

Involution Politics (Study of the United Development Party (PPP) on Electoral Legislative Reform Era in South Sulawesi)

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Abstract: This study uses constructivism with a qualitative approach, namely to produce descriptive data on the spoken word and the observed behaviour of political actors who fought in the realm of PPP South. Strategy this research is a case study focusing on hermeneutics. The results showed; Konstestasi (internal conflict) PPP remains strong internal conflicts among political parties manifested into elements of the PPP 1973; NU, Parmusi, PSII and Perti. Reform Era internal Konstestasi (internal conflict), switch from elements of ideological cadres and cadres to convert to Islam. On the external side, PPP Konstestasi (internal conflict) confronted with competition among fellow political parties that participated in the public elections. PPP is no longer the only Islamic party but also contesting against opponents that also Islamic political parties such as PKB, PBB, PNUI. In addition, there is a political party with Islamic communities as its base such as PAN and PKB. Other political rival PPP in politics is a political party with ideology and nationalist and christian base. Political actor with a political habitus strength in him, plus the ability to accumulate capital strength in Bourdie concept, ie., social capital, economic capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital and went to fight in the realm of electoral politics as they are the winner of the political competition. The process of creating habitus actor there who go through the process of socialization in the family environment, play and organizing environment at school and processed in the party's internal politics. Konstestasi (Internal contest conflict) internal fellow faction members, less prominent because of the faction members must exhibit their habitus strength with the accumulation of capital they have, to make the debate and discussion in the meetings of the commission, the committee or plenary can accept the proposal, suggestions and ideas of PPP then be a joint decision with the Parliament who is the whole faction in the parliament of South Sulawesi.

Key words: Political, involution, kontestasi politics, habitus, the realm capital, political parties

INTRODUCTION

During the last four times election in the reform era, began from the 1999 legislative election, 2004, 2009 and 2014. Seats acquisition in the South Sulawesi Provincial, ranges between 5-7 seats. If calculated and compared to the numbers of voters in South Sulawesi is a majority of Islam, then PPP only able to rake in votes under 10%. This political reality is a kind of dilemma for the PPP's elite in South Sulawesi, inability to achieve more significant voice in the midst of the community in South Sulawesi. The 1999 elections the PPP grabbed 6 of 75 seats. About 2004 election, obtained 7 seats of 75 seats. Election 2009, only 5 reduced 2 seats from the original 7. The 2014 elections, returning 7 seats, out of a total of 85 seats.

Sociologically, populations of South Sulawesi according the 2010 population census, the number reached 8.034.776. Of these the majority are Muslim with a population of 7.200.938 people. Then followed the

Protestant Christians (6.12.751); Catholic (124.255); The Hindu (58.393); Budha (19867) and Kong Hu Chu (367). Since merged, the PPP has supported by Islamic based parties such as Parmusi, the NU and the PSII, Perti. Supposedly as Islamic ideology-based party that being carried, PP should have the support and sympathy from the majority of the population in South Sulawesi with the majority of adherents of Islam. In reality it shows four times election during the reform era, the seats earned no <10%.

The political calculation refers to sociological condition voters in the majority Muslim South Sulawesi, PPP should pass through the acquisition of sound above 50% but the fact during four times the legislative elections, votes obtained under 10%. The lack of voice acquisition sound interesting to be reviewed in order to seek the answer to problems that are always enclose the PPP. The dilemma experienced by the PPP's is political involution, between the party with Islamic identity and

ideology so basically, when confronted with a legislative election in South Sulawesi with majority Islamic voters, PPP in four times elections, not able to grab the support from the majority.

The PPP's political machine of post Orde Baru showed, it not running to its full potential. Such a party function, socialization, participation, recruitment and aggregation, cadre recruitment should always be present in the process of the dynamics of the party's ongoing process. In fact, not executed to its full potential. Among the trustees and elite, showed lesser concern with the effort of raising and improving the party's competitiveness. Executive board of the party on the regional level, many more are caught in a conflict of interest among their colleague, so, deeply lacking that care and pay devotion in raising the party.

The term involution was first used by Alexander Goldenweiser an anthropologist from America, described the cultural patterns that are no longer growing, due to in depth compaction. The concept of involution is used by Geertz, explaining the circumstances and the agricultural system which experienced the development of compaction, because almost the entire amount population absorbed by the agricultural sector (Geertz, 1983).

