Social Movement Of Regional Head Election In Makassar City In 2018

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Abstract

The political phenomenon of the empty column is something that has just happened in the world of Indonesian politics, especially in Makassar City. In general, Social Movements in local and global elections tend to win over one pair of legislative candidates. Different things happened in Makassar City; in fact, the form of the social movement made history in the political world; namely, the empty column won in the democratic party in 2018. This study aims to find the form of the social movement process in the victory of the empty column in the Makassar City election. 2018. This social movement research uses Anthony Giddens' post-positivistic paradigm, operationalized using a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. The results of this study indicate that: 1) the form of community social movements during the election process in Makassar City by forming a social movement from empty column volunteers and communities formed by the village head so that people become volunteers to be ready to win the empty column in the 2018 regional elections in Makassar city. 2) Volunteers for the empty column in the Makassar City election made a program to be able to socialize to the public about the empty column. This movement is without any request from anywhere, and this is purely a movement from the Makassar people who can understand the flow of political dynamics that occur so that the community makes this movement to guard the empty box in the 2018 regional elections. The form of support the community provides in the movement focuses on socializing, making campaign props, and socializing on social media. This is purely a form of a social movement from the volunteers.

Keywords: Social Movement, Empty Column, Election, Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

The local elections in Makassar are very different from the previous elections. In 2018, Makassar City held a democratic party simultaneously. Ten candidate pairs followed the Makassar City Pilkada in 2013, but in 2018, two teams of candidates initially participated, namely Munafri Arifuddin – Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-CICU) and Mr. Mohammad Ramdan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti (Miami). The Appi CICU pair ran as a candidate for mayor through the support of political parties. In contrast, the Danny Pomanto-Indira pair ran through individual or independent routes.

The political atmosphere that occurred in Makassar City was very pronounced. The residents of Makassar deeply felt the social and political dynamics in the regional election process in 2018. Almost every level of society in the city of Makassar discusses politics, from market traders, office employees, and coffee lovers to academics. Even the politics in the city of Makassar were in the spotlight in Indonesia during the 2018 regional elections. This is inseparable from the form of political dynamics

that are so fierce that they can influence the public audience in the city of Makassar. Political dynamics are getting hotter in Makassar City after the first debate held by the KPU at the Clarion Hotel in Makassar City. After the initial discussion, various political dynamics occurred in Makassar City, so social friction or conflict was felt.

Several political issues developed after the candidate debate, making the dynamics of Sekamin so pronounced in the city of Makassar. Even the discourse of being able to abort the DP-Indira pair to be able to run as a candidate for mayor of Makassar is getting stronger. After an extended dynamic, DP was finally disqualified by the Supreme Court due to the Appi-Cicu couple's report on the distribution of smartphones to the neighborhood associations (RT) and neighborhood associations (RW) throughout the city of Makassar and considered it a form of verification. On the other hand, the Appi-Cicu couple also reported the violation of the appointment of contract workers and the 2X + good tagline carried out by "Danny" as mayor at that time.

The death of Danny Pumannto and Indira Mulyasari cannot be separated from the results of the Supreme Court (MA) decision. The Supreme Court rejected the Makassar KPU's cassation request regarding the lawsuit for the abortion of the incumbent candidate pair in the regional election in Makassar city. In the Supreme Court's decision, Ir. Mohammad Ramadhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti Ilham, as candidates for mayor and deputy mayor of Makassar city in 2018, did not act carefully and did not act cautiously. This decision was quoted in the Supreme Court's consideration of rejecting the Makassar City KPU's appeal in decision Number 250 K/TUN/PILKADA/2018. Danny Pomanto, as the incumbent, is considered to have used the authority, programs, and activities that should be declared to benefit him personally. In addition, it hurts other pairs of candidates within six months before the date of determination of the candidate pairs. The incumbent's actions violated Article 71

paragraph (3) of Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the stipulation of government regulations instead of law Number 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. Following the provisions of Article 89 paragraph (3) of the General Election Commission Regulation Number 15 of 2017, the candidate pair Ir. Mohammad Ramadhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti Ilham were declared ineligible to be appointed as candidates for Mayor and Deputy Mayor in the 2018 regional elections in Makassar.

