

A Contestation of Islamic and Nationalist Party Ideologies in South Sulawesi: From Voter Fanaticism to Pragmatism

Muhammad Yahya^{1*}, Ibrahim², Hermansyah³, Akbar⁴, A. Ilah Nurul Falah⁵

¹Department of Communication Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia

²Department of Public Administration Science, Universitas Perjuangan Republik Indonesia

³Department of Government Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sinjai, Indonesia

⁴Department of Management Science, Universitas Indonesia Timur, Indonesia

⁵Department of Public Administration Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sinjai, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: muhammadyahya@unismuh.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Keyword: Political ideology; Political parties; Political pragmatism; Voter preferences; Local elections	This research aims to explore the role and strength of nationalist ideology in the political contestation between Islamic parties (PPP) and nationalists (PDIP) in South Sulawesi during the 2014 Legislative Election. The research method used is descriptive analysis with a qualitative approach through interviews and data documentation. Research findings show that each party seeks to maintain and ground its ideology through cadre programs and party schools, focusing on caring for and supporting small communities. Even though they succeeded in placing their representatives in several electoral districts, PPP and PDIP faced political dynamics that influenced the success of their ideological strategies, especially the emergence of political pragmatism among voters, which reduced the strength of ideological battles at the local level. This research provides insight into how party ideology remains relevant in local political dynamics while underscoring the challenges faced in maintaining ideological power in changing voter preferences. Therefore, political parties must continue strengthening and adapting their ideology to make it relevant to local political dynamics. In addition, efforts are needed to overcome the challenges of political pragmatism by increasing ideological awareness among voters.

INTRODUCTION

As a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Islam has played an important role in Indonesian politics, while nationalism is the primary basis for state formation. Despite the diversity of approaches and interpretations, these two ideologies continue to clash and interact in Indonesian politics, reflecting the complexity and plurality of its society (Jubba et al., 2023b). As a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Islam has played an important role in Indonesian politics, while nationalism is the primary basis for state formation. Despite the diversity of approaches and interpretations, these two ideologies continue to clash and interact in Indonesian politics, reflecting the complexity and plurality of its society (Fox & Menchik, 2023; Jubba et al., 2022, 2023b). These dynamics still influence Indonesia's current political landscape, with various political forces representing a broad ideological spectrum. Political Islam remains a significant force, while nationalism is still represented by parties that refer to the Pancasila ideology. These complex political dynamics often create tension and

bargaining between various interests, influencing future policy and state development (Noor, 2016; Nurjaman et al., 2018; Yunanto & Hamid, 2013).

Political parties are organizations that aim to represent and fight for the political interests of society in a country's political system. The primary function of political parties is to act as an intermediary between the government and society and to articulate the aspirations and interests of society in the political decision-making process. Political parties are also responsible for forming public policies, recruiting and educating political cadres, and monitoring government performance (Utami et al., 2024; Zepeda et al., 2024). Apart from that, political parties also have a role in maintaining political stability and facilitating healthy political competition in a democratic system. Political parties in Indonesia are often identified with various ideologies, such as Islam and nationalism, which form the basis for formulating their policies and political goals. This ideology influences the orientation of political parties in fighting for the interests of society and is the basis for recruiting members and voters (Baharuddin et al., 2023; Jubba et al., 2023a; Widayat et al., 2022).

For approximately 30 years, from 1965 to 1998, the Orde Lama regime controlled political parties' power. Politics dwarfs the political power of parties through the policy of fusion of political parties and other social organizations by implementing the single political principle of Pancasila, leaving society with no ideological choice. In fact, in society, the world's great ideologies have long been known to take root and develop. Primordial ties increasingly clearly influenced the organization of political parties in the lead-up to the 1955 elections. Support for parties tended to follow socio-religious lines, as explained by Geertz. He said existing political parties could be seen from socio-religious lines based on the santri, abangan, and priyayi variants. The political parties Masyumi and NU are groups supporting the Santri variant, the PNI group supporting the Priyayi variant, and the PKI group supporting the Abangan variant (Irsyam & Romli, 2003).

