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CONFLICT THREE ELITE DETERMINANTS IN MAKASSAR
GENERAL ELECTION 2013

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ABSTRACT

Makassar Mayor Election in 2013 was marked by the political elite conflict which became decisive actor in the party. This study aims to describe and analyze the polarization of the conflict among the three determinant elites. This research used phenomenological research in order to describe competition phenomenon of the three elites and interpret the meaning behind the phenomenon. The approach used is qualitative and emphasize the contextual meaning of human behavior interaction phenomenon in a certain situation. The finding of the research found that Polarization was occured when a power struggled among the elites. Polarization lead to two domain power. Firstly, internally party polarization where there was a rivalry among the party elites to become a major distributor of the power source allocation. Secondly, external polarization where inter-party elites, both individually and on behalf of the party institutions competing for influence to control more powerful and wider sources of power by placing their candidate on a major source of power.

Keywords: Conflict, Polarization, elite

A. INTRODUCTION

The Mayor Election of Makassar held in September 2013 presented many different phenomenon than the mayoral election in 2008. It was not only because of joined by ten various background candidates, but also because of the elite conflict that felt very strong in the struggle for getting the top influence in Makassar.

The ten contesting candidates were Adil Patu - Isradi Zainal, Supomo Guntur - Kadir Halid, Danny Pomanto - Syamsu Rizal, Apiaty Amin Syam – Zulkifli Gani Ottou, Tamsil Linnung-Das’ad Latief, and Imran Yasin Limpo-Busrah Abdullah through political party lines, while independent candidates were Rusdin Abdullah-Idris Patarai, St. Muhinya Muin-Syaiful Saleh, Erwin Kalle-Hasbi Ali and Herman Handoko-Latif Bafadhal.

All ten candidates in Makassar election are not actually too surprising to see the fact that in the early elections, many candidates revealed himself to the public through banners and baliggo with attributes of candidates for mayor or vice Mayor. However, the composition of which officially registered to The Commission presents a lot of questions.

Democrat party which is suddenly brought the pair of Danny Pomanto-Syamsu Rizal (DIA) for example, obviously open to the fact that how influential Ilham Arief Sirajuddin at the party is. In addition to being the provincial party chairman, Ilham is a party policy makers considering the previous Democratic elite cadre aggressively publicized themselves as mayor candidate, i.e. Adi Rasyid Ali and Andry Arif Bulu were not be the party candidates. While Danny Pomanto who is not the Democratic Party cadre is precisely an option, whereas Syamsu Rizal although he is the Democratic Party cadres but not in chairman position and the selected of Syamsu Rizal as mayor candidate precisely because of Syamsu Rizal’s personal proximity with Ilham67.

That assumption is reinforced by looking at the results of the Indonesia Development Engineering Consultant survey (IDEC) in April 2013, which showed that the popularity level of Adi Rasyid Ali 8.93 %, Andry Arief Bulu 10.23 %, was higher than Syamsu Rizal that was only 6.38%. While Danny Pomanto was in the range of 13.78 %, a number that has not been significant to shift the natural cadre of the Democratic Party.

It was also happened in the body of the Golkar Party. Before the election, many Golkar members who showed up and enliven the conversation would compete to accompany Supomo Guntur, for example Andi Yagkin Padjalangi, Zulkarnain Arief, Haris Yasin Limpo and Farouk M. Beta. Survey result was
become the main reference of candidate hiring mechanism. The IDEC survey results (April 2013) found that Andi Yagkin Padjalangi have the highest level of popularity among all cadres of Golkar 11.22% and other cadres were only in the range of 1%. 

**Grafik Wabk Partai Golkar Pendamping Supomo Pilwali Makassar 2013**

The decision of the DPP who then decided Kadir Halid as vice accompany Supomo Gunter was certainly surprised many parties. It was not only in the external of party but also in the body of the Golkar Party itself. The decision was taken without the knowledge of South Sulawesi Regional Executive Board Chairman of Golkar Party, Syahrul Yasin Limpo who was in abroad when the decision was set. 

Golkar recommendations which established Kadir Halid as Golkar candidate could not be separated from a large role of Nurdin Halid as one of the determinants in Golkar’s elite in eastern Indonesia. Before the decision, the candidate favored by Golkar internal survey was Farouk M. Betta (to be desired candidate of Syahrul Yasin Limpo) and external surveys Golkar much favored A. Yagkin Padjalangi (Kadir Halid was precisely uncounted). However, the names of candidate submitted Guntur Supomo companion to Golkar was no longer included Farouk M. Betta which is the the highest level of electability candidate according to the internal survey of Golkar. At this point, the determination discrepancy of Golkar candidates was appeared. The easy determination of Kadir Halid in DPP (leadership of political party at national leve) showed Nurdin Halid strong intervention in his capacity as a party who give primary consideration to relevant recommendations of DPP election in Sulawesi.