Social movements or people's movements during the 2018 Makassar elections began when the people were nervous when the Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-CICU) pair took almost all political parties which had seats in the Makassar City DPRD. Of the 11 parties with representatives in the DPRD, the Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi pair took ten parties. Golkar, Nasdem, Hanura, PAN, PBB, PKPI, PDIP, Gerindra, PKS, and PPP have 43 seats, leaving the Democratic Party with seven seats. So that the Democratic Party does not nominate its candidate pair. As a result, the incumbent Mohammad Ramdan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti (DIAmi) did not get a party to set again for the second term of his leadership. The pair then advanced through the individual path.

According to (Benford, Robert D., and Snow, 2000), (Jeppesen, 2021), (Izudin, 2021), quoting Tarrow's opinion, stating that social movements are efforts to achieve specific goals through actions that are contrary to the status quo, authority, and culture. People who carry out movements build a sense of collective identity, that is, to share feelings about the cause and assist their efforts by sustaining a movement. A few short moves and stops can fail or succeed in achieving the goal. Some other movements run for a long time and have strong supporters providing lifelong support. Meanwhile, according to (David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, 2018), in the context of social movements, there are at least 5 (five) types of resources, namely: moral

resources, cultural resources, social-organizational resources, human resources, and material resources.

REWAKO (Empty Column Volunteers) is here as a form of solidarity over the disappointment of the people of Makassar City after the death of incumbent Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti (DIAmi). The 2018 Makassar election is considered a setback from democracy and a betrayal of the Makassar people's voice. The presence of Rewako further strengthened the volunteer network that was already active. They are the supporters of the incumbent candidate pair Mohammad Ramdan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti (DIAmi). Since the Makassar City KPU refused to follow up on Panwaslu's decision, they held demonstrations at several points. Even a showroom belonging to the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Jusuf Kalla, was once the target of the action. The legal team for the incumbent pair also threatened to report the Makassar City KPU to the DKPP and file a criminal complaint.

The expulsion of the incumbent pair is the pinnacle of disappointment and anger for the people of Makassar. Supporters of Danny Pomanto, who are members of the Sulawesi Anchor Team Commodore, stated that essentially if Danny Pomanto and the Indira pair were thwarted, the Volunteer team, which was claimed to have 22,000 personnel, would immediately be moved to win the empty column. In addition to the supporters of the Danny Pomanto pair who directly held actions at the KPU and in several places, the forerunner of social movements and the form of volunteer movements to campaign for empty columns. The Sulawesi Anchor Team has an impeccable organizational level, and the volunteers are pretty militant. They have a network of volunteers starting from the RT-RW, sub-district, and city, using an encouraging name or designation. For example, Commodore is the name of a volunteer in Makassar city, then in a Terminator district. While in the sub-district and at the RT-RW level, these volunteers are known as Nama Hunter and Salamander.

From here emerged the social movement carried out by the people of Makassar city to be able to win the empty column and create a campaign against the existing political elite. The presence of a single candidate in the 2018 Pilkada makes people feel that they do not necessarily see that the Pilkada has ended, and the winner is already there. But instead, the community is ready to fight social movements and begin socializing with the district. Seeing the enthusiasm of the community with the direction that was formed to win the empty column in the 2018 elections, it was the people who wanted to create activities or design socialization patterns by preparing banners and billboards to be installed to give understanding to the people of Makassar that empty columns are part of democracy.

An interesting phenomenon with the emergence of a movement to win the empty column at the time of the mayor's election in Makassar, the community formed a social movement to win the empty column, where we know that the open column is part of democracy in Indonesia. The social campaign aims to win the blank column in the Makassar city election using platforms such as social institutions, communities, and community organizations which incidentally are those who go directly to win the empty column at the 2018 democratic party in the city of Makassar. The social movement to win the empty column formed in the town of Makassar indirectly strengthened the supporters of the empty column in the community. The birth of a social movement to win a blank column in the Makassar mayoral election is a form of social activity that occurs in the field where a candidate for a leader who has a position or power and can control political parties in parliament is not necessarily able to win when the community can unite. With the social movements that occur in society, we can see that people can act in terms of social interaction by using symbols in the political system that occurred in the city of Makassar during the election process. Community social action that arises is an action that must be interpreted carefully. We can see this from a

movement made by residents of the city of Makassar to be able to win an empty column during the 2018 regional elections. The following is the permanent voter data issued by the Makassar City KPU in the 2018 election.