Apart from social-religious lines, the influence of political sects is still very significant in forming political parties. Herbert Feith and Lance Castle explain the influence of political currents in forming political parties. According to the two political experts, five political currents live in Indonesian political society. The five political currents are Radical Nationalism, Islam, Socialism, Communism, and Javanese Traditionalism. According to Feith and Castle, the five political currents intersect. Only the political currents of Islam and Communism do not intersect or influence (Feith & Castles, 1988). The first election in 1955 provided an overview of the map of political forces and ideologies that were dominant at that time. The political reality in South and Southeast Sulawesi in the election was that the electoral districts were combined with the following vote results: The Masyumi Party had 446,255 or 40 percent of the total valid votes of 1,116,158. NU Party 159,193 (14.4); Kristen Indonesia Party 188,850 (10.6); PSII 114,798 (10.3); PNI 46,334 (4.2); PKI 17,831 (1.6), Buruh Party 15,876 (1.3) (Alfian, 1971).

The political battle between political parties and ideologies has always been an attraction and a campaign theme to attract support and sympathy for the masses every time a general election was held throughout the Orde Lama and into the Reformation era. The attractiveness of a political party is primarily determined by the ideology it promotes, coupled with the party's vision and mission, as well as figures who are elites and act as party apparatus. The 2014 election was a battle for political power for members of the legislative, DPD, and presidential elections. Specifically in South Sulawesi, the legislative elections have changed the face of South Sulawesi's political scene. The Golkar Party, which once had the sole majority in the South Sulawesi DPRD, is slowly experiencing decline with the presence of new political parties that can gain support from voters in South Sulawesi.

The picture of the 2014 election can be seen from the seats won in the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD, where the Golkar Party won 18 seats out of the 85 contested. Democrat Party and Gerindra Party respectively (11), PAN (9), Nasdem (7) and PPP (7), Hanura (6), PKS (6), PDIP (5), PKB (2), PBB (1), PKPI (1). Twelve political parties place representatives in the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD and are party elites. These legislators sit in the DPRD because they can gain voters' support and sympathy. The tactics and strategies adopted include selling the party's ideology during the campaign period and socializing among voters. The ability to convince voters

will determine whether a candidate will gain majority support and lead the legislative candidate to a seat in parliament. Among the increasing number of tactics and strategies, strengthening the ideology of political parties is one attractive to voters.

The emergence of new contestations in the Indonesian political landscape can be seen as a response to social, political, and economic changes that continue to develop (Baharuddin et al., 2022; Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017). This contestation involves various groups and individuals trying to advance their political interests and visions through various means, such as participation in elections, social movements, and political activism. Political contestation generally refers to the struggle or competition between various interests and ideologies in achieving power, influence, or a particular political agenda (Baharuddin et al., 2023). This can occur in various forms, ranging from debates in public spaces to competition between political parties in general elections (Habibi & Nurmandi, 2021; Marks & Steenberg, 2002). In the Indonesian context, political contestation also reflects the dynamics between various political forces representing a diverse ideological spectrum, including the conflict between Islamic ideology and nationalism and the struggle between different political parties to win voter support (Baharuddin, 2022).

Overall, Indonesia's political dynamics have long been influenced by the struggle between Islamic ideology and nationalism, reflecting its society's complexity and plurality. During the Orde Lama period, the regime tightly controlled political parties' power, while general elections became an arena for consolidating political power. However, with the end of the Orde Lama and the advent of the Reformation era, new contestations have brought about significant changes in the political landscape, with various political and ideological forces competing for public support. This shows that the political process in Indonesia continues to develop and reflects the dynamics of change in society.

Although research has explored the ideological contestation between Islam and nationalism in the Indonesian political context, there is still an unmet need to understand in depth the dynamics of ideological competition between certain political parties at the local level, such as the PPP and PDI Perjuangan in South Sulawesi. This research can fill this gap by exploring how the two parties utilize and manifest their ideologies to gain public support and how these dynamics influence the results of general elections and local politics in the region. By deepening understanding of these ideological rivalries, research can provide more comprehensive insight into Indonesia's complex and evolving political dynamics.

