

## Rivalitas elite dalam konflik etno-religius: dinamika konflik pemekaran daerah di Mamasa = Rivalry of the elites in ethno-religious conflicts: dynamics of conflict arising from territorial split of Mamasa

Mohamad Subhan, author

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### Abstrak

Disertasi ini menganalisis rivalitas elite dalam konflik etno-religius yang timbul saat pemekaran daerah di Mamasa, Sulawesi Barat. Pada 2002, sebagai bagian dari kerangka besar kebijakan otonomi, Mamasa menjadi daerah otonom, dimekarkan dari Kabupaten Polmas. Dalam pelaksanaannya muncul perbedaan antara kelompok pro dan kelompok kontra pemekaran. Rivalitas kelompok pro versus kelompok kontra semakin runyam karena merepresentasikan kontestasi antara kabupaten induk versus kabupaten pemekaran Kabupaten Polmas mendukung kelompok kontra yang ingin tetap bergabung dengan kabupaten induk. Sebaliknya Kabupaten Mamasa memberi dukungan kepada kelompok pro. Rivalitas dua kelompok tersebut menimbulkan kekacauan dalam sistem pemerintahan karena terjadi dualisme pemerintahan, yang membuat penyelenggaraan pemerintahan tidak berjalan normal sehingga mengganggu pelayanan publik. Penelitian disertasi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif. Data lapangan diperoleh melalui teknik wawancara mendalam, observasi lapangan, dan data sekunder. Berbagai studi menunjukkan bahwa otonomi dapat memicu konflik karena persaingan elite dalam perebutan posisi-posisi politik, sumber daya ekonomi, dan ruang kekuasaan lainnya. Namun, berbeda dengan studi-studi literatur sebelumnya yang lebih bertumpu pada konflik politik atau konflik etnik, penelitian ini menunjukkan politisasi identitas etno-religius sebagai instrumen yang menimbulkan konflik antara dua etnik berbeda agama, Mandar-Islam versus Toraja-Kristen. Pemekaran daerah mengubah konstelasi dominasi sosio-politik. Mandar-Islam yang mayoritas berubah menjadi minoritas, sebaliknya Toraja-Kristen yang tadinya minoritas menjadi mayoritas. Rivalitas elite memperebutkan ruang kekuasaan di daerah otonom baru dengan menggunakan politik identitas yaitu sentimen identitas etno-religius berdasar perubahan konstelasi dominasi dan hegemoni sosio-politik di Mamasa. Akibatnya, orang Mandar-Islam (orang PUS) menolak pemekaran yang dianggap sebagai bentuk proyek Kristenisasi. Menurut Fox (1999), apabila kerangka religius yang ditantang maka responnya adalah sikap defensif yang cenderung konflik. Sebab, agama menyangkut sistem kepercayaan yang mengandung ketaatan pada nilai-nilai, memiliki standar dan tata aturan, membangun kohesivitas di antara penganutnya, sekaligus melegitimasi setiap tindakan para aktornya.

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Pemekaran daerah which literally means territorial split or administrative fragmentation whereby new provinces and districts are created by dividing existing ones and which ironically strengthens the sense of identity based on race, ethnic group, religion, and other communal identity is one that triggers such conflicts. This study discusses the rivalry of the elites in the ethno-religious conflicts that erupted during the process of territorial split of Mamasa district of West Sulawesi, Indonesia, in 2002. Mamasa, which was once part of the mother district of Polmas, was established into an autonomous district. Not only was the district divided but people in this region also had differing opinion on the idea of territorial split. Supporters of the administrative fragmentation were dubbed pro while opponents were called kontra. The conflict between the two factions had escalated because the conflict itself was also the representation of conflict

between the mother district and the newly-established district. The government of Polmas ditrict was with the kontra while the government of Mamasa gave their full support for the pro. The rivalry between the two parties had brought chaos to the government system. The government was divided (government dualism). This research uses qualitative method. The data were collected through in-depth interviews, field observations, and secondary data. Studies reveal that autonomy is the potential cause of conflicts because it allows for competition among the contending elites who fight for political positions, economic resources, and other aspects of power. Unlike previous literature studies that put an emphasis on political conflicts and ethnic conflicts, this research focuses on ethno-religious conflicts involving two contending ethnic groups practicing two different religions: the Mandar who are predominantly Muslims and the Toraja who are Christians. The territorial split has indeed changed the socio-political constellation. The Mandar who was once the dominant ethnic group is now a minority and the Toraja have now become the dominant ethnic group.

The competition among elites in the newly-established autonomous district by using the sentiment of ethno-religious identity has changed the constellation of socio-political hegemony and domination in Mamasa. As a result, the Muslim-Mandar (the PUS people) voiced their opposition to the territorial split which they consider part of Christian mission. Fox (1999) states that when a religious framework is challenged, the response will be the defensive action that is prone to conflict. This is due to the fact that religion is a belief system that organizes adherents to the values, has standards and norms, builds cohesiveness among its followers, and legitimate the actors.