent in Tuban Regency, East Java in 2006. The riot in Tuban resulted in the destruction of a number of government and private facilities burned due to mass action. Previously there was a legal polemic which also had an impact on the action mass related to the results of the Depok City Mayoral Election. In the context of the governor election, problems and conflicts after direct regional head elections also cannot be resolved avoided. This can be seen in the election for governor (Pilgub) of North Maluku which ended in conflict and persistent legal issues. The same condition occurred after the Governor Election South Sulawesi in 2009 which made the condition of the province both in the security and security sectors political stability heats up. mass burn. This was triggered by mass suspicion of the election organizers not open to the public in vote counting (Kriesi, 2012).

In a pluralistic society where the population consists of various tribes, races, religions, groups and class, the problem of integrating these groups is complicated problem. In the life of the nation and state, there is no pluralistic scheme rarely becomes a potential for conflict in society, it is also possible for conflict to occur in the simultaneous local elections in South Sulawesi later. Potential conflicts can usually easily grow and develop through primordial aspects, such as ethnicity, religion or culture. In a society condition plural, the potential for conflict in the simultaneous local elections will be interesting for scrutinized. This is because potential conflicts originating from primordial aspects tend to be difficult to resolve removed from the diversity of social conditions in South Sulawesi.

METHOD

This research was conducted to determine the potential for conflict in local elections Rawls's theory of social division by looking at social divisions in elections. The author uses qualitative research methods and carried out in Makassar, using descriptive analysis techniques (Lo et al., 2020). There are two sources of data in this study, namely primary sources and secondary sources. These data are needed to obtain information that is relevant to the research objectives. Data collection techniques used are interviews, observation and documentation. Data analysis techniques performed after the data was collected were data reduction, data display, and conclusion/verification. This study uses

competency variables based on a theory which reveals that social divisions will greatly affect elections

DISCUSSION

The theory of social divisions is a concept used in sociology and political science to explore how society is divided into groups. Social division according to Lipset and Rokkan, for social groupings which will be referred to as social divisions, must fulfill three conditions. First, there must be divisions in society based on factors particular demographic or socioeconomic. Examples of such factors are class, occupation, ethnic and religious groups. This characteristic is to separate them from the members other societies. Second, people on one side of the social divide must realize that characteristics bond them together, and they must show a willingness to act to promote the interests associated with their social identity.

With the existence of a different social base in society it is possible to become one of the factors causing the conflict when it was made an issue by the elite winning team to gain votes. Because if this social division is at an extreme point, it can lead to major social conflicts. First, on a traditional basis consisting of ethnic, cultural, religious and regional elements. Ethnic includes all aspects of culture. For example, in South Sulawesi there are various ethnicities, there are Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, Chinese and others. Ethnic, cultural and religious diversity has become an issue interesting in the election. Religion itself is considered not to be a big potential in triggering the occurrence post-conflict local election conflict so far. Territorial issues also sometimes arise as a serious issue packed by candidates and teams to attract the masses, the division that occurs on the basis This tradition involves the masses with a fairly high degree of militancy, hence the strong ties formed tends to have an emotional bond that exists between the masses and the political elite Alone.

This happens because of the emotional bond that occurs because of the bond kinship between groups, ethnicities, or certain layers of society and the candidate who wants it he chose. With a strong emotional bond, the tendency to defend the candidate the mayor chosen will be greater, meaning the level of militancy of the supporting masses will be big. So that it has the potential to cause conflict in the simultaneous post-conflict local elections in South Sulawesi.

Apart from the traditional basis, modern patterns have also emerged such as upscale division, whether the middle and lower classes are present in South Sulawesi. What is meant by Modern social divisions are divisions that follow the pattern of a modern society divided industrial because of the ownership of property and the division of labor. Social divisions on a traditional basis are grouped into groups with high levels of militancy while social divisions on a modern voter basis grouped into sections with a low level of militancy.

Patterns of Political Relations

The pattern of political relations formed between the elite and the masses has also become very different interesting that there are three political relationships that candidates can build with the voter. Each of these types of political relations is unique in its own way as well has the potential to become a conflict trigger starting from the lowest level to the highest level the tallest.

a. Sociological Relations

In making an approach with the masses, the candidates or political parties that fighting in elections has a tendency to build strong relationships on a mass basis. The basis for the formation of these political relations also varies. There are candidates who tend to build political relations with their constituents based on a social basis exists by exploiting sociological relations, such as kinship, ethnicity, groups, friendships, communities, regionalism and so on. Relationships formed with this sociological basis tend to give birth to relationships strong politics. This is due to strong social bonds in families, communities, groups, ethnicity, and others are transferred into political relations. This political relationship is based on the character of the bond that is emotional so that when this strong bond is utilized for mobilize the masses, then the mobilized masses tend to be militant. The high degree of militancy in this relationship results from a strong emotional connection, and this has great potential to transform into radicalism if directed or provoked to negative things. In this case, this political relationship could be used to encourage the masses to carry out anarchic acts, such as vandalism, assault, and so on.

