

# Kompetisi elit politik pada Pemilihan Calon Tunggal Walikota dan Wakil Walikota Makassar Tahun 2018 = Political elites competition in the Single-Candidate Election for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Makassar in 2018

Dewi Mayangsari, author

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## Abstrak

Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk mengeksplorasi Pilkada Makassar yang merupakan satu-satunya pilkada calon tunggal yang berakhir dengan kekalahan calon tunggal. Pasangan calon tunggal yang kalah bukan petahana maupun kerabat petahana. Pertanyaan penelitian adalah mengapa terjadi pilkada calon tunggal dan pasangan calon tunggal kalah serta bagaimana dinamika kompetisi yang terjadi? Penelitian dilakukan dengan metode kualitatif, menggunakan teori boundary control Edward Gibson (2012) dan antagonistic cooperation Heinrich Best (2010) serta otonomi elit Etzioni-Halevy (1993). Argumen penelitian adalah terjadi kerja sama antagonistik antar elit serta dinamika boundary control antara petahana walikota dan penantang yang menyebabkan pilkada menjadi kompetisi calon tunggal dan pasangan calon tunggal kalah. Pilkada calon tunggal terjadi karena keberhasilan nasionalisasi oleh penantang melalui pelibatan elit nasional. Terdapat dua mekanisme pelibatan elit nasional yaitu melalui party-led transitions dan center-led transitions. Petahana hanya berhasil merespon party-led transitions dengan mendaftar melalui jalur perseorangan. Petahana tidak dapat bertahan menghadapi center-led transitions sehingga didiskualifikasi. Setelah pilkada calon tunggal terjadi, petahana melakukan penguatan (boundary strengthening) melalui parokialisasi kekuasaan, sebagai respons terhadap gugatan hukum lawan yang menyebabkannya didiskualifikasi. Parokialisasi kekuasaan terjadi berupa penguatan birokrasi dan RT/RW serta mobilisasi isu ke ruang publik secara maksimal. Saat bersamaan pasangan calon tunggal gagal mempertahankan boundary opening dengan lemahnya citra figur. Koalisi pasangan calon tunggal lemah dalam mengantisipasi banyaknya kepentingan strategis pada kolom kosong seperti proyeksi elit untuk pilkada berikutnya, munculnya sentimen negatif terhadap korporasi politik, protes atas party-led transitions dalam penetapan calon serta respon terhadap dinamika politik berdasar nilai budaya lokal. Pilkada Makassar terdiri dari dua fase interaksi elit yang melibatkan elit lokal, elit nasional dan elit partai politik berupa mekanisme penguatan diri dan pelemahan terhadap lawan.

Makassar local election was the only one single-candidate election which the candidate failed to win the election. The failed single-candidate were not an incumbent nor had relationship with the incumbent. The research questions are: Why did the single candidate election happen, why did the single-candidate could be failed and how did the dynamic competition among elites The research was conducted by qualitative method using Edward Gibson`s (2012) boundary control theory, antagonistic cooperation theory of Heinrich Best (2010) and elite autonomy theory of Etzioni-Halevy (1993). The research argument is there were elites antagonistic cooperations as well as dynamic of boundary control between incumbent of mayor and his competitors which caused the election turned into single-candidate election then ended up with the failed of single-candidate. The single-candidate election caused by the success of opposition nationalization carried out by national elites. There were two transitions which national elites involved i.e. through party-led transitions and center-led transitions. The incumbent did the boundary strengthening after the party-led transitions by registered as a candidate

independently (without political party stripe). The incumbent failed to do boundary strengthening after the center-led transitions which caused him to be disqualified from the election. As the single-candidate election ensued, the incumbent did boundary strengthening by parochialization of power in response to the opposition's lawsuit that had caused him to be disqualified. Parochialization of power consisted of the strengthening of bureaucracy, RT/RW, as well as the mobilization of issues to the public. At the same time the single candidate failed to maintain their boundary opening with the weakness of candidates in political experiences. The coalition could not anticipate many important interests of its opponent (kolom kosong) such as many elites strategies for the next election, negative sentiment of political corporation, protest over party-led transitions and responses to political dynamic based on local culture. Makassar local election consists of two elite interaction phases which involved local elites, national elites, and political party elites such as self-strengthening and weakening against the opponent.