The DPP decision eventually led to an internal debate in South Sulawesi Golkar Party. Chairman of DDP (Leadership of political party at regional level). Golkar Party, Syahrul Yasin Limpo felt disregarded by the decision of the DPP. Syahrul’s attitude to that disagreement was shown by his absence in Supomo Guntur – Kadir Halid declaration and the absence of verbal support conveyed by this DPD I chairman in order to move the party to win this pair. Syahrul Yasin Limpo disappointment is then the reason for Irman Yasin Limpo to advance in Makassar Election. Irman is the younger brother of Syahrul and also a master campaign of Syahrul Yasin Limpo.

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164Syamsu Rizal is the media team leader of Ilham Arief Sirajuddin-Abd. Aziz Qahar Muzakkar in the Governor election 2012
165See the interview with Irman Yasin Limpo and Maqbul Halim
166Kadir Halid is the sibling of Nurdin Halid
167Nurdin Halid is the regional winning coordinator of Golkar party in Sulawesi
168See the interview with Maqbul Halim
169See the interview with Irman Yasin Limpo
170Fajar 2nd June 2013 edition
Limpo - Agus Ariifin Nu’mang (SAYANG Volume I) at south Sulawesi Governor election in 2007. Syahrul’s statement that Yasin Limpo’s big Family supported Irmansyah Yasin Limpo had given enough signal that Syahrul stood behind Irmansyah Yasin Limpo - Busrah Abdullah.

The impact of Syahrul’s statement was also like giving approval for some Sulawesi Golkar terrace boards who obviously supported Irmansyah. It could be proven by the presence of a number of Golkar officials and cadres in the declaration and registration Irmansyah Yasin Limpo - Busrah Abdullah in Makassar Commission Office. The spreading of banners with the tagline "I AM GOLKAR, I AM NONE" (NONE is the nickname for Irmansyah Yasin Limpo) asserted that Golkar’s voice in 2013 Makassar Mayor Election was not solid. Makassar Election in 2013 became a battlefield of three most decisive political figures in the province through the candidates they supported.

The dominance effect of Irmansyah Yasin Limpo, Ilham Arief Sirajuddin, and Nurdin Halid on the Makassar mayoral election strengthen Suzanne Keller’s theory which states that in the dynamics of local diaras political parties, there is a “strong man party” who is individually has the ability to determine the directions and policies of the party. Suzanne Keller called these men as determinant elite.

This individual Politics is then assume the writer that the role of the elite in terms of decision and policy making becomes a very important factor. Departing from the above problems, the focus of the problem is formulated as follows: What are the polarization conflict of three determinant elites in Makassar Mayor election in 2013?

B. LITERATURE

In its process, the election resulted in a competition to come up with a pair of winners who lead a region. The rivalry certainly leads to conflict, and the rivalry among the actors involved. To analyze this case, this study uses the theoretical basis of conflict and elite theory. Elite conflict theory is useful for explaining and finding out the competition and rivalry among the local elites in the mayoral election of Makassar. Whereas political conflict theory helps to see that Makassar Mayor election is served as an arena for the local elite contestation. The two theories are analytical tools in dissecting the elite conflict in Makassar.

A. Teori of Conflict

According to some experts, Deininition of conflict are varied because the experts see the conflict from different perspective. However, conflict generally can be described as a conflict of interest between two or more parties, where one party feels unfairly required, and then disappointed. And the disappointment can be realized through the conflict in legal or illegal ways. Conflict is also defined as a relationship between two or more parties (individuals or groups) who have or feel the targets are not collateral. Proposition which advocated systematic view by describing relationships among variables to explain and predict these symptoms. This conflict is accrued among the groups in order to fight over the same things.

Political elite Conflict is formed because of the existence of political power. Because there is no society who does not have any political ruling power. Meaning, there is no society who does not have any political conflict. In this case, political conflict is primarily a conflict between the political ruling power in the view of political power object. Conflict can occur because one party has high aspirations or as an alternative that is considered difficult to come by. Conflicts can be also defined as a difference perception regarding to beneficial interests to predict what people do. It is caused by perception which usually has immediate impact on behavior.

A.1 The Purpose of Conflict

The purpose of the conflict to maintain the resources that had been possessed is also the tendency of human life. Humans want to obtain the resources that belong to him, and try to defend from other parties.

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177 Those who presented were the secretary of DPD Golkar Takalar, Alamsyah Demna, the official of DPD Golkar Makassar Muhammad Arsyad, the secretary of DDP Golkar south sulawesi Maqbul Halim, and the DDP chairman of Golkar Gowa Tenri Olle Yasin Limpo.
attempt to seize or reduce these sources. What to maintain is not only the dignity, safety and family life, but also the region / area of residence, wealth, and power they belong to. The purpose of self-defense does not become a human monopoly because even animals have a disposition to do self-defense. Therefore, it is formulated the purpose of political conflict as an effort to gain and/or to maintain important resources.