In the election context it is often found that several candidates build relationships politics by utilizing kinship ties, communities or existing community groups. In addition, the issues that are used are mostly issues that are sociological in nature. So this can encourage people to interpret the relationship that the candidate tries to construct sociologically. This of course will encourage the formation political relations based on emotional ties that take the basis of community, certain groups, layers of society or ethnicity. If this is allowed, then the candidates later it will have many militant supporters. So it's very potential develop into radical masses.

b. Psychological Relations

In this approach, candidates approach the community based on patterns of strong emotional ties, for example approaching individuals based on similarities craze, or sometimes candidates or parties coin the term familiar many people like and then it slowly stuck as an identity new, for example the term *punggawa* which was popularized by the candidate pair for governor of Sulawesi South Ichsan Yasin Limpo and Andi Mudzakkar. The term *punggawa* became everyday language and then stuck in the minds of the people and did not rule out later affect the choice. Another thing that usually influences people's choices is the candidate's personality factor who have charisma, for example the figure of Qahhar Mudzakkar in South Sulawesi is still has a big influence for some people so that when his son Aziz Qahhar nominate himself, his presence is very calculated to get great

support, it is evident that for that reason Nurdin Halid chose Aziz Qahhar to accompany him to run for the presidency South Sulawesi Governor Election.

c. Rational Relations.

In rational relations, the masses tend to choose candidates who offer a vision mission that can convince them of the representation of desires and all forms solving social problems faced by the candidates they support. This approach emphasizes other variables that determine or determine in affect political relations. There are situational factors that come into play affect one's political relationships. That way the voters are not only passive but also active and not only bound by sociological and psychological characteristics, but also free to act. Situational factors can be in the form of political issues or candidates nominated. Thus explanations of existing political relations are not necessary permanent, such as psychological characteristics and party identification, but vary accordingly with certain times and political events. In this way, political issues become important considerations. Voters will determine his choice based on his assessment of political issues and candidates who are filed. That is, voters can make their choices based on rational considerations, and political relations are not only determined by characteristic factors social and party identification.

The emotional bond that is built can also affect the level of support militancy crowd against the mayoral candidate. In this case we can take an example from the aspect political relations built on the basis of a sociological approach and a psychological approach. When viewed from other aspects, namely from the pattern of political relations through a rational approach, then the pattern of relationships that are established is a relationship based on that approach acceptable by reason and can be studied scientifically. Through this approach candidates are prosecuted to be able to convince the public through a realistic vision and mission. In this approach degrees Community militancy is low because people prioritize ideas rather than emotional closeness.

Voter Characteristics

1. Die Hard Supporter

This Die Hard Supporter group of voters in other terms is also known as the term True Believers, which means those who are willing to sacrifice both morally and material things, even willing to die for his beliefs. According to data found in the field, groups This is the biggest contributor to the conflict. Because they are very radical towards a choice, a simple example is like a football supporter. What are the forms of radicalism supporters in this Die Hard Supporter group,

2. Useful Idiots

This group is those who have no political interests but they are easy on take advantage because they are pragmatic people. Sometimes there are energies payments that are deliberately paid to join the campaign for example by being given clothes t-shirts,

given money, and sometimes because they don't know and don't have coordination which is good and the thing that can trigger the emergence of friction because of this group tend to be easy to mobilize. Political relations based on emotional ties will lead the masses to high degree of militancy. if the masses are mobilized in a negative direction the tendency to Being radical can occur and conflict is unavoidable.

3. Core Supporters

This group is people who do have political interests, are affiliated in certain political parties, and this group are those who know the conditions occurs within the party, for example those who are the winning team or the people in the party. Supporters belonging to the Core Supporter group are those who have political relations because of institutional or organizational ties. Supporters those who are members of the Core Supporter group tend to choose candidates because of their vision the same mission or goal as the candidate he or she supports by society. Such a bond these tend to choose partners for certain reasons, for example for reasons of similarity in vision and missions with the candidates it supports. The reason given is because existence of psychological ties and tendencies to be mobilized in a small negative direction, so that there is also little possibility of leading to conflict in the post-conflict local election.