Political Involution hit the PPP during the four periods of legislative election, being the interesting study to watch in depth by using the rules and procedure of scientific research from the academic world. The elite party that changed each time the deliberations held territory once five years, unable to raise the party nor won significant more votes to support obtained seats in South Sulawesi provincial legislative.

Removing the PPP from the political involution trap which will be an ongoing continuously process is in need of its own strategy. The political patronage that the stronger among the people in rural areas especially in South Sulawesi then, PPP in cadre recruitment and party officials need to find patron who had the capital and a strong social roots in a society. Associated with this study, the concept of the thought of Pierre Bourdieu i.e., habitus, capital and field more accurately to analyse the problems that trap the PPP for the span of 20 year. Habitus in the concept of Bourdieu is a system of disposition which refers to the basic attitude that became a reference in determining the individual's attitude when dealing with other people and the environment (Ritzer, 2012).

The concept of habitus is inseparable from the realm of struggle (champ). These two concepts are very fundamental because they presupposes is two-way mutual relationship. Bourdieu further looked at "arena" as a relational rather than structurally. Arena is a network of

the relation between objectives position in it, occupying the position could be the actors or institutions and they have been hampered by the structure of the domain. Bourdieu saw arena, according to his definition as an arena of battle and the struggle (Bourdieu, 2011).

The term of capital used by Bourdieu to map the power relationships in society. Capital in the perspective of Economics, contains several important characteristics. Capital accumulated through investment; capital can be given to another through inheritance; capital can give benefit in accordance with an opportunity that is owned by the owner to operate his placement.

The relationship of habitus, capital and field linked directly and aims to explain the social practices. Characteristics of capital associated with the habitus as the actions guide and classification and the realm as the place of capital operation. While domains are always surrounded by power relations objective is based on the types of capital combined with the habitus.

Based on the background, then the problem limitation can be formulated as follows. How to process internal and external institutional contestation/institutional PPP of South Sulawesi as well as typologies/identification of the quality of political actors running compete in legislative election each time during the era of reform.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study uses a qualitative constructivism approach, the research produces descriptive data on the spoken word and the observed behaviour of political actors who compete in the realm of PPP South Sulawesi. The strategy used in this study is a case study focusing on hermeneutics (DENSIN). The research location in the PPP branch office of South Sulawesi and South Sulawesi Provincial Parliament office where the actor PPP South Sulawesi carry out their duties and functions as a legislator. The informant is a political actor in compete (contestation) in the PPP political scope in the province of south Sulawesi. They are legislators PPP faction Parliament of South Sulawesi. In addition to the members of the council, also from the elite informant or caretaker DPW PPP Sulawesi in each period of stewardship.

The type of data required is the primary and secondary data. Primary data shaped from the party's documents such as the results of the vote during the elections PPP Sulawesi, documents and photos, dynamics and activities of party cadres and actors during the Reformation era. Secondary data were obtained from the agency or agencies that are associated such research, election data from the Provincial Election Commission of South Sulawesi, South Sulawesi Provincial Parliament,

Office of the Governor of South Sulawesi province, media editorial offices *Tribune Timur Makassar*, *Daily Fajar*. The stages of data analysis qualitative research being done with a number of processes, namely to review all the data that has been obtained by reading, studying and understanding; reduce the data by way of abstraction, analyse and summarize the essence of the data compiling data in units or classification; the unit would be categorized while making coding and Checking the validity of the data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Internal contestation and external institutional institutional PPP: Reform Era began in 1998 with four times the election, PPP representative seat in the parliament of South Sulawesi Province as many as 25 people. In the 1999 election, won 6 seats. Elections 2004 were 7 seats, elections in 2009 only 5 seats as well as the 2014 election so 7 seats. PPP gained seats in the South Sulawesi election four times as many as 25 but the legislator who sits on the board just 16 people. This because there are several party cadres elected members of Parliament of South Sulawesi more than once. They are, AbubakarWasahua elected for 3 times, 1999 elections, 2004 elections, elections in 2009, he came from the constituency Luwu, North Luwu, LuwuTimur and Palopo. Other legislators, Natsir Daeng Mappaseng also three times the seat Parliament of South Sulawesi 1999 elections, elections in 2004 and 2009 elections, the constituency of Bone, Soppeng and Wajo.