A.2 Teori Konflik Johan Galtung

Galtung on his writing entitled “Peace and Social Structure” (1978: 486-491), explains conflict as an action system, either individual or collective action, which has two or more disagreement. Because a conflict is seen as an action system, Galtung uses conflict behavior concept (conflict behaviour) to distinguish with destructive behavior. This concept is used to explain that conflict is different from destructive behavior, and it does not merely refer so. Galtung then makes two proposition to explain it; (1) conflict behavior tends to cause destructive behavior because disagreement situation tends to cause frustration and aggression; and (2) destructive behavior tends to experience self-reinforcing process to form another harshness. Galtung also emphasize the difference between conflict attitude and conflict behavior conflict behavior. Galtung concept explains that it is like a triangle, conflict attitude and conflict behavior are in two sides of the triangle, where the top side is the conflict situation.

**Triangle of conflict**

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<th>Manifest level</th>
<th>Behavior</th>
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<td>Latent level of attitude</td>
<td>Contradiction</td>
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*Figure: the conflict triangle of Galtung “Peace and Social Structure” (1978 : 486-491)*

Those three factors i.e., behavior, attitude, and contradiction can influence each other. In order to systemize the conflict description, it is going to be divided in topics, first; contradiction, second; attitude, third; behavior, fourth; management of conflict.

When a conflict is still in a form of conflict attitude, it is not shown as a conflict behavior, thus, this situation is called hidden conflict. However, if a conflict formation has been formed, attitude and behavior conflict will influence each other, as the result, the formed conflict formation can be changed by high dynamics (Miall et al., 2000: 21).


When the hidden conflict has appeared in a form of behavior conflict, Galtung states that the appearing tendency is a destructive conflict. The situation then is going to be complex due to rapid behavior change, thus, it is difficult to identify the conflict including structural conflict category (objective) or psycho-cultural (subjective).

Structural conflict is identified as conflict which is happened due to a competition to fight over scarce resources. It is also called as an objective conflict because its free characteristic of conflicted parties' perception, and sources from power structure and institution. Whereas subjective conflict is a conflict encouraged by cultural and psychological factors, such as mindset about self, about other people, and their behavior (Brown, 1993).

In any level, conflict basically involves special basic element. Its emergence is triggered by an important event. In conducting conflict management, it needs to know what triggers the conflict, who involves in the conflict, what issues are disputed, what are the conflicted party strategies to achieve the victory, the opportunity of conflict to be spreaded/subsided and what are the consequences of the happening conflict. The accurate information aggregation about the questions above is expected to be able to produce an accurate analysis in understanding a problem and achieve the goals of the conflicting parties.

The figure above shows that the contradiction referred to political situation base, which is including "miss matching goals" which is felt by the conflicting parties an caused by the so-called "miss matching between social values and social structures". In an asymmetrical conflict, contradiction is found by the warring parties, their relationships and the inherent conflict of interest among them is mutually related the attitude including perceptions of the warring parties and misperceptions among them and within themselves.
A.3 The Concept of Polarization in Conflict

Election which is a battle for political office, has been regulated by law and implemented by state institutions. The fight in the election would not be separated from the friction between the contesting candidates, as well as the elite supporters. However, when it is interpreted in deeper way, the election itself is a political conflict because there is competition for something that is considered prestige. Conflict of interests among the parties will eventually form polarization conflict.

In political science, the polarization is a process in which public opinion disparts and leads to extreme. Polarization can take place at the level of the political elite or the masses of voters. Based on Indonesian dictionary, polarization is defined as bisection (groups of people who have an interest) who compete each other.\(^{78}\)

In modern development in which Indonesia goes towards a political system which took place in multiparty, polarization is not only divided into two even now known the multi-polarization term.

B. Theory of Elites

The assumptions of elite theory (Varma: 2001, 197) states that every society is divided into two categories: 1) A small group of people who have the ability and therefore occupy a position to govern, and they are called: (a.) ruling elites and (b.) Elite who are not in power. (2) A large amount of mass that is destined to be governed. Ruling elites are relatively few in number, they have the ability to harness the power, they hold all political functions, monopolize power so they are easy to utilize it for a good purpose, for example: public welfare, education improvement, expansion of employment opportunities, improving health of the people and so on, however, their power can be used for negative purposes, for example: to enrich themselves, strengthen the position of the oligarchy, enter the clan and family in the government, joining forces to suppress opposition and so on.