No	District	Number of DPT
1	Bontoala	39.368
2	Biringkanayya	129.522
3	Mariso	40.416
4	Mamajang	41.158
5	Makassar	59.285
6	Manggala	93.929
7	Panakukang	115.574
8	Rappocini	107.021
9	Sangkarrang	10.607
10	Tamalate	146.555
11	Tamalanrea	70.183
12	Tallo	97.261
13	Ujung Pandang	21.025
14	Ujung Tanah	24.692
15	Wajo	22.520
	Amount	**1.019.475**

LITERATURE RIVIEW

Post-Positivism Paradigm

Post positivism argues that humans can't get the truth from reality if researchers distance themselves from reality or are not directly involved with reality. The relationship between researchers and reality must be interactive. For that, it is necessary to use the principle of triangulation using various methods, data sources, data, and others. While the assumptions in the Post-Positivism paradigm view that facts are not value-free, but contain theory, Fallibility Theory, none of the ideas can be fully explained by empirical evidence, empirical evidence can show anomaly facts; Facts are not free but full of value, The interaction between the subject and the object of research. The study results are not objective reports but the results of the interaction of humans and the universe, which are full of problems and constantly changing. The basic assumption of post-positivism about reality is that there are multiple individuals. This means that fact is not singular but can only explain itself according to the unit of action concerned. The post-positivism study focuses on human actions as an expression of a decision.

Social Movement and Society

Recent debates about theories and models in social movement studies show little agreement among scholars about the meaning of social movements. The research of Jean Cohen (1985:663) is to prove what exactly the movement is, what theoretically can be qualified as a new type of movement, and what is the meaning of social movement and its differences from political parties or perhaps other interest groups. Cohen is not the only social movement because of its variety of purposes. Other scholars, Alan Touraine (1985:749), for example, are also wary of the different meanings referring to the term movement proposed by scholars.

The theoretical transformation of the conception of social movements is generally related to the ongoing transformation process in

the representation of society. The movement of change from an industrial society to post-industrial society from modern to post-modern and our main focus from community to post-society has impacted the nature and form of emerging social movements. (Singh. 2010: 45). According to Sujatmiko (Triwibowo, 2006: xv), discussing a concept, such as a Social Movement, needs to start with the clarity of the idea so that the intended boundaries and corridors of the image can be obtained. As Macionis (1999: 607) says, social movements are the most critical type of collective behavior. Some sociologists refer to social movements as a form of collective action rather than collective behavior. They argue that social movements are different from other forms of collective behavior. Meanwhile, some sociologists classify social movements as collective behavior (Locher, 2002: 232). Meanwhile, according to Crossley (2002: 10), collective behavior is one of the dimensions of the study of Social Movements that developed in Europe. Stolley (2005: 188), quoting Tarrow's opinion, states that social movements are efforts to achieve specific goals through actions that are contrary to the status quo, authority, and established culture. People who carry out movements build a sense of collective identity, that is, to share feelings about the cause and assist their efforts by sustaining a movement. A few short moves and stops can fail or succeed in achieving the goal. Some other movements run for a long time and have strong supporters providing lifelong support. Meanwhile, according to Edwards and McCarthy (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004: 125-128), in the context of social movements, there are at least 5 (five) types of resources (resources), namely: moral resources (moral resources), cultural resources (cultural resources), social-organizational resources, human resources, and material resources.

Collective action aims to increase the status, power, or influence of the whole group, not one or several people (Zomeren, 2009: 646). Referring to Olson's concept, the core of collective action is the existence of public interest or common interests (public goods) promoted among groups (Oliver, 1993: 272). According to Weber, an action is said to occur when individuals attach subjective meaning to their actions (Ritzer & Goodman, 2009: 136-137). This condition does not appear in the context of collective behavior.

Generally, studies on Social Movements, especially in Indonesia, place their theoretical, analytical framework mapping into Singh's (2001) view. According to Singh (2001: 111), in general, the academic tradition of the study of Social Movements can be classified into three classifications, namely: (1) Classical, (2) Neo-Classical, and (3) New (Contemporary) Social Movements.