PPP Sulsellegisators who sit twice that; Ahmad Kelana 1999 elections and the 2004 elections, the constituency of Pangkep. Andi Mariattang in the 2004 elections and the 2009 elections from the constituency of Sinjai, Bulukumba and Selayar. SyahrirLangko also twice on Election 1999 and Election 2004. In the first period, he had entered the second year of being Inter Time Substitute (PAW) with FahrudinSuyuti who moved to the West Sulawesi Provincial Parliament, due to the expansion of the new province of South Sulawesi province. Taufik Zaimuddin sit in the Parliament of South Sulawesi 2009 elections and the 2014 General Election, the constituency of Pangkep, Maros and Barru and Pare Pare. Wahid Ismail sit for two periods in the 1999 election from the constituency pinrang and 2014 elections from the constituency makassar A.

Legislator Parliament of South Sulawesi PPP origin, sitting more of than one period namely; Adnan Tiro 1999 elections from the constituency of Gowa. Mansyur Palewai from the constituency in 1999 election Baso Makassar Hamzah constituency Takalar Fachruddin

Suyuti 2004 election from the constituency of policing the 2004 election Amir Uskara electoral district Takalar Gowa and the 2009 election constituency Soppeng Nurhidayati Andi and Andi Sugiarti Wajo 2014 election Mangun Karim, the constituency Bantaeng and Jeneponto and Selayar in the 2014 election constituency Abd Makkaraus Gowa and Takalar and Hafid Pasiangan 2014 election from the constituency Luwu, North Luwu, Luwu Timur and Palopo in the 2014 election.

Abu Bakar Wasahua was from Maluku, Ambon was born on 8 April 1961. After graduating from high school in Ambon in 1982, moved to Makassar further studies on IAIN Alauddin Makassar dakwah department the Faculty of Islamic Theology. Interest as well as the introduction of Abubakar Wasahua with PPP expressed as follows”

The introduction of political parties since childhood lived in a family environment in Ambon. Parents are Parmusi Party officials at the village level. There is a trustful message conveyed father, to death let us stay in the PPP (Interview, January 8, 2016).

PPP Sulsel 2004 elections, appearing with a new face, the presence of a professor be representative of the people, he is Prof. Dr. Djalaluddin Rahman, MA. Doctoral study of Islamic thought IAIN Jakarta Ciputat 1989. Being the number one person in PPP South Sulawesi in 2003 without any struggle appointed as Chairman of the PPP branch Sulsel 2003-2005 continue the remaining term of H. Arsyad Pana, was replaced in the middle term of his office reign. Djalaluddin rahman admitted his world not of practical politics but since his early days he likes challenge when it comes offering to join in PPP Sulsel then he immediately accepted according to what hestates as following: “practical politics is not my real world. The family is also not a politician because my father is a teacher. I like the little future challenges. When syahrir Langko one of the administrators PPP sulsel invited me to join in 2003 then I received it as a challenge (Interviewed, January 5, 2016)”.

Andi SugiartiMangun Karim is a figure of politicians who bring her own chair, three times to she moves from one political parties to another but her fanatic voter persist despite political parties with different ideologies ranging from the Golkar party, the republican party and now the PPP. Options in the PPP because she wanted to be present and be in the calm party. The following narrative Andi Sugiartias stated the following: “The elections in 2014 PPP because the Republican party was no longer possible due to votes did not pass the KPU selection. It was not my desire to jump from one party to another. In addition, there is a strong confidence that no matter where I am I can reach the maximum support. (Interviewed, January 7, 2016)”.

External contestation PPP in South Sulawesi provincial parliament: Ideologically there are five political forces that fought in the 1999 elections, five political forces that fight; the political power of Islamic parties, the strength of political parties supported by Muslim, the secular nationalist political force, the political forces of socialism democrat, the political power of the christian group (Romli, 2003).

Political Parties participating in the 1999 elections three old parties of the orde Barunamely; Golkar party, PPP, PDI-P and the newcomers party of; PAN, PBB, the Justice party, the Association of Indonesian Independence Elaborator (IPKI), the Unity Party, PKB, PDR, PKP and Unity Party. If traced by its typology, the party and in Parliament representative of South Sulawesi Province islam-based parties that is; PPP, PK and the United Nations. Party with a votes from Islamic based society among them; PAN and PKB. Party with the secular nationalist basis, Golkar, PDIP, IPKI, PKP and PDR.