Besides, there are also not ruling elite, they become the second layer in the strata of the power elite, this elite layer will be the top elite replacement if at any time the holder of the power elite lose the ability to control the governance, it also becomes a counter elite when the ruling elite is not able to perform duty in controlling the power. Elite group in the social change is a group of people who have an important role, they actually give a reference and direction to the development and dynamics of the community.

As reviewed previously, in reality, Elite is not just one (e.g., only politician) it comes from a wide variety of types and elite. Each of them in motion to bring interest, techniques, methods and values on their own, according to Rusadi Kartaprawira (2004) values are called “value between” Because it has “value of” individually, each elite has a different role in social change.

Because it plays an important role in managing and controlling social change, it is almost certain that the social dynamics of a country will follow the journey of the dominant elite, they lead to significant changes in accordance with the interests of society “the between value “ or achievement direction they want.

B.1 Concept of Determinant Elites

Elite according to Suzzana Keller, derived from the word eligere, which means choosing, in regular ways it means part of choice or interest of a nation, culture, age group and also the people who occupy high social position. In general perspective, elite refers to a group of people in society who occupy the highest position. In other words, the elite is a group of citizens who has more capacity than residents of other communities that occupy the social power over other citizens who may not be inevitable.\(^{78}\) The difference between one community member and others can be expressed as a starting point for the emergence of groups that have the advantage when they are compared with other groups at the same community. Members of the public who have the advantage will be incorporated in a group which is known as the elite group.

The inherent superiority will lead them to incorporate in the elite group that have differences with the other members of the community who do not possess any superiority. Elite or elite designation terminology, as disclosed by Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Suzanne Keller and brainware belonging

\(^{78}\) Ramlan Surbakti 128

\(^{78}\) Suzanne Keller, Penguasan Kelompok Elite, Peranan Elite Penutu dalam Masyarakat Modern, PT. Raja Grafindo Persada: Jakarta, 1995, hlm. 33.
to elite theorists, refers to the group or groups that exist in a society which has the advantage or superiority when compared with the group or other group**.

Based on the analysis of Suzanne Keller above, the determinant elite, the alternatives are: (1). People who held leadership positions within an organization; (2). People who have great influence and reputation in the organization than others; (3). People who have a great contribution in the decision-making within the organization. In an organization, an individual who is not in the top position, but the reputation and ability to make decisions is greater than others, is including a person who actually occupy the top position then this person can also be called determinant elite.

According to Keller, as quoted by Maurice Duverger (2006) stated that the study of elite focuses on four things. First, elite anatomy with regard to whom, how much and how the elite appear. Second, Elite function regarded to what is the responsibility of Elite social. Third, elite coaching concerns about who gets the chance to become an elite, in exchange for what they receive, and what obligations await them. Fourth, the elite continuity with respect to how and why the elites were able to survive, and how and why of them were destroyed or can not survive.

B. RESEARCH METHODE

The type of research used in this study is Fenomenologi. Briefly, phenomenological approach aimed at obtaining an interpretation of human understanding (subject) on the phenomenon that appears and the meaning behind the visible, which comes up in the human consciousness (the subject).

Phenomenological research tries to explain or reveal the meaning of a concept or experience phenomenon that is based on the consciousness that occurs in some individuals. This research is done in a natural situation, so there is no limit on the meaning or understanding the studied phenomenon. Menurut Creswell (1998:54), According to Creswell (1998:54), a phenomenological approach suspends all judgment about the natural attitude to find a particular base. The delay is usually called epoche (period). Epoche concept is to distinguish the area of data (subject) with the interpretation of the researcher. The epoche concept becomes the center where researchers compile and classify initial assumptions about the phenomenon to understand what was said by the respondent.

This study uses a qualitative approach which is a contextual research that attempts to emphasize the meaning of a human behavior interaction phenomenon in certain situations (Usman & Akbar 2008: 78).

This study is located in Makassar, South Sulawesi by taking data from various sources, both literary, media and interview with a number of sources.

Makassar was chosen as the research site because the Mayor election held in September 2013 presented many different phenomenon than the previous election and the election in other areas. In addition, Makassar City’s strategic position as the center of economy is not only for South Sulawesi but also for Eastern Indonesia made Makassar becomes a crucial barometer for the political map in South Sulawesi, KTI, and even Indonesia.

By using qualitative research, the authors obtained data collected by several techniques, namely: literature review, interviews, observation, and documentation. In this approach, researchers have created a complex description research words, a detailed report of the views of respondents, and did studies on the natural situation.

1. Interview

In conducting interview, the writer has gone through the process of communication or interaction to collect information by means of questions and answers between the author of the informant or the research subject**. By the advances of technology, the interview could have been done without face to face, namely through the telecommunications media, as has been done when interviewing Al Mustafa staffs, one of the respondents of this study is by media E-mail. The data obtained through interviews are related to inter-elite conflict that occurred in Makassar mayoral election. Either directly or indirectly.

