

## Relations Authority (Political Studies Transactional in General Election Legislative Candidates in Makassar)

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**Abstract:** The aim of this study was to obtain in-depth information about the relation of power in the general election of legislative candidates 2014 based on the typology actualized in political discourse transactional in Makassar. The type of research was qualitative by using a constructivism approach. In collecting the data, the researchers was collected data discourse through the print media as well as researchers act as a research instrument. Data collected was the relation of power in the general election of legislative candidates in 2014 and contestation pattern of legislative candidate transactional political discourse. The data was obtained through two sources of data namely documentation and informants. Data was collected through in-depth interviews. The data were analyzed using the technique of interactive analysis intended to look at the process, meaning and power relations in the political discourse transactional. The results showed that the pattern of authority relations affect the closeness of political actors with some officials/local authorities in the city of Makassar. Proximity is seen in the pattern of relationships among political party leaders resulted in their patterns of cooperation in the use of power to give effect to the citizens (voters) pattern is also the visible proximity of the proximity of political actors who want to give effect to the citizens as a form of support.

**Key words:** Relations authority, transactional practice politics and pragmatism, suport, voters, proximity, Makassar

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### INTRODUCTION

The interesting thing in this research about other aspects that support for research is that in the general election of 2014 legislative candidates allegedly loaded the transactional politics in Makassar. In previous studies Hertanto explains that the attitude and behavior of the coalition further highlight the principle of pragmatism transactional. Pragmatism is an action seeking a great transactional chance to win a pair of candidates that are influenced by money politics and also for the purpose of raising funds for the party's survival and self-existence.

Further research conducted by Fitriyah (2013) on the incidence of money politics. In the election, finding money politics going on in the district and provincial head of the local elections. Regulation (Law No. 32 of 2004) are not strong enough in regulating the politics of money and provide sanctions against the politics of money in addition to the problem is also on law enforcement itself. It activity (money politics) threatens not only clean and effective governance but also clean and honest elections. Those who spend money politics to win elections after elections are expected to recover their investment with

a profit. Further research conducted by Indora *et al.* (2014) concerning political influence transactional against voter behavior in local elections to explain their research findings are significant effect between transactional politics influence the behavior of voters in local elections. This study focuses on voter behavior only and does not come to the stage of any form of social capital required to select in local elections. As well as research conducted by Winardi (2009) about money politics. In general election findings money politics has shifted the nation's moral and reforms. It brings this nation back to the era of constitutional democracy does not seem to bring the real nature of democracy, actually make this nation fall into democracy transactional the bad one.

The phenomenon of the legislative elections of 2014 in the city of Makassar bring the views of the national democratic party, politician Akbar Faisal considers the election this time was worse than the previous election by the many practices of money politics of the candidates. Akbar Faisal at the time, served as a member of the Board of Representatives participate in designing Electoral Law, according to the design of the legislation is good but the implementation in the community is very poor, namely by handing out, food packages are not the values of honesty

that has have. In recognition of Mursalim to SN (one of the participants of legislative candidates) through his team's offense through dawn raids carried out during the election day. In Soppeng, "SN promised money dawn raid 100,000 per household. However, the initial stage, further Mursalim, team of SN only share 25,000 per person. As a first DP (Down-Payment) the term my SM pay 25.000 divided by night voting, then after selecting the newly added rest. In fact, SN team buy seats for the people there that he was elected by the people.

Furthermore, the attack for money (Dawn Raid) in Makassar, newspaper investigations, several other residents claim to have received and got an envelope from a different candidate. The amount of money that was diverse, approximately 20,000, 40,000, 50,000-100,000 Rp. Money is given to a successful team on the pitch it asks for the right to vote given to certain candidates were published in a newspaper investigation Tuesday 8 April 2014. Dawn raid in quiet days "average 50,000-100,000 or the provision of groceries and clothes gave one vote to pick a candidate; I have already come for twice" said Aziz citizens of Maccini Sawah, Makassar District of it, when met the journalist.

The phenomenon of voters in the legislative elections of 2014 in the city of Makassar that, voters largely dare to accept the provision made by the legislative candidates was initiated by the team of volunteers of the legislative candidates. It is intended that the community is willing to provide the support required to select and choose a candidate at the election held or remuneration (transactional politics). The public in Makassar prefer the rewards before the legislative candidates elected than afterward elected as the party of a candidate member of the legislature when it managed to sit in the parliament, all the promise and hope of ever spoken to the people gradually began to be forgotten. On the other hand, as a result of the contestation of political elites in seizing power in influencing the strength of the material relied on the community to gain support. Impacts section of the people choose to be non-voters, people get bored with the promise of legislative candidates.