This research aims to understand and analyze the dynamics of the ideological battle between the United Development Party (PPP), which espouses Islamic principles, and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), which espouses a nationalist ideology in the context of the 2014 Legislative Election. The focus of the research will be on political strategy and messages. Campaign messages, these parties' efforts in maintaining and maintaining their respective ideologies, and how these dynamics influence the results of general elections and nationalist politics in Indonesia. This research is expected to provide in-depth insight into how ideology plays a crucial role in political dynamics in Indonesia, especially in the contestation between Islam and nationalism.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research method uses a qualitative approach by combining interview techniques and document analysis. Through interviews with key figures, document analysis is also used to support and complement the data obtained from interviews. Combining these two methods will provide a comprehensive picture of the dynamics of the ideological battle between PPP and PDIP in the context of the 2014 Legislative Election and their efforts to maintain their respective ideologies. Data validation with triangulation is carried out by combining the results from several data collection methods or different data sources to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the information obtained. In this research, the results of interviews with key figures will be confirmed and strengthened by document analysis. By triangulating data, this research ensures that the findings and interpretations produced are not only based on one data source but are

strengthened by data from various sources, thereby increasing the validity and reliability of the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The PPP party carries Islamic principles

Political ideology is a collection of ideas, values, and beliefs that form the basis for a political party or movement in determining its political goals, policies, and actions. Political ideology often includes views about ideal social, economic, and governmental structures and offers solutions to various problems faced by society. Political ideology can be divided into several types, such as liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and nationalism, each emphasizing different values and principles in answering political questions. Political ideology can also be a tool for gathering political support, mobilizing the masses, and influencing the direction of public policy (Gwiazda, 2023; Igwebuike & Chimuanya, 2024; Rossini et al., 2023).

In the Indonesian political context, political ideology is vital in determining the orientation and goals of political parties and political movements. Since independence in 1945, various political ideologies have competed and interacted in Indonesian politics, reflecting the complexity and plurality of its society. The ideological battle between Islam and nationalism, for example, has become an integral part of Indonesia's political landscape, with various political parties identifying themselves with one or the other of the two ideologies. Despite the diversity of approaches and interpretations, these two ideologies continue to clash and interact in Indonesian politics, reflecting the dynamics of change and power competition at the national and local levels (Amin & Ritonga, 2022; Triatmo et al., 2020; Yustisia et al., 2023).

Islamic ideology creates Muslim society and its elements, pillars, and characteristics. In moral and spiritual terms, this ideology, as a system, understands human nature and respects it appropriately, providing a suitable place and nutrition so that it grows and develops with the permission of God. This can only be achieved through practical knowledge, strong faith, and sincere worship with commendable character. In education and culture, humans are given the ability to learn, and knowledge becomes the basis for their candidacy as caliphs on earth. Meanwhile, from a social perspective, Islam, as an ideology, is very suitable because it focuses on the formation of a society of pious individuals (Qardhawi, 1988).

Entering the 2014 election era, PPP released a tagline and became campaign material during the 2014 election, namely, PPP Home of the Islamic Community. This slogan is a place for Muslims to return, channel their aspirations, and follow them up. In the reform era, many PPP exponents moved to other parties or founded new parties. In addition, many Islamic organizations were founders or supporters of PPP and supported the new political party. However, in the new house, many PPP exponents experienced disappointment. This momentum is the right time for those who have left the PPP to return to fight with the PPP to channel the aspirations of Muslims and follow them up.

PPP was born on January 5, 1973, as a representation of a single forum for channeling the political aspirations of Muslims in Indonesia. PPP is a form of implementation of the party simplification policy initiated by Soeharto's Orde Lama regime. PPP is a party that was born from the political combination (fusion) of four Islamic parties that existed at that time, namely the Nahdlatul Ulama Party (NU), the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi), the Indonesian Syarekat Islam Party (PSII) and the Islamic Party United Tarbiyah Islamiyah (Perti). These four parties are Islamic-based, with a national perspective and an orientation towards ummah, democracy, and justice. By establishing PPP, the four political parties, she agreed to strive to develop Islamic political order, culture, and behavior within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (Paragoan, 2003).