In accordance with the approach used in this study that is a qualitative approach, the researchers used two informant models namely main informants and complementary informants. Main informants are the Golkar and the Democratic Party elite and successful team or Makassar mayoral candidate, while the complementary informants are the researchers, community leaders, academics, and those who have a direct relationship with the studied object. The informants are:

1. Political Parties (6 people)
2. Candidates for Mayor (3 people)
3. Vice Mayor (3 people)
4. Academics (3 people)
5. NGOs (3 people)

2. Observation

The second method is observation in which the researchers did an activity with the use of the five senses, could be sight and hearing, to obtain the necessary information to answer the research problems. The observation result could be in the form of events, object, condition, or a particular atmosphere and the feeling of one's emotions. Observation is carried out to obtain the real picture of an event or events to answer the research question (Cuba and Lincoln, 1981: 191-193). In this study, the observation done by the writer is directly observing activities or events related to the mayor of Makassar election. The Observations were made through:

- Study of the mass media
- Interview cross-party figures

3. Studi pustaka (library research)

Through literature study method, the writers have examined the various writings that is based on data used for research object, such as law, library books, magazines, articles, newspapers, bulletins, journals about all elite conflict issues in the election of Makassar which is compiled and assessed in a comprehensive manner.

4. Data Analysis

The writers used qualitative analysis, it is a method of analysis which basically uses logical thinking, analysis with logic, with induction, analogy / interpretation and comparison. The thinking method used is inductive thinking, i.e. from the data / facts leading to higher levels of abstraction, including it is including the use of synthesis and develop theory (when needed and the data support)79. From this analysis, it will be concluded as the answer to the existed problems.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Democracy is a political system that ensures the circulation of political elites peacefully. The ways conducted in the political circulation through procedural democracy mechanism called a general election, which is held periodically and regularly which ensures the realization of the principles of freedom of the people in the choice and the mandate for political leadership and government. Through the election mechanism as part of the modern political system, inheritance of power or political office is unknown as happened in the aristocratic political system which is one of the models of the traditional political system and feudal.

Presented Conflicts in the elections take place in a variety of force polarization that could have involved two groups of the political elite, three or even so many political elites competing for influence over political power both at the local and national political power area.

D.1. Polarization Conflict of Three Elites In Makassar Mayor Election 2013

In political science, the polarization is the process by which public opinion divides and leads to extreme. Polarization can take place at the level of the political elite or the masses of voters. In modern development in which Indonesia is heading towards a political system which took place in multiparty, polarization is not only divided into two even now known the term multi-polarization. In the context of the local elections of Makassar, this polarization is presented in the form of conflict between mayoral
candidates associated with determining the three elite Syahrul Yasin Limpo, Nurdin Halid and Ilham Arief Sirajuddin.

Conflict and polarization presented by the three elite dominate public opinion and support for the three pairs of Makassar Mayor, Supomo Guntur - Kadir Halid who is representing political power of Nurdin Halid, Ramdan Pomanto-Syamsurizal supported by Ilham Arif Sirajuddin and the third Irmay Yasin Limpo- Busrah Abdullah who received approval from Syahrul Yasin Limpo. The presence of the three pairs of candidates, among ten other pairs of candidates dominates voter’s opinion that makes seven other mayoral pairs of candidate are less widespread voter support.

In the political history of Makassar and possibly other cities in eastern Indonesia, for the first time a mayor election followed up with ten pairs kandidat. An unusual phenomenon, which illustrates that the power over the city of Makassar is an exciting arena once loaded interests. Table: (the pairs of candidates Makassar Mayor election 2013 and their number)

Polarization power supported by three elite of ten pairs of candidates can be seen from the results of the official acquisition of voice in which two couples supported by two main elite conflict between Ilham Arif Sirajuddin and Syahrul Yasin Limpo seems to dominate voting results on the mayoral election of Makassar.

### Table voting results of candidates for mayor and vice mayor of Makassar (2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name of candidates</th>
<th>Voting results</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Adil Patu-Israaidi Zainal</td>
<td>14,556</td>
<td>2.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Supomo Guntur-Kadir Halid</td>
<td>84,153</td>
<td>14.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Rusdin Abdullah- Idris Patarai</td>
<td>23,846</td>
<td>4.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Herman handoko – Abd. Latif Aa. Bafadal</td>
<td>2,930</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Erwin Kallo - Hasbi Ali</td>
<td>5,489</td>
<td>0.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tamsil Linrung – Das’ad Latif</td>
<td>93,868</td>
<td>16.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Muhyna Muin – HM. Syaiful Saleh</td>
<td>56,607</td>
<td>9.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Danny Pomanto – Syamsu Rizal</td>
<td>182,484</td>
<td>31.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Irmay Yasin Limpo – Busrah Abdullah</td>
<td>114,032</td>
<td>19.48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above explains that the influence support of the three elite has greatly contributed to the netting of voters in the election the mayor and deputy mayor of Makassar. It can be seen in the number of votes of Irmay Arif Sirajuddin support partner that are Danny Pomanto - Syamsu Rizal who obtained 31.18% as the highest number of votes. Followed by Irmay Yasin Limpo - Busrah Abdullah supported by Syahrul Yasin Limpo won 19.48% and Supomo Guntur - Kadir Halid supported by Nurdin Halid won 14.38% in the fourth position. The table above also explains that the internal conflicts in the ranks of the Golkar Party between Syahrul Yasin Limpo - Nurdin Halid gives benefits to the candidates who are supported by Irmay Arif Sirajuddin who comes out as the winner of the mayor and deputy mayor of Makassar in 2013.