Furthermore, Singh (2010: 111) explains that the classical tradition includes most of the studies in collective behavior, such as crowds, riots, and rebels, mainly by Western social psychologists and historians. Before the 1950s. In the classical tradition, the conceptual roots of the study of social movements and collective action lie partly in the practice of classical social psychologists. Contributions from psychologists include Gabriel Tarde's Laws and Imitation (1903), Gustave Le Bon's The Crowd (1909), William McDougall's The Group Mind (1920), and E. D. Martin's The Behavior of Crowd (1929) can help to lay out the theoretical foundations in the study of collective behavior. Meanwhile, W. Trotters' work on Animal Behavior in Peace and War (1920), a study of group behavior in extreme situations in animal life, provides an influential paradigm for similar studies that emphasize stress and its effects on group behavior. Humans in the social sciences. Classical and neo-classical paradigms on collective action, especially neo-classical, remained dominant until the 1970s, referring to the study of the crowd, a collective riotous, according to classical psychologists, as well as studies in Social Movements. Long in the tradition of neo-classical sociologists.

While the neo-classical tradition is associated with the primary practice of studying Old Social Movements, most writings in the neo-classical tradition were published after the

1950s. This tradition is further divided into two models of the Old Social Movement: functional and dialectical Marxist. Unlike the study of social movements in the classical tradition, the study of social movements in the neo-classical tradition brings together sociologists' contributions from both the West and India.

While the third perspective from the study of Social Movements, namely the view of New Social Movements (NSMs) or Contemporary Social Movements, emerged around the era of the 1960s and 1970s, especially among European and American communities (Singh, 2001: 96).

European and American societies at that time witnessed the emergence of large-scale movements around issues based on humanist, cultural, and non-materialistic aspects. The aims and values of this movement are essentially universal; that is, they are directed at protecting and sustaining human living conditions in a better direction. Unlike the Old Social Movement models, the New Social Movements (NSMs) model is not trapped in ideological discourses such as anti-capitalism, class revolution, and class struggle. Thus, the New Social Movement was not interested in the idea of revolution, including carrying out a revolutionary movement to overthrow the state government system. However, the strategy and goals of the New Social Movement (GSB) have little in common with the Lam Social Movement model, namely in fighting for issues such as increasing wages for industrial workers, opposing economic injustice, and class exploitation. Locher (2002: 233) states that the difference between social movements and other forms of collective behavior, such as crowd, riot, and rebel (rejection, defiance), can be seen from three aspects, namely: a) Organizing; b) Deliberate; and c) Enduring. The explanation of these three aspects is as follows:

a) Organizing Aspect.

A social movement is organized, while a collective behavior appears or occurs unorganized. Typical participants and leaders of collective behavior come and go quickly. For example, the participants of a riot (riot participants) may cooperate among them for a short period at a particular time. Still, the involvement of participants in the riot incident is free, temporary, and not a carefully organized event. In collective behavior, there are no specific tasks to be performed by the participants. In contrast, in a social movement, the participants are often given particular tasks to perform, in which they also carefully design a tactic and strategy of action. Leaders often create and organize specific jobs and tasks for movement participants in social activities.

b) Aspects of Consideration

A social movement also occurs because of considerations. Most collective behavioral events occur without any planning from them regarding their timing. Meanwhile, social activities are intensively raised, and the participants carefully decide whether to participate or not to be involved in a movement. The involvement of participants is often driven by promises and encouragement of membership; social activities seek publicity and attract as many people as possible to support the movement. These planning considerations do not occur in most forms of collective behavior.

c) Aspects of Durability

Action Social movements generally last for a long time or have endurance. Meanwhile, collective behavior occurs in a short time. For example, a riot may last only a few minutes, hours, or days; a fad (fashion fever; fashion) may occur for a few months only. Meanwhile, social movements have existed for several years or even decades.