Furthermore, people also do not care, even those who let go against all the election results they assume that whoever is elected and sit in parliament, directly will not be able to bring a change. So, the concept of legislative elections in Makassar adopted a model, that is not the sole consideration where voters rely on the concept of politics remuneration (transactional politics). Politics is like the sale (money politics) is not just a vote-buying that occurs in the community but also to bribe the members of the election management, then when the candidate was successful in the parliament due to spending that much,

then the behavior will tend to corrupt. As this study, intends to explor space post-structural and post-material focusing on the reality behind the discourse of structural and material. Discourse as a material ontology (area of knowledge) that is intended not just to identify how the results of the discourse and the discourse process concentrate but how works constructing reality structure and new material discourse. As a manifestation of the reality of structural and material contained in legislative elections in Makassar is not a natural phenomenon but the effects of the production and reproduction of discourse, that concentrates systematically in the complexity of the interests of political actors. Based on described thus, power, relations are openly exhibited in direct election arena with the power of capital to create transactional politics which affects deadly political maturation of civil society will even turn off critical reasoning public in obtaining power. Thus, the question is why the study of power relations in the legislative elections of 2014 actualized by typology in political discourse transactional in Makassar, Indonesia?

## **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

The research location was located in Makassar, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The type of the investigation was qualitative by using a constructivism approach. In collecting the data, the researcher was collected data through the print media and the discourse of researchers acted as a research instrument. Data collected was the informant obtained by purposive sampling. The informants in this study as many as 17 people. The type of data needed research were primary data in the form of discursive practices (production and reproduction of discourse) and secondary data in the form of non-discursive practices (events of political discourse transactional practices) which accompanies the legislative elections in Makassar 2014.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**The power authority legislative candidates in 2014 unrevealed based on transactional typology in political discourse in makassar:** Grouping of power relations in the legislative elections is a reality that is formed in the concept of discourse power held by political actors who want to fight in the arena democratic legislative elections in Makassar. A social phenomenon in the political discourse transactional forms and manifestations has established knowledge of the laity in which the existence of transactional political discourse that is not accepted by most circles because existence is very disturbing values

of the democratic ideals of social order. Furthermore, this assumption is also transformed into the driving force for the initiative to form a container of rejection, so that, residents of the area NIL all political discourse transactional practices can be solved. In detail, the meaning of power by Foucault (1978) mentioned in the following propositions:

- Power is not something that is acquired, obtained, used or distributed as something to be grasped but power run from various places of the relationship that continues to move (mobile relations)
- The relation of power is not coming from below that shows the hierarchical structural relationships that show the existence of a dominant position and the ruled
- The power was coming from below that shows there is no distinction binary because of the power, it includes both
- The power relations that are intentional and non-subjective
- If there is power, there are also anti-power (resistance) and the resistance is not beyond the power relations

Foucault outlook is still happening in the world of democracy, especially in the legislative elections in which Foucault recognizes the power run from various places. In contrast to the transactional politics that has a philosophical awareness of the legal community which is a reality constructed by the attitudes and treatment of people in the democratic process. Transactional political discourse has been phenomenal because it has the power to intervene networking with social reality as practiced by the community based on the typology. Some supporters will bring tremendous optimism to support a legislative candidate where there are consensus and agreement both orally and in writing. Apart from that, other supporters groups do support through initial rewards they receive with the assumption that the value of such compensation is equal to the value of the support that has been given to legislative candidates.

In the social reality, the control structure was built in the relation of power and knowledge and the relationships they both operate in a discursive formation. In the history of science, Foucault (2002) examines the discourse with the aspect of language use and how to use the language articulated in social practices. Discourse is defined as where the power for driving the knowledge contained therein. Foucault discourse study emphasizes the power relations (Mills, 2004) to the power to be built, implemented and maintained through regulation of

discourse. Accomplished through the power of discourse and the discourse is always rooted in power as that power is defined as a productive one. In Foucault's view, expressed to function as a modern subject, each being disciplined and normalized through exercise such as forms meticulous and detailed view of power through institutions and in their relationships with others. Individuals then continued, implementing forms of power in everyday life through institutions, labor relations and social relations in this way is tough to identify the existence (Edkins and Williams, 2009).

It is clearly seen that, community supporters do the support legislative candidate is qualified with transactional. Terms transactional just think of the impact that occurs when the condition of legislative elections are held without thinking about the negative consequences in the long term on the condition of the election. Decisions made by the support group do support is due to factors of a political reward, political appointments, political relations, family relations and intervention and political engineering is done by both parties (actors and voters).