D.1.1. Polarization of Conflict Three Determinants Elite In Internal And External Parties

Image of elite polarization developed in this study, can be explained by the conflict in the mayoral election of Makassar. The conflict is the part of elite conflict to jockeying for influence in the arena of power in the election of the mayor of Makassar as Dahl and Sartori view that equates democracy with...
poliarkhi which means the occurrence of a competition among influenced minority and has the power to make decisions starting from elite circulation.

From the view of the Dahl and Sartori when referring to the election of Makassar mayor, it can be seen in the form of polarization that occurs and leads to two domains arenas of power, namely:

1. First, internally polarization of party where there is inter-elites party competition to become a major distributor of the allocation of power sources.

2. Second, externally inter-elite party competition where the elite among the parties, either individually or on behalf of the party institution compete for influence to control more powerful and wider resources, in the form of putting their people on the main source of power. In this case becoming a mayor and deputy mayor of Makassar.

Based on internal elite polarization, competition between Nurdin Halid and Syahrul Yasin Limpo in determining the allocation of resources in the mayoral election Makassar power can not be denied and it is really happening, and even lead to open political confrontation that involves not only both of them but also their supporters in Golkar internal Party.

Nurdin Halid’s Threats in which He would “fire cadres of banyan tree” (Tribun Timur Saturday, June 15th, 2013 edition) who did not support candidates who carried by Golkar on Mayor Election is a form of open confrontation over Syahrul who considered resistance to approve the advance of Irman Yasin Limpo who is also Syahrul’s younger brother as a candidate for mayor promoted by United Development Party (PPP) and the National Mandate Party (PAN)

On the other hand, although there was no explicit support provided Irman - Busrah by the presence of Syahrul’s younger brother as a candidate for mayor, it is enough to be a marker of syahrul’s resistance to Golkar decision that is under the control of Nurdin Halid.

Irman Yasin Limpo who has been the backstage politician of Syahrul and Golkar in Sulawesi, is actually another symbol of Syahrul’s attitude who could be read “starting to be sultry” with some of the political decisions taken by the DPP Golkar in some counties and cities in South Sulawesi who did not heed the recommendations and policies issued by DPD Golkar of South Sulawesi. Syahrul decision to approve his younger brother Irman Yasin Limpo is a reply form performed by Syahrul on Nurdin Halid and it probably National Golkar leader's decision.

Internal polarization does not only occur in the body of Golkar. In South Sulawesi Democrats led by the Mayor of Makassar, Ilham Arif Sirajuddin also a tug of war, where the appearance of the duo Danny Pomanto - Syamsu Rizal was internally lot of criticism in the body of the party cadres. The nominating of Dany Pomanto - Syamsu Rizal does not take place without internal conflict polarization, conflict polarization which is happened and decided by Ilham.

Some democrats cadres like Andry Arief bulu and Democratic Chairman of Makassar Adi Rashid Ali also socialize themselves as candidates for Makassar mayor. Dany Pomanto himself is not the part of a democrat cadre directly but this region planner is close to Ilham Arif Sirajuddin.

Meanwhile Syamsu Rizal as the vice of Dany Pomanto is registered as democrats cadre although he is still relatively new, Syamsul Rizal was previously a cadre of National Democratic Party (PDK) but togetherness between Syamsu Rizal and Ilham Arif Sirajuddin as Chairman of the Democratic indeed seems from a long time ago.

Syamsu Rizal himself is a spokesman for Ilham - Aziz on the election of the Governor of South Sulawesi. This is what initially made the turmoil in the Democratic body of Makassar, to support internal cadre or will remain be loyal to the decision of Ilham Arif Sirajuddin as party chairman.

Ilham Arif Sirajuddin dilemma position is not only happened to Andry Arief bulu, Adi Rashid Ali, and Dany - Syamsu Rizal, Ilham Arif Sirajuddin’s closeness to Sitti Muhiyahina Muin is also a burden. Where Muhiyahina Muin which eventually appeared as an individual candidate also still registered as Democrat’s cadre and Muhiyahina’s family is known as the line of loyalist supporters of Ilham Arif Sirajuddin.