Single Candidate Politics

Joseph Schumpeter (Asita Widyasari, Reyke Anggia Dewi, Viera Mayasari Sri Rengganis. 2019) suggests that the essence of democracy is that people have the opportunity to accept or reject those who will lead or govern them. Democracy is simply a mechanism for choosing a political leader. Meanwhile, the ability to select a leader among contesting political leaders is called democracy. Democracy in a narrow sense is also expressed by Robert Dahl (2001), who argues that there

are different meanings of democracy. Still, at least some criteria are the same and must be met by a government so that all its members have the same rights in participating and determining policy directions. Dahl stated that there are at least five criteria for the democratic process, namely 1) effective participation, 2) voice equality, 3) clear understanding, 4) monitoring of the plan, and (5) adult inclusion, where most adults have citizenship rights. In this concept, a country considered democratic or undemocratic can be judged by using the elements of competition, participation, and freedom in the country, not only at the formal level but also in the actual practice of political life. As stated by Dahl, the emergence of a single candidate elaborates on the concept of political democracy, which must still have the criteria of participation and competition.

In addition, the cause of the emergence of a single candidate is also the effect of the internal party recruitment and regeneration mechanism's ineffectiveness so that alternative incumbent candidates are not obtained. In the Indonesian context, by referring to Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning Regional Head Elections, elections only participated by one pair of candidates can be carried out with several conditions. One of them is if after the postponement and until the end of the registration extension period, there is only one pair of candidates who register, then proceed to the verification stage until the pair of candidates is declared eligible to advance in the pilkada. The KPU then has the right to determine the selected team of candidates in the election with one candidate pair if they get more than 50% of the valid votes. Re-election will be conducted if a single candidate pair cannot get more than 50% of helpful votes. Law Number 10 of 2016 also changes the requirements for individual candidates to be able to contest in the regional elections, namely for individual candidates who register as candidates for governor and deputy governor. Then, this rule is confirmed in Article 41, Paragraph (2). The regulations in Law Number 10 of 2016 for some pairs of candidates who want to compete through the individual route are considered burdensome, closing the opportunity for individual candidates to compete in the pilkada. In addition, in the pilkada with a single candidate, the majority were followed by incumbents who bought up most of the party support.

The political and legal situation of state organizations in Indonesia is now in a condition that can be said to have progressed reform. This can be seen from the solid shape of participatory democracy as indicated by the events of general elections and regional head elections being held simultaneously, which follows the procedures for implementing democracy. Referring to Ramlan Surbakti (1992: 181) Election is defined as a mechanism for determining and assigning or exchanging power to trusted persons or parties, and as stated in Law Number 8 of 2012, Article 1 paragraph (1), the so-called election can mean a tool for organizing democracy in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Surbakti, 1999). Kurniawan & Wawanudin (2019) are of the view that if we look back at the direction of the candidate pairs in Law no. 10 of 2016 concerning the Second Revision of Law No. 1 of 2015 concerning the Stipulation of Perppu Law no. 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors has become law. The technical determinant of the victory of a single candidate has been regulated in Law no. 10/2016; it is written that a single candidate will be recognized as winning if he gets at least 50% of the valid votes. In this law, candidates declared to have failed can advance in the next election (Danial, 2020). If less, then the right to win is an empty column.

METHOD

This study used qualitative research methods. Qualitative research uses qualitative methods (Creswell, 2020). This qualitative method is used for several reasons, namely: First, adapting qualitative methods is more accessible when dealing with multiple realities; Second, this method directly presents the nature of the

relationship between the researcher and the respondent; and third, this method is more sensitive and more adaptable to the many sharpening of mutual influence and the common and the patterns of values encountered. The location of this research is Makassar City. This research focuses on observing the form of social movements in the 2018 local elections of Makassar City. The data collection techniques used in this study were observation, interviews, and documentation (Lincoln, 2012). In this study, researchers conducted interviews with six informants. Data analysis in this study uses data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Qodr et al., 2021). The data in this study was valid through internal validation, dependability, and certainty of objectivity.

RESULT

The democratic system of life in the country continues to experience dynamic development. Improvement after improvement is made by taking past experiences. This is the case with the regional head elections. The legal stagnation caused by the non-allowance of a single candidate in the Pilkada was resolved by the Constitutional Court. Pilkada can continue even though only one candidate pair is running. This was then regulated in Law No. 10 of 2016 concerning Regional Elections. The nomination process that leads to a single candidate is an emergency. A condition when there are no other worthy candidates. However, it turns out that a crisis tends to happen more and more. In the election of regional heads and deputies, regional heads are pairs of candidates proposed by political parties or coalitions of political parties. Several people support individual candidate pairs. Based on the law, regional elections are implemented simultaneously, starting in 2015 and continuing in 2017 and 2018. However, the dynamics that characterize political contestation in direct regional polls seem to be moving backward with the emergence of a single candidate phenomenon in several regions. The single candidate in the Pilkada is formally regulated in

Law No. 10 of 2016 concerning Regional Head Elections.