4. Well-wishers

This group is those who only choose based on the information they have accept. People who are in this group are those who have no ties to any organization, any political party, has no emotional and organizational ties to existing candidates. This group only reacts based on the rationalization of what offered by the candidate and his success team. These four types of community groups form the supporting structure candidates who will contest the election. If the group is in the zone with the higher the level of militancy the greater its utilization in political activities in this case Simultaneous election later, this is prone to trigger a greater potential for conflict. This because people in the Die Hard Supporter and Usefull Idiot groups are militant people, when they are mobilized in regional elections, they can trigger conflict in the election. In contrast to the voter group with a low militancy level, namely Core Supporters and Sympathizers, in this group the electorate is more inclined to level rational voters so that in this group of voters the level of militancy is low so when they are mobilized for various political activities, they tend not to be radical.

The State's Role in election Conflict Resolution.

Implementation of Law no. 32 of 2004 in guarding peaceful, honest and fair local elections in various regions in South Sulawesi, pay serious attention that the state is not fully make regulations regarding rules that can prevent the implementation of election simultaneously from various kinds of conflicts of interest. Various kinds of rules are made outside formal rules before the election implementation process takes place, is one of the indicators elite distrust of existing rules to minimize the occurrence of conflict in the area

raised by the election. However, in essence it will raise another potential conflict, where the agreement that has been made precisely distorts formal rules (Zurnetti & Muliati, 2022).

This tendency actually makes the position of the State seem not empowered in acting as supervisors and executors, to act as conflict resolution happens. Election conflicts that occur have an impact on national disintegration. Making the goal of democracy to create many leaders who integrity (a democracy of leaders) in the regions is not proven. Even often conflict what happened could create fear of the direct election system itself, the goal. The expected changes did not materialize. This is if not managed and addressed well, the problems that often occur in post-conflict local elections are feared to hinder democratization agenda as well as adding new problems in the local political order in Indonesia. The occurrence of various kinds of conflicts in the regions in post-conflict local elections does not mean that they do not have a solution. Every problem has a solution, every conflict has a solution, and every crisis contains opportunities (Yudhoyono in Djalal, 2008: 18), thus The state needs to see opportunities in guaranteeing peace in the post-conflict local election implementation.

The country's foresight sees opportunities and chooses conflict resolution strategies that can be used, will determine the effectiveness of the selected policy in influencing settlement conflict that is expected to take place peacefully. Thus the State must be strong, The state has an important role in carrying out conflict resolution to ensure order and the stability of society (Anderson in Kaho and Haryanto, Tahun: 8-9), because In the conflict perspective, the state has a position and authority in making decisions and carry out decisions legally as a conflict resolution.

The state also has authority to regulate and society must submit and obey the State. The state has a very important role in formulating and producing conflict resolution policies in a participatory, comprehensive, and non-discriminatory manner. Failure the country in implementing local elections and managing conflicts that occur, it will affect the quality of election and affect the social life of society, and impact on the sustainability of local politics. The role of the state in viewing opportunities and choosing the right settlement strategy, is a necessary solution attention to create peace, behind the important position of the state as a settlement election conflicts that occurred in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

If viewed from the aspect of social division in Sulawesi, namely from the traditional basis and modern, the authors conclude that it has the most potential to cause conflict in the regional elections simultaneously later is the mass of supporters from the traditional base. This is because, bond stronger emotional ties, making it easier to mobilize. of the three patterns political relations that the authors have explained, the authors conclude that the pattern of potential to cause post-conflict local election conflict is the pattern of

sociological and psychological relations. Pattern Sociological relations have the most potential to cause conflict. Because, the relationship is formed tends to give rise to strong political ties. This is due to strong social bonds within families, communities, groups, ethnicities, and others are transferred into emotional ones so when this strong bond is used to mobilize the masses to become militant.

Voter character is a factor that has the potential to cause post-conflict local election conflict is a group belonging to a high level of militancy, namely the Die Hard group Supporters and usefull idiots. These two groups became the biggest source of conflict. Mainly from the Die Hard Supporters group. Because, this group tends to be a group radical and can be used to encourage the masses to take actions anarchy, such as destruction, assault, and so forth Institutional factors such as election organizers can be a source of conflict in post-conflict local elections when there is no transparency of information to the public. Public it is impossible to commit acts of violence if what one wants to know can be obtained. as well as the Security Officers as an agency tasked with securing the course of the election, the security forces, in this case the police on duty in the field, must responsive to the situations and conditions that occur, so that if there is a conflict then the conflict can be minimized and not experience escalation of conflict.

The internal conflict that occurred in this political party started during the selection process candidate, in this case at the time of determining the serial number of the candidate. There was an internal conflict in political party if it is not immediately resolved in the party's internal then it will give a big influence on the occurrence of conflicts that led to violence perpetrated by the supporters of each candidate.

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