Based on this view, when it is referring to the election of Makassar Mayor, there is also a tendency of polarization leads to psycocultural conflict towards structural, who is established in two positions, namely: First, the internal polarization party where there is competition among the party elites to become a major distributor allocation source of power.

Second, external competition among party elites where the elite among the parties, either individually or on behalf of the party institutions compete for influence to control more powerful and wider resources.
power, in the form of putting their people on the main source of power in terms of becoming the mayor and deputy mayor of Makassar.

Based on the internal elite polarization, competition between Nurdin Halid and Syahrul Yasin Limpo in determining the allocation of resources in the election of the Mayor of Makassar power cannot be denied and it is really happening in the body of the Golkar Party as well as the polarization of the Democratic Party between Ilham and other groups.

Meanwhile, in external polarization that occurs among the elite can not be denied. It derives from the importance of the political power of Makassar to be controlled, both from the Democratic Party and in the body of the Golkar Party. Externally, the Democrat has a great interest in maintaining the placement of their cadre as mayor of Makassar. Political elite here is an individual or group of elites who have influence in political decision-making process.

The influence is reflected in the presence of polarization due to the conflict as a result of the failure of inter-elite conventions both internally and externally which are formed either by inter-elite historical battle or political power factor of the achievement of personal ambition that ignores the function of the institution of the party system became not going well and even lead to the domination of power and family and personal closeness in the democrat party.

D.1.2 Psychocultural Conflict Polarization Which Affect Structural Conflict

Galtung in his article titled “Peace and Social Structure” (1978: 486-491), describes the conflict is as a system of action, can be an individual or collective action, which has two or more disagreements. Because the conflict is seen as a system of action, then Galtung uses the concept of conflict behavior to distinguish them from destructive behavior.

This concept is used to explain that conflict is different from destructive behavior, and not always in the contrary. Galtung then makes two propositions to explain, that (1) conflict behavior tend to lead to destructive behavior because of disagreement situations that may lead to frustration and aggression; and (2) destructive behaviors tend to self-reinforcing process, to form a more violent. Galtung also stresses the distinction between the attitude of the conflict and conflict behavior.

If it is referred to the views of Galtung, the tendency conflict in question was born from conflict to maintain power behavior that departs from latent conflicts that arise in the form of conflict behavior.

The motivation behind the conflict between Syahrul and Nurdin Halid is a situation which then turned into complex because of quick behavioral change, so it is difficult to identify conflicts included in the category of structural conflict (objective) that is carried in the psycho-cultural conflict arena (subjective).

Similarly, Ilham and Syahrul who have a tendency of conflict in the past, this is what affects the larger conflict that is structurally later, this motive psychokultural conflict according to experts is departing from the desire for power and authority or can also be a political dynasty.

John Galtung explained if the latent conflict has emerged in the form of conflict behavior, the emerging trend is that destructive conflict. The situation then becomes complex because the quick behavioral changes, so it is difficult to identify conflicts included in the category of structural conflict (objective) or psycho-cultural conflict (subjective).

Structural conflict is defined as a conflict because of competition to fight for rare resources. It is also called as objective conflict, because it is free from the perception of the conflicting parties, and sourced from power and institutional structures. While subjective conflict is the conflict which is driven by cultural factors, such as the framework of the self, of others, and behavior (Brown, 1993).

Looking at the three elite political conflict events in Makassar then Galtung explanation becomes contextual, where three elite conflict factors behind Makassar rise to the surface in the form of a real conflict behavior and brought into the arena of political structure.

This picture appears of how each of the elite competing in getting scarce resource that is political power, one of which is key position of mayor and deputy mayor positions of Makassar. In the race for the key positions of power can be decomposed background behind the involvement of three structural conflict of the political elite in South Sulawesi.

These conditions led to internal conflicts within Golkar psikokultural as the same thing also expressed by Irman Yasin Limpo who expresses offensiveness of Syahrul Yasin Limpo on the determination of the
mayor and deputy mayor of Makassar is the origin of the split in the party.

In addition, the background of Irmak Yasin Limpo on Election of Makassar because they want to uphold the dignity Syahrul Yasin Limpo who feel cheated and disregarded in the determination of the pair Supomo Guntur - Kadir Halid further confirms that case.

Psyco cultural conflict that led to the nuances of the structural conflict is difficult to argue behind the political dynamics of Makassar City ahead of the election of the mayor and deputy mayor.

This condition makes political nuances leads to a highly subjective dimension where rationality into consideration the undoubted.

The presence of the political elite who played behind the three candidates (Irmak, Dany Pomanto, and Supomo Guntur) as three determinant elites is truely shows the weakness of political parties cadernization, because the three couples considerable public sympathy yet still rely on the "figure" of Makassar, these three candidates were backed up by Syahrul Yasin Limpo, Ilham Arif Sirajuddin, and Nurdin Halid.