Political events are increasingly engaging in Makassar City because initially, only two pairs of candidates participated, but because of the dynamics and political constellations in Makassar City that were so fast that in the end, the Makassar City Election process only gave birth to 1 candidate pair or it could be said that the single candidate was against an empty column. Apart from the political dynamics that occur and the political constellation that is so warm in the city of Makassar, there are public views about the achievements and performances carried out by Mr. Danny Pomanto during his tenure as Mayor of Makassar in the 2013-2018 period. With the form of achievement and satisfactory performance for the citizens of Makassar, an organization was formed in the community to win the empty column in the 2018 Makassar city election. The formation of an organization in the community cannot be separated from the form of community dissatisfaction with the dynamics and decisions of the Supreme Court, which disqualified the DP-Indira pair in the Makassar city election.

Kris Nugroho (2011) develops a perspective on social movements in the electoral system, which are controlled by political parties and outside the party. The community's efforts to provide active support for the empty column show some symptoms of social movements in achieving victory; this is done with the intensity of communication not only once but also repeatedly to the masses. In fact, in gaining support for the empty column, some individuals or groups play an active role in conveying messages to justify the phenomenon of empty columns in the Pilkada in Makassar city. Through strengthening social movements, it can mobilize Makassar city voters and enhance ethnic networks in mobilizing voters' ethnic equality, which is considered effective in the 2018 election constellation in Makassar city. The strengthening of this social movement illustrates that voters who participate actively have the same goal of winning the empty

column because a single candidate who participates in the election is considered unfit to be elected.

Based on the results of an interview with Mr. Kens as the head of the RT in the Rappocini sub-district, Makassar City, he stated that the existence of a social movement from the community to form an organization or community that won the empty column was inseparable from the form of political dynamics that occurred in the 2018 regional elections. The structure of public disappointment with the dynamics or political constellations made the community feel sorry and sympathize with the DP-Indira couple who failed to advance as a candidate for Mayor of Makassar. That feeling of disappointment arose during the pilkada stage after the candidate debate held in one of the hotels in Makassar city. The public views that in the candidate debate process, the DP-Indira pair is superior to the couple promoted by almost all political parties in Makassar. After the debate, political dynamics continued to develop, and in the end, the Supreme Court decided to disqualify the DP-Indira pair from running in the 2018 Makassar city election. After the MA decision, many people formed communities and empty-column organizations in various areas of Makassar city. The community movement was started with the hope that the community could join in to win the empty column in the Makassar city election and as a form of exercise from political dynamics, which was considered unfair to the DP-Indira pair who wanted to advance in the context of the Makassar Mayor candidate.

The birth of several communities or organizations that named the supporters of the empty column was also very intensely communicated by the RT and RW. Almost every district has a community that the RT encourages, and RW heads in several sections. Especially for those around the Manggala sub-district, the Friends of RT and RW relatives are enthusiastic about winning the empty column in the 2018 election contest. The formation of an organization consisting of RT and RW heads with political views won the empty column at the democratic party in the City of Makassar in 2018. In addition, many opinions that the RT and RW organizations were formed inseparable from the flow of political dynamics in Makassar City because it coincided with the pilkada process, but this is part of the ongoing democracy. The formation of this organization makes the existing residents want to join and are ready to socialize so that the empty column can win during the Makassar City election. In addition, the social movement was able to win the blank column in the Makassar city election in 2018 ago because seeing the political conditions at that time did not provide an excellent example to the people of Makassar city, so many of the alliances or communities in the city of Makassar formed an association or society can unite views to be able to win an empty column in the democratic party in 2018. Based on the research results, Mr. Anshar Manrulu is one of the figures who mobilized volunteers or communities to win the empty column in the 2018 Makassar City election. There were some exciting things at the Makassar city democracy party 2018. Most people in Makassar city were surprised and shocked by the sudden decision to abort one candidate pair. After the decision, the public began to believe that something was different from the political dynamics that occurred in the 2018 regional elections. This is because the organizers, in this case, the Makassar City KPU, have determined two pairs of candidates and held a candidate debate session. Still, in the end, a robust political dynamic was so strong that a single candidate only included the decision in the 2018 Makassar City Pilkada. From here emerged the social movement carried out by the people of Makassar city to be able to win the empty column and create a campaign against the existing political elite. The presence of a single candidate in the 2018 Pilkada makes people feel that the Pilkada is not over and the winner is already there. But instead, the community is ready to fight social movements and begin socializing with the district. Seeing the enthusiasm of the community with the direction that was formed