Before the fusion occurred between the four Islamic political parties, NU and PSSI, they were once in one political party, Masyumi (born November 7, 1945). However, However, two years later, in 1947, SI left Masyumi, and NU followed in SI's footsteps in 1952. However, after the 1955 elections, Masyumi, NU, PSII, and the Party returned to collaboration. This occurred in the

Constituent Assembly when the four elements jointly supported Islam as the primary country. This collaboration (minus Masyumi) also occurred during the discussion of the GBHN in the 1967 MPR SI. Likewise, in the 1971 elections in various regions, the Islamic parties, which were now fused, also carried out vote linking (stembus accord) in distributing the remaining seats.

After the 1971 election, activities to fuse the parties continued. Suharto repeatedly invited party leaders to discuss merging the four Islamic parties into a new party that would breathe spiritual and material fusion. From among the Islamic parties, the initiative towards fusion was then carried out by the General Chairperson of Parmusi, HMS Mintaaredja. In December 1972, Mintaaredja, who also served as Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, invited party leaders to the Ministry of Social Affairs to realize the appointment of the federative United Development Group in a more decisive direction. At that meeting, PSII refused to carry out the fusion.

The PDIP party is the heir to the ideology of nationalism

Nationalism is an ideology that creates and maintains the sovereignty of a country by realizing a concept of shared identity for a group of people with the same goals or ideals in realizing national interests. Nationalism is also a feeling of wanting to defend one's country internally and externally (Huddy et al., 2021; Sary Sakti et al., 2020). Ties of nationalism grew in society when their thought patterns began to decline. This bond occurs when humans start living together in a particular area and do not move from there. At that time, the instinct of self-preservation was fundamental and encouraged them to defend their country, where they lived and depended on themselves (Kwak, 2020; Ybert, 2013). This ideology is also growing in Indonesia, where many political parties promote nationalist ideas and ideologies (Argenti, 2020; Mayrudin, 2017).

The Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) was originally a fusion of several parties with Nationalist and Christian ideologies. These parties were PNI, IPKI, Murba, Indonesian Christian Party, and Catholic Party on January 10, 1973. Due to the dynamics and development of PDI, it changed its name to PDI Perjuangan in the form of a legal entity on February 1, 1999. PDI-Perjuangan as a people's political force is based on Pancasila as stated in The Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia by the soul and spirit of its birth on June 1, 1945. In its manifestation, PDI-Perjuangan has a national, popular, and social justice identity with an independent, unyielding, open, and democratic character, all of which is its capital. The struggle to build the Nation and national character, mobilize strength, and fight for the people's aspirations to become state policy.

PDI-Perjuangan has the task of maintaining and realizing the state ideals of the Proclamation of August 17, 1945, implementing Pancasila as the Nation's way of life in social, national, and state life and preparing the Nation's cadres. Therefore, through political strength and power that will always be fought for, PDI-Perjuangan is determined to realize a free, independent, united, sovereign, just, and prosperous national life in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Nationalism, as an ideology that fights for a country's shared identity and national interests, is the main basis for the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). PDI-P, starting from the fusion of several parties with nationalist and Christian ideologies, was determined to defend and realize the ideals of the state as stated in the Proclamation of August 17, 1945. Based on Pancasila as the Nation's way of life, this party is committed to preparing national cadres and realizing national life. Which is independent, united, sovereign, just, and prosperous in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The fight in the 2014 legislative election

The 2014 Legislative Election was held on April 5, 2014, with 12 political parties contesting the election. The political dynamics leading up to the election, especially during the campaign, include high political temperatures. All legislative candidates use all their political moves and strategies to win the battle by gaining significant sympathy and votes. The final result of the political battle at the legislative level of South Sulawesi Province was that the 12 political parties participating in the

election all won seats in the DPRD, but the distribution was uneven. The Golkar Party won 18 seats, followed by the Democratic Party and the Gerindra Party with 11 seats each. The picture of the 2014 election can be seen from the seats won in the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD, where the Golkar Party won 18 seats out of the 85 contested. Democrat Party and Gerindra Party respectively (11), PAN (9), Nasdem (7) and PPP (7), Hanura (6), PKS (6), PDIP (5), PKB (2), PBB (1), PKPI (1).