The awareness is further delivered voters who have a relationship with prospective members of the legislature to provide support for the elections were conducted. The number of practices transactional politics due to political actors who want to contest the legislative elections due to accentuate a sense of pride where, they were defeated in the legislative election. Of the prestige which is owned by a legislative candidate eventually led to the attitude to political interference as said by Foucault, so that they can achieve the comprehensive support of citizens who have the political right to vote.

Discourse is a manifestation of the power and knowledge to work quietly in creating social structural adherent by a disciplinary mechanism. Discipline against a norm that states shared values generated through self-reference and the group is a mechanism for disciplining members of the community. Discipline is not synonymous with an institution or a specific apparatus but technology. Discipline can be run by institutions that have specialized like a prison or institution that uses disciplinary mechanism as a means to an end such as hospitals, schools, military education, including in the family (Rabinow and Foucault, 1984).

About that, the views of Mujahidin (2012) in his book *Identity in Power*, argued that by improving the quality of democracy and political culture hybrid. The hybrid political culture of democracy in which power is determined by how much the public participate in the control of power. Mujahidin gives examples of the use of cultural symbols, power and money in the process of

establishing the political and economic elite in South Sulawesi will be very harmful to the growth of democracy. In fact, democracy is meant to give equal opportunity to citizens to play on the public stage. In the context of direct democracy, the election of leaders in the area including the election heads of districts and provinces are considered as one of the main pillars of democracy. The modern conception of the election filed by Scumpeter which puts the organization of free elections and periodically as the main criteria for a political system that can be termed as a democracy. Political participation is closely related to the democratic society of a country. Democratization is a process that takes a long time and was marked by negotiation and bargaining involving various political and economic actors in society in other words, there is no instant democracy.

However, democratization is not a process that happens by itself in a vacuum but must be initiated and pursued to progress and survive, without having been mired in anarchy and violent revolution (Noer, 1996). To reduce the pressure in society to give flexibility or slightly open access points leading to the power for the community, to strengthen the social base of the elite "actor" is it is in the interests of elite status quo or the actor himself. This phenomenon by Adam (1991) calls the reforms in the limited sense in the form of openness, decompression, renewal or restructuring or elite managed to involve people's participation in the political process although limited and remain in power or terms Przeworski "broadened dictatorship".

Legislative candidates are those who work as employees, contractors, traders, activists, academics and retired bureaucrats. They often play patterns of political pragmatism is their backgrounds as entrepreneurs and traders. Therefore, they have much capital that is supported by a factor of proximity and networking power for which they wake up during them carry out their profession as a businessman. The candidates of legislative candidates are also not supported by the human resources qualified, so that, they do not have the political knowledge (indigenous political). They assume that politics is in the interests of political parties and mutual competitiveness among contestants from each other, even though they engage in politics in the party the same politics.

The pragmatic behavior of an unscrupulous politician who often relies on the transactional situation is also supported by the apathy of the people shall choose to make a change. Society as trapped in the bondage of legislative candidates, so happy society will accept consideration given by legislative candidates to every element of society. Such conditions also drove people to

situations that lead to corruption. Corruption is often made by politicians who have successfully served in parliament is the result of cooperation created through pragmatism among politicians and the public. Politicians who successfully served in parliament considers someday he would find a way to return on capital. This condition is often seen regarding physical development projects tenderization providing goods and projects where project content are particularly vulnerable to corruption practices. Politicians take this action due to the background of those who want to restore the capital during the campaign, using funds from the state budget local/state budget and funds community aspirations.

The politician also said to be successful when able to use all the facilities of countries that have borders and corridors that have previously been set and specified in government regulations. The attitudes of pragmatism that often occurs in the legislative elections were the result of a lack of optimization of regeneration carried out by political parties. So that, in any way, a legislative candidate uses and anticipate that for the future, they can win the political battle. Such conditions also wounded from the democratic elements of the reform.

The absence of a commitment to apply the idealism and pragmatism carried away from the attitude of political parties with legislative candidates managed to win the fight if a general election contestation. This condition also can seize the public's attention in the future when one among legislative candidates to contest it publicly; they used various methods and strategies to win the legislative elections. The actor who compete in legislative elections was not burdened with the rules imposed by the political parties. As weak regulation and static control exercised by political party officials to any legislative candidates who will be contesting in the general election.

Political education that prevailed during the voting behavior in the society has been insufficient. Political education not only from political parties but also from state officials such as the General Election Commission (KPU). For the socialization of the importance of maintaining the ideals, KPU chooses legislative candidates in accordance with the capacity and human resources are owned. As, well as knowing the track record and career before legislative candidates are running to get ahead in the general election.