to win the empty column in the 2018 election, it was the people who wanted to create activities or design socialization patterns by preparing banners and billboards to be installed to give understanding to the people of Makassar that empty columns are part of democracy. Socialization is carried out not only in the area or in people's homes, but this form of socialization is also carried out on social media and electronic media. This is very influential with people who are increasingly convinced that this movement cannot be separated from the form of support to win the empty column.

There are social movements carried out by the people of the city of Makassar to be able to win the blank column and create a campaign against the existing political elite. Social movements, public understanding of politics, and candidates for regional heads become the barometers so that an empty column can win the Makassar city election. The presence of a single candidate in the 2018 Pilkada makes people feel that the Pilkada is not over and the winner is already there. But instead, the community is ready to fight social movements and begin socializing with the district. Judging from the enthusiasm of the community with the direction that was formed to win the empty column in the 2018 regional election, it was precisely the people who wanted to create activities or design socialization patterns by preparing banners and giving understanding to the people of Makassar that empty columns are part of democracy.

DISCUSSION

Social movements or people's movements during the 2018 Makassar Regional Head Elections began when the people were anxious when the Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-CICU) pair took almost all political parties which had seats in the Makassar City DPRD. Of the 11 parties with representatives in the DPRD, the Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi pair took ten parties, totaling 43 seats, leaving only the Democratic Party, which had seven seats. So that the Democratic Party does not nominate its candidate pair. As a result, the incumbent

Mohammad Ramdan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti (DIAmi) did not get a party to set again for the second term of his leadership. The pair then advanced through the individual path. Rewako was a form of solidarity with the disappointment of the people of Makassar City after the death of incumbent Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti (DIAmi). The 2018 Makassar election is considered a setback from democracy and a betrayal of the Makassar people's voice. The single candidate pair greatly embarrassed the city of Makassar, especially for the trust of the people of Makassar City in local leaders. The presence of Rewako further strengthened the volunteer network that was already active. They are the supporters of the incumbent candidate pair Mohammad Ramdan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti (DIAmi). Since the Makassar City KPU refused to follow up on Panwaslu's decision, they held demonstrations at several points. Even a showroom belonging to the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Jusuf Kalla, was once the target of the action. The legal team for the incumbent pair also threatened to report the Makassar City KPU to the DKPP and file a criminal complaint. The expulsion of the incumbent pair is the pinnacle of disappointment and anger for the people of Makassar. In addition to the supporters of the Danny Pomanto pair who immediately held actions at the KPU and in several places, the forerunner of social movements and the form of volunteer movements to campaign for empty columns. Supporters of Danny Pomanto, who are members of the Sulawesi Anchor Team Commodore, stated that essentially if Danny Pomanto and the Indira pair were thwarted, the Volunteer team, which was claimed to have 22,000 personnel, would immediately be moved to win the empty column. The Sulawesi Anchor Team has an impeccable organizational level, and the volunteers are pretty militant. They have a network of volunteers starting from the RT-RW, sub-district, and city, using an encouraging name or designation. For

example, Commodore is the name of a volunteer in Makassar city, then in a Terminator district. From here emerged the social movement carried out by the people of Makassar city to be able to win the empty column and create a campaign against the existing political elite. The presence of a single candidate in the 2018 Pilkada makes people feel that they do not necessarily see that the Pilkada has ended and the winner is already there. But instead, the community is ready to fight social movements and begin socializing with the district. Seeing the enthusiasm of the community with the direction that was formed to win the empty column in the 2018 elections, it was the people who wanted to create activities or design socialization patterns by preparing banners and billboards to be installed to give understanding to the people of Makassar that empty columns are part of democracy.