Referring to the basic theory in the managing party which is the process of institutionalization. This concept in political science popularized by Samuel P. Huntington. He said that institutionalization is the process by which the organization and procedure of obtaining the raw value and stable. The level of institutionalization of any political system can be determined from the ability to adapt, complexity, autonomy and integrity of the organization and ordinances. Likewise, the level of institutional organization can be measured from its ability, its complexity, autonomy and integrity.

Institutionalization contains two aspects namely, internal-external aspects and structural and cultural aspects. The results of the second cross this table produces four cells namely first, the degree of systemic, a party as a result of crossing the internal aspects and structural, secondly, the degree of identity value (value of infusion), a party as a result of crossing the internal aspects and cultural, thirdly, the degree of autonomy, a party in decision-making (decisional autonomy) as a result of intersecting structural aspect with external as well as the fourth, the degree of knowledge or public image (reification), against a political party as the external aspects of the cultural crossbreeding.

The rigors of fighting a PPP in South Sulawesi as spoken by former Deputy DPW PPP in South Sulawesi, Noer Namry Noor as stated below: "PPP harsh internal battle, during the year 2007-2014 four times choose DPW PPP chairman of South Sulawesi, the normal turn of the head of the region once in five years. The fact that the party consolidation did not run optimally (Interview,

January 4, 2015). PPP is born from the merging of four elements of the Islamic party, on a journey later in the day is never lacking of internal conflict very strong pull towards the party. The sides in conflict against each other in promoting the interests of each group. Thus the political reality makes the party ran out of its energy just take care of her internal search for a political consensus among the fighting factions. Overview of internal political battles is spoken by the former Chairman of the South Sulawesi branch of the PPP, Djalaluddin Rahman as follows: "PPP consist of factions so each hard dispute that splits the party internally always present, because among the factions there's always factions that wanted to dominate others. When I became chairman of the region, I always invite them to unite in developing and raising the party (January 5, 2016 interview)".

Thus realizing the political reality of South Sulawesi branch of the PPP Chairman, Muh Aras and spoken as follows: "PPP still exist as an Islamic party, then still have to focus on traditional voters. In the future PPP can no longer rely on traditional voters, because reduced due to old age. Partycadre's leadership training must be continuous at all levels (Interview, December 30, 2016)".

Typology/identification the habitus quality of the political elite competing on legislative elections: Being a winner in the legislative elections in a political fight, required the skills of the political elite, for the masses can arouse his heart and give support in elite contestation during the election. In battle of the political elite from the beginning of this research use academic tools pierre bordieu about social practice theory. The basic idea of social philosophy includes; Habitus, capital and the realm. The third idea is underlying any social praxis of social action of the agents It was later explicit in the formulation of generative theory of Bourdieu: constructive (habitus×capital)+domain practice. It was explained that the formulation in the individual's social action social agents is influenced by three things namely habitus, capital and demands a realm.

Habitus refers to the lifestyle, values and expectations trend of social groups is obtained through the activities and experiences of everyday life. Habitus is the habit of the community attached to one's self in the form of the eternal disposition or the trained capacity and structured to tendency to think, feel and act in manner of determinants then guide them. Habitus grows naturally in communities through social process which is very long, internalized and acculturated in the community which become a habit that is structured by itself.

The ability of the Abu Bakr Wasahua maintaining and caring for the habitus in him allowing successively elected three times for member of Parliament (DPRD) in

South Sulawesi, one factor that gives it opportunity and space to sit on the council was intensive communication process without distinguishing the person such as spoken below; “biologically I was born in Ambon but from the aspect of sociology, I was raised in the province Luwu Raya. That’s why I maintain joint integrity Ummah and given me the opportunity to qualify three periods as councillors” (the interview, January 8, 2016).

Communication with constituents for Andi Sugiarti Mangun Karim, continue to be built with displaying the behaviour of the openness and adjacent as well as always to hear grievances and aspirations of the community. Her close habitus and to know and be known by people of Bantaeng already lived long enough and will remain part of the characters in the weaves of communication and interaction with the community that became her supporters.

The fact such as spoken below. “The closeness with the Bantaeng community and the surrounding, I don’t make it up, because from the beginning worked my way up in politics in the 1980’s I have created and took care of it. Social and political base I get intensive political communications is present in the atmosphere of love and grief” (Interviewed 7 January 2016).