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resources are owned. As well as knowing the track record and career before legislative candidates are running to get ahead in the general election. Additionally in the social order has been instilling a sense of discovery voter distrust to the legislature. It is because during the main aspiration task of the legislature is often driven by the interests of political parties alone. Mandate to articulate and appreciate the needs of the community have started marginalized. Therefore, most people become pessimistic to express their political aspirations with the absence of them in the general election of legislative candidates.

The social orders that are included in the category of apathy toward legislative elections are those who have a college education and have sufficient knowledge and insight regarding the electoral and legislative elections. Other societies are those who live in urban areas who have busy above normal which political views are not in line with the government and have a sense of high critical to the development and progress of politics in the Republic of Indonesia. Thus, this social order which then performs actions apathetic to the democratic party that is held once in 5 years. People assume that when a legislative candidate was selected and successfully served in parliament, then they cannot do much because of the intervention of the political parties which requires them to work in the interests of a minor political party who did not heed the aspirations of the people. Society clearly and openly says, that "they will be ready to vote when they are rewarded either in cash or the form of goods if it is considered equivalent to currency". Such pragmatic condition that is the phenomenon needs to be considered, because the public has led to money politics. In short, they've mortgaged their aspirations and no longer see the potential possessed by each of legislative candidates who will be contesting in the general election. This condition also leads to the collapse of order and democratic values which have become a reference in the development and nation building.

This condition is a phenomenon for developing countries, especially in Indonesia, particularly in the city of Makassar by applying political patterns that use a variety of ways to deliver legislative candidates in gaining the support of sound. Besides, these conditions also will deliver the Republic this leads to a negative image which emphasizes political strategy priority to unite the attitude of pragmatism and idealism another priority attitude. So, it is not surprising when the future appears some elements politician, who was caught red-handed and arrested after making bribery leading to criminal acts committed massive corruption by members of the legislature. The high cost of politics as the foundation for legislative candidates to think about the cost of return

(capital) they held during the campaign period. Political intervention is used by way of reward during the campaign period, legislative candidates are aware of and use the strategy to gain support from citizens by doing transactional politics. Then, the behavior of candidates for legislative action transactional politics due to their fear of losing the support of the citizens whenever, there among other legislative candidates who undertake similar efforts, so, that, they are losing support. This effort is conducted by a group of legislative candidates more so creating contestation discourse transactions among legislative candidates.

## CONCLUSION

Power relations in the legislative elections in 2014 actualized by typology in political discourse transactional in Makassar greatly affect the closeness of political actors with some officials/local authorities in the city of Makassar. Proximity is seen in the pattern of relationships among political party leaders, thus creating patterns of cooperation regarding using his power to give effect to the citizens (voters) to choose legislative candidates in accordance with the wishes of their group. Apart from that, the pattern is also the visible proximity of the proximity of political actors who want to give effect to the citizens as a form of support, so that, future elections which will be a political actor selected.

The political actors who want to compete in legislative elections in Makassar formed a group known as the group of successful teams. The group is working to garner votes and the support of the citizens who have the function to support and provide assistance for the success of this political actor in the legislative elections in the city of Makassar. The team is also working on success campaigned for legislative candidate's actor in public by putting up banners/billboards, distributing stickers, distributing annual calendar, distributing food, distributing money and to sharing development assistance. However, a successful team group that has been given the power of political actors to first installs a cooperation contract with the citizens who have been targeted in the division of labor.

In the form of cooperation contracts and agreements previously entered in which there is often a contractual arrangement. Contract deal is when likely legislative candidates are not able to reach the most votes (maximum vote), then the aid will be withdrawn (taken back) by a group of successful team, by the agreement and cooperation in advance. It is also evidenced by the election of a typology of regions that have the characteristics of citizens of different thoughts, so it is not

easy to give effect to the citizens in general. It also still requires strategies regarding the distribution of the assistance provided by the legislative candidates who want to contest the elections. In addition to that, neither the clerk nor the general election supervisory committee, the group's campaign team argued that the goods they provide are shaped according to political nature or "alms" so, it is hard to prove. Thus, to support the implementation of the general elections that upholds democratic principles of democratic, accountable and transparent.

### IMPLEMENTATIONS

Then the legislative elections need to be supported to optimize the role of the General Elections of apparatus including, the General Election Commission (KPU), general elections Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) and the election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu). Besides that, it is also supported by the participation of stakeholders who have a role and a focus on quality improvement in the general election. Furthermore, optimization of the implementation of regulatory legislation also participated into the primary domain is useful to prevent the practice of transactional politics in elections in the future.

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