According to the concept of social movement (social movement), it is necessary to start with the clarity of the idea so that the intended boundaries and corridors of the image can be obtained (Mario Diani, 2017). As stated, (by Tofangsazi, 2020), social movements are the most critical type of collective behavior. Some sociologists refer to social movements as a form of collective action rather than collective behavior. They argue that social movements are different from other forms of collective behavior. Meanwhile, some sociologists classify social movements as collective behavior (Locher, 2002: 232).

This form of social movement was born based on a sense of community disappointment with the dynamics or political constellations that made the community feel sorry and sympathized with the DP-Indira couple who failed to advance as a candidate for Mayor of Makassar. The public views that in the candidate debate process, the DP-Indira pair is superior to the team promoted by almost all political parties in the city of Makassar. After the debate, political dynamics continued to develop, and in the end, the Supreme Court decided to disqualify the DP-Indira pair from running in the 2018 Makassar city election.

After the Supreme Court's decision, many people formed communities and empty-column organizations in various areas of Makassar city. The community movement was created with the hope that the community could join in to win the empty column in the Makassar city election and as a form of exercise from political dynamics, which was considered unfair to the DP-Indira pair who wanted to advance in the context of the Makassar Mayor candidate.

In empirical reality, civil society organizes itself independently of the state and, simultaneously, has a knowledge base that makes them different from ordinary people who are not critical and passive in social structures that may oppress them. Civil society places itself in a critical position towards the state by continuing to change social, economic, and political fields and control power. The powerlessness of the community stems from the systematic process of disempowerment by the state and the market through the globalization of capitalism at the global level and development practices at the level of developing countries. This agrees with Sen's opinion that poverty and powerlessness are the effects of capability deprivation (Oman Sukmana, 2016: 235). In the democratic process, the community is given a broad role to actively participate in the state and government, either directly or indirectly (through representatives). Providing opportunities for the district to be involved in the state and government is a process of empowering the community and facilitating the community to strengthen its capabilities.

According to Tilly, social movements are the primary vehicle for the general public to participate in public political activities (Tilly, 2004). In his theory, Tilly also asserts that social movements are vehicles by people or groups to show or appear in public politics. In Indonesia, social movements are manifested in various forms of movement; the actors of social movements are independent people who are not directly related to state power. Before and after the New Order (Orba), social movements emerged in diverse forms, ranging from peasant

movements against the state, labor movements, and civil society movements demanding democracy to political movements. In this case, it is reinforced by research by Risal A. Hidayat (2007) that the success of a movement is how dominant the activities of group roles in social movements are. The part of a group in a social movement can only be analyzed through a pattern of an individual or collective behavior.

Candidate Pairs & Number of Votes	Number of Voters	Vote Percentage
Appi-Cicu	264.245	46,77 %
Empty Column	300.795	53,23 %
Number of Valid Votes	565.040	96,69 %
Number of Invalid Votes	19.366	3,31 %
Number of Valid & Invalid Votes	584.406	100,00 %
Voter Participation	584.406	57,20 %

With the victory of the empty column in the regional election in Makassar City in 2018, it made history in the world of politics in Indonesia that, for the first time, an empty column was able to win at a democratic party. Based on data from the Makassar City KPU, the pair Munafri Arifuddin - Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-CICU) received 264,245 votes. At the same time, the empty column gets 300,795 votes. The invalid votes were 19,366 votes, and the total number of votes was 584,406 votes. The social movements that were formed in the community made the political dynamics so different in Makassar City, and the actions that were included were able to prove that the forces from the underworld were able to defeat the forces that controlled the entire elite of political parties in the context of the elections.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion generated in this study is the form of community social movement during the mayoral election process to win the empty column in Makassar City by forming a social movement from vacant column volunteers and communities created by RT / RW so that people who volunteer to be ready to win the empty column in the 2018 local elections in the city of Makassar. This form of social movement was born based on a sense of community disappointment with the dynamics or political constellations that made the community feel sorry and sympathized with the DP-Indira couple who failed to advance as a candidate for Mayor of Makassar. Meanwhile, the suggestion that can be conveyed in this study is that the author hopes that there will be no more single candidates in the pilkada. Meanwhile, the form of a social movement carried out by the communities that have been formed is to carry out massive socialization by going directly into the community aisle and providing an understanding of the empty column as part of democracy. Ultimately, this form of socialization made people want to join in winning the blank column in the 2018 Makassar city election.

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