Regarding the limitations of the problem in this article, two political parties, namely PPP and PDI Perjuangan, will be observed and analyzed to acquire vote support and sympathy during the 2014 legislative elections. South Sulawesi Provincial General Election Commission (KPU), the electoral districts for Provincial DPRD members are divided into 11 Electoral Districts (Dapil) across 24 districts and cities. Electoral District 1 Makassar A includes the Rappocini, Makassar, Ujungpandang, Mariso, Mamajang, Tamalate, Wajo, Bontoala, and Ujung Tanah Tallo. Electoral District 2 Makassar B includes the sub-districts of Panakukang, Manggala, Biringkanaya, and Tamalate. Electoral District 3 Gowa and Takalar Regency. Electoral District 4, Jeneponto Regency, Bantaeng, Selayar. Electoral District 5, Bulukumba and Sinjai Regencies. Electoral District 6, Maros Regency, Pangkep, Barru, Parepare. Electoral District 7, Bone Regency. Electoral District 8, Soppeng and Wajo Regencies. Electoral District 9, Sidrap Regency, Pinrang, Enrekang. Electoral District 10, Tana Toraja Regency, North Toraja. Electoral District 11, Luwu, North Luwu, East Luwu and Palopo Regencies (KPU Provinsi, 2014).

The votes obtained in each electoral district for the two parties can be seen from electoral district 1; PPP won 19,047 votes out of the total contested by 12 parties, 355,173 votes. Of the nine legislative candidates installed by PPP, three legislative candidates received the highest votes in their party, namely Wahid Ismail with 5,663 votes, followed by Patris Suyuti, SP (3,555) and Andi Musa, SH (1,912). In Electoral District 2, PPP votes were 11,441 out of 235,872 votes contested. Among the six legislative candidates running to compete, the three with the highest votes are Hamzah Dorahing with 3,612 votes, Akifuddin (2,327), and Muh Ashar B (1,494). In Electoral District 3, PPP votes totaled 53,863 out of 378,618 votes contested. The legislative candidates who received the highest votes were Asrul Makkaraus Sujiman, 12,768, followed by Abd Haris S.Kp (9618) and A.Makmur Sadda (7,486).

In Electoral District 4, PPP support reached 31,596 votes out of the total votes contested at 356,250. The legislative candidate who received the highest number of votes was Sugiarti Mangun Karim, with 13,363, followed by Buhari Bido (4,550) and Amran Aminullah (2,894). In Electoral District 5, PPP votes were 24,117 out of the total valid votes of 350,793. The legislative candidates with the highest votes were Zunaidi Z. Hasan (5,55577) and Nurdin Raja (2,247). Electoral district 6, PPP votes were 32,560 out of the total valid votes, 522,299, from the nine legislative candidates who received the highest votes, Muh Taufiq Zainuddin (10,046), Mansur Masang (3,697), Zaenab Syamsuddin (3,279). Electoral district 7, total PPP votes were 24,687 of the total valid votes, 403,731. Of the seven legislative candidates who became contenders, those who received the highest votes were Hasbullah, 7218 votes; A. Ulfana Promal Pawi (6,629); and Muh Arham Ibrahim (2904) (KPU Provinsi, 2014).

In Electoral District 8, 25,435 PPP votes were obtained out of a total of 361,833 valid votes in the electoral district. Three of the seven legislative candidates who participated in the race received the highest votes: A. Nurhidayati with 9,055, followed by Suhardiman (5,375) and Ernarningsih (4,441). Electoral district 9, PPP managed to get 25,435 votes from 488,386 valid votes. Among the seven legislative candidates participating in the race, those who received the highest votes were Syahrir Langko, with 9,073, followed by Andi Djamaluddin Ahmad (7,570) and Baharuddin Sandioago (6,039). Electoral District 10 PPP received 1,755 of the total contested 260,237 valid votes. Among the five legislative candidates contesting, the one who received the highest number of votes was Nur Amal, with 861, followed by Rini Kartini (297) and Yunung Tangke Payung (238). In electoral district 11, PPP was able to get a total of 33,370 votes from the 11 legislative candidates competing. The legislative candidates who received the three highest votes were Abd Hafid Pasiangan, with 9,540, Awaluddin (5,375), and Andi Adama (4,975) (KPU Provinsi, 2014).