PPP actor strategy fighting in political realm: Domain or field is a place to fight and struggle for political power. This realm as well as the magnetic field that has tremendous appeal because it is a force field as well as a terrain of struggle between individuals and groups. The realm of specific capital being risked for a place believed to be a mainstay in the political process of winning battles from one election to another election. Through that realm, political actors are constantly trying to fight for their position by way of accumulating and monopolizing the various types of capital. The realm can be regarded as a structured space organized by a number of capital and combinations of capital (Haryanto, 2014).

The battleground that is similar to the market, because there are producers and consumers. Producers are those who have some certain capitals that face each other. The stakes located in the accumulation of certain forms of capital that enable to ensure dominance in the field. Capital not only serves as a means but also as a destination. For political actors PPP Sulawesi, the fight in the political arena has proven them elected to be seated in a Parliament of South Sulawesi, taking successful political strategy so that habitus in him coupled with the ability to utilize the accumulated capital owned, that when he came into the realm of the fight he will come out to as the winner. When fighting in the realm of politics, Abubakar Wasahua with habitus strength he owned

multiplied with capital collected, he was finally able to win the fights. During the fight in the political arena, Abubakar rely on most major social capital, visible from a very broad relationship forged with the caretaker of student organizations, student and social organizations. The social capital plus the symbolic capital from the family grove rooted in Larompong and surrounding areas. The family name become strong capital to win the battle. One member of the family of his wife, had been a Regent of Luwu the period 1999-2003, the name is Dr. Kamrul Kasim, SH, MH. The ability to achieve success on a career in the political arena for Andi Sugiarti Mangun Karim is inseparable from the power of habitus which has been built in a long time. Her figure is open, caring and close to the community, do not restrict the movement of interaction with the community so that made the idol and role model.

Habitus strength inherent in Andi Sugiarti Mangun Karim, coupled with a stronger capital accumulation makes him always survive and win the fight when in the realm of politics. Social capital has been built to establish relationships with social and civic organizations. Never be president of AMPI, KNPI, FKPP, Taklim Assembly and Fatayat NU in Bantaeng.

Social capital through institutional networks included is strong enough. Besides that her frequent visit down directly to the people all the time, gave her ample of opportunity to know and be known by society. In addition to social capital, cultural capital, political scientist Unhas alumni, S2 LAN STIA government politics and Unhas other than that he is the biological child of the figures of an elder and had a considerable influence widespread among people of Bantaeng and surroundings, Mangun Karim.

CONCLUSION

In this study, the objectives to be achieved; analyzing the process of internal and external contestation/institutional PPP in South Sulawesi as well as typologies/identification of the quality of political actors running fight in the realm of political elections. Conclusions in this study are as follows:

Political actor contestant in the realm of PPP internal institutions, still fighting elements in the condensed history of fusion of PPP in 1973. Elements of the Islamic political party, namely, the NU, PSII, Perti and Parmusi. The four elements that keep a conflict lasting until the Reformation. PPP initially, contestation only as issue elements. The change of the political system to an era of reform, the people do not have the emotional and historical ties of the element joined. The dynamics

process and political contestation, this new person is termed reverts cadres. On external side, PPP contestation confronted match between fellow political parties which became the participants of the election. PPP is no longer the only Islamist party but faced political party based Islam as PKB, UN, PNUI. In addition, there are political parties with Muslims so the base; PAN and PME. Other political rival PPP in the political scene is a political party with the nationalist base and ideology and Christian.

Members of the PPP Faction in South Sulawesi Parliament passes into legislators is a political actor who won the fight in the realm of politics. The struggle to reach the status of legislators is long, exhausting and full of intrigue. The actors were running with the power of habitus within them, plus the ability of accumulate capital strength in concept Bourdie, i.e., social capital, economic capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital and enter to fight in the realm of electoral politics, then this is the winner of the bout. The process of formation of habitus within themselves is through the process of socialization in the family environment, playground and organisation as well as in the process in the internal politics party. The strength of the habitus is then multiplied with the ability to accumulate capital strength. The accumulation of

capital which is very strong in each actor is social capital and economic capital. Additionally on cultural and symbolic capital also remained the decisive but it's only in some actors only. Internal contestation and external that are not able to grab the majority in numbers obtained in Parliament whenever the election is made the PPP of South Sulawesi are always stuck with a prolonged political involution.

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