The origin of the conflict polarization was departing from the issue of Syahrul's authority as a determinant in the Golkar Party elite who felt step over terlangkah, party disunity which is happening in Golkar Party is internal evidence that the Golkar Party still represents the traditional parties, which is only active and have competed orientation in the election, which rely on the adhesive bond between the organization and the support of the masses through charismatic figures, and represent themselves as the party.

When each character with their charisma experienced a conflict contiguity point, at the same time the potential for conflict and discord is difficult to avoid. The existence of interest conflict in the view of Ralf Dahrendorf came from people who live together and laid the foundations for forms of social organization, where there are positions of the elite who have the power to rule in certain contexts and mastering certain positions.

The presence of contiguity conflict among elites caused the sharp polarization of the arena then carried on the split between candidates. This fact indicates that during this time Golkar as political party does not build a political structure but build patronage politics. Because if it works effectively, political parties should build institutional strength shaft not to strengthen the position of the ruling elite. However, in many cases, parties are precisely lost by their controlling elites. Institutionalization of party as a collective decision does not compete with a number of elite that has the power to decide.

Party's vote then transformed into an elite vote. There has been a great friction occurs from state formation towards social formation where the arena of social power is controlled by a handful of elites who have been the determinant elite.

In the case of the mayoral election in Makassar, we can see how the power elite determinant Nurdin Halid as indicated by the determination of candidacy Supomo Guntur - Kadir Halid who allegedly represent the interests of Nurdin Halid as a strong person in the Golkar which eventually brought discord amongst Golkar members themselves.

Similar condition was also happened in the body of Democratic party. Just, the advance of Dani Pomanto Pomanto until selected as the winner showed ingenuity inspiration in solidify the party's internal strength. Unlike the case with Irmak Yasin Limpo as the younger brother of Syahrul and Kadir Halid who is also the siblings of Nurdin Halid which precisely polarized in the endless internal conflict, until the day of election. Ilham Arif Sirajuddin is able to reduce the internal conflict of the Democratic Party. It is different from Syahrul Yasin Limpo as chairman of Golkar south Sulawesi and Nurdin Halid as chairman of Golkar winning team that never accord to further promote the future fate of the party.

The Entrainment of psyci-cultural conflict towards structural resulted in dependence of party's figures patron, so the psychocultural will much affect political decision of the party.

Makassar Major election condition has explained polarization picture elite conflict which then provides a broad impact, even bringing destructive tendencies both in the interests of the party and the leadership cadre articulation which should run well, in which political parties play a leadership function of regeneration and overseas recruitment based system instead of subjectification elite based that took place in psychocultural. So that the case should be based on the interests of the party, not structural mental condition and psychocultural of determinant elites in making strategic decisions about leadership.
A. Conclusion

Based on the research, it can be concluded that: Polarization occurs when the inter-elite power struggle is happened shows the following forms:

a) *firstly*, Polarization is basically happened in two arenas, namely internal and external. Internal polarization is determinant inter-elite rivalry in internal ruling party’s arena to snatch away to be the main *distributor* in a political power. In the case of Makassar mayor election it is happened in polarization two elites of Golkar party - Nurdin Halid dan Syahrul Yasin Limpo, who shows rivalry to be the “powerful man” or main distributor source either in Golkar party’s arena or in wider sourcepower. They are in the position as important actor who ensure power and reputation resource (*own rules*). As ‘party’s strong man’. These three figures have power in determining party’s policy, because they have higher level capabilities than other party officials both their position in the party and their capacities as determinant elites who have been internally trusted.

b) *secondly*, external elite polarization is happened because the failure of inter-elite convention either internally or externally which is formed either by inter-elite battle history or political power factor of the achievement of personal ambition that ignores the function of the official institutions of the party, even lead to family power domination and personal closeness. When it in the “external arena” polarization of three figures is presented by three candidates they support, they are Supomo Guntur – Kadir Halid, Irman Yasin Limpo- Busrah Abdullah and Danny Pomanto- Syamsu Rizal. These three Mayor candidates represent two power of *client* and one individual patron power. The effects of this case resulted in the presence of *shadowpower* doll elite who is ruling but controlled by those who are determinant elites.

B. SUGGESTION

1. The existence of determinant in the political party shows the capacity of individuals who have the authority to determine the various contexts of power, besides the party should encourage democratization by expressing collegiality collective leadership in determining various contexts policy party.
2. It needs firm rules on the party’s rule mechanism
3. Party should encourage more optimal chaderization so that party is no longer carry non cadre in the election.
4. The Strengthening system in the party should be encouraged so that party is no longer relies on the popularity and the figure of its elites.

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