The strength of the PPP's mass support can be seen from the vote acquisition in each electoral district. PPP, in the 2014 Election, placed seven legislative candidates to sit in the South

Sulawesi Provincial DPRD for the 2014-2019 period. The legislative candidates come from 7 electoral districts, as shown in the following table:

Table 1. Obtaining PPP seats in the South Sulawesi Province DPRD 2014-2019

No	Name	Electoral district	Votes
1	Wahid Ismail	1	5.663
2	Asrul Makkaraus	3	12.768
3	Sugiarti Mangun K	4	13.363
4	Muh Taufik Zainuddin	6	10.046
5	A. Nurhidayati	8	9.055
6	Syahrir Langko	9	9.073
7	Abd Hafid Pasiangan	11	9.540
TOTAL			69.508

Source: Processed data from Provincial KPU, 2016

Based on the data in Table 1, seven people obtained seats among the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD members who came from the United Development Party (PPP) for the 2014-2019 period. With 69,508 votes, the highest vote tally was achieved by Sugiarti Mangun K from Dapil 4 with 13,363 votes, followed by Asrul Makkaraus from Dapil 3 with 12,768 votes. Meanwhile, the lowest number of votes was from A. Nurhidayati from Dapil 8, with 9,055 votes. The gain in these seats reflects voter support for the PPP in the region during that period. The results of the vote tallies for each political party in the 2014 elections indicate the power and geopolitical map of the PPP. Four of the 11 electoral districts could have stronger support and vote acquisition because, in political reality, the PPP failed to get seats. In Electoral District 2 Makassar, Electoral District 5 in Sinjai and Bulumba, Electoral District 7 Bone, and Electoral District 10 Tana Toraja, North Toraja. Legislative candidates who successfully enter the South Sulawesi DPRD are primarily determined by the strength of the political party machine as well as the attractiveness and charm of the legislative candidate in their respective electoral areas. The change in the electoral system places the legislative candidates with the most votes who qualify for entry into the legislature, making the legislative candidates fight internally to gain support. Deputy Chairman of the South Sulawesi PPP DPW, who received the highest votes from Electoral District 4 South Sulawesi, Andi Sugiarti Mangun Karim, said that:

"As the new PPP legislative candidate, often referred to as a cadre of converts to Islam, I feel that the political party machine is not providing maximum support because each PPP branch leader in Bantaeng Regency and Jeneponto Regency has their candidate. However, I remain confident and optimistic about joining the legislative election fight by bringing social capital and other capital to the legislative elections. "Alhamdulillah, the final result was that we were able to gain significant votes and gain the people's trust to return to the legislative body" (interview, 7/1/2016).

Andi Sugiarti is a politician who has changed parties three times, initially as a Golkar Party cadre and was a member of the Bantaeng Regency DPRD for four terms starting from 1992-1997, 1997-1999, 1999-2004, 2004-2009. In fact, in the 1999 and 2004 elections, he became Chairman of the Bantaeng Regency DPRD. For the 2009-2014 period, he sat in the South Sulawesi DPRD after moving to the Republican Party. Entering the 2014 elections, the Republican Party was declared disqualified by the KPU from participating in the elections, so he moved again to the PPP and participated in the 2014 legislative elections. The final results proved that he got the highest votes among the seven people's representatives from the PPP. Regarding the issue of party ideology battles in the legislative elections, Andi Sugiatratri said, "The issue of ideology is not a problem because each ideology in the current era of political parties is not too different because what is important is as long as we commit to the existence of the people." In contrast to the response of the other Deputy Chair of the South Sulawesi PPP DPW, Andi Mariattang said;

Ideology is the spirit of a political party, through the ideology of ideals and hopes, and becomes the glue for all cadres to achieve. Ideology is fundamental and meaningful for the party. Maintaining and passing on party ideology is the responsibility of all party officials at all levels of party management. Every time there is a struggle for power, whether through legislative elections or regional elections, party ideology must be put forward as material in campaign themes (interview, 1/9/2016).

During the campaign period and entering voting in the 2014 elections, the PPP political machine continued to run, but in practice, it could have been more optimal. The candidate's character factor is very determining. Political realities make society entirely pragmatic in every general election, so political choices are also full of considerations of momentary political interests such as political transactions. In the 2014 elections, party ideological issues were no longer a strong attraction for choosing a party; voters' considerations were more about the closeness and relationship between legislative candidates and voters. South Sulawesi DPRD member from the South Sulawesi PPP faction, Andi Nurhidayati, as a new cadre and known as a convert to PPP, managed to qualify by winning significant votes for the South Sulawesi DPRD for the 2014-2019 period. According to him, his ability to become a South Sulawesi legislator is:

"As a cadre of converts to Islam in the PPP, the party's political machine is not running very strong. Old networks and relationships that have become part of social capital are very helpful in gaining vote support when you switch parties. Caring for and developing a long-standing support community, especially among women, teachers, and young voters, the key is always to increase communication" (interview 11/1/2016).

The figure of Andi Nurhidayati was previously a member of the Soppeng Regency DPRD in the 2009-2014 elections from the National Democratic Party (PDK). In the 2014 elections, PDK did not pass the selection carried out by the KPU, so they chose to change parties to PPP. During the 2014 election campaign, the old constituents in remote areas of Soppeng, who had been well developed and maintained by the PDK, when switching parties, were fine.

"Regarding party ideology among voters in Soppeng and Wajo, it is not decisive. The proof is that even though I previously came from PDK with the Pancasila ideology when I joined PPP with the Islamic ideology, voters and sympathizers did not mind it. Voters look more at the character and figure of legislative candidates (interview 11/1/2016).

Andi Nurhidayati's experience signals that the battle between political ideologies among voters is no longer so intense. Voters are more likely to determine their chosen legislative candidates based on their personality and pragmatic politics, which legislative candidates often carry out before the voting period. Such political realities will slowly harm the party because it will be difficult for the party to map the power map of the conservative and traditional voters.

Caring for nationalist ideology

The strength and map of support for the South Sulawesi PDI Perjuangan in the 2014 elections can be seen from the votes collected in 11 electoral districts spread across 24 districts and cities throughout South Sulawesi. Electoral District 1 Makassar A Electoral District 1 Makassar A includes the Districts of Rappocini, Makassar, Ujungpandang, Mariso, Mamajang, Tamalate, Wajo, Bontoala, Ujung Tanah Tallo. The total number of party votes obtained was 31,237 out of the total valid votes up for grabs of 355,173. Among the nine legislative candidates who competed, those who won the majority of votes were Rudi Pieter Goni with 15,117, soldier Dg Siadjang (2,371), and Risfayanti Muin (1,551). Electoral District 2 Makassar B includes the sub-districts of Panakukang, Manggala, Biringkanaya, and Tamalate. PDIP in this region only got 17,439 party votes from the six legislative candidates participating in the race. The legislative candidate who received the most votes, Emmy R. Rante, with 3,966 votes, was followed by Husain Djunaid (3,821) and Iin Aedriyanti Manaba (3,401).

Electoral District 3 covers Gowa and Takalar regencies; the total votes the party managed to get was 27,758 out of the total valid votes of 5,39,284. Among the nine legislative candidates running to compete, the three highest vote gatherers were Yusuf Bangsawan with 5,554, Kamaluddin Eppe (5,312), and Hiyar Abdi Hamzah (4,436). Electoral District 4 covers the Jeneponto, Bantaeng, and Selayar regencies. The total votes obtained by PDIP were 35,776 out of the total valid political party votes of 356,250. Among the seven legislative candidates, three received the highest votes, namely, Alimuddin, with 21,054 votes, followed by Mukhtar Nontji (7,274) and Edi Sumardi (1,662). Electoral District 5 includes Bulukumba and Sinjai Regencies; PDIP votes were 24,498 out of the total valid party votes, namely 350,793. Among the six legislative candidates taking part in the race, those who received the highest votes were Ika Pratiwi Syamsibar with 13,806, followed by Andi Baso Gusti (2,388) and A.Idrus Mappamadeng (1,606).

Electoral District 6 covers the Maros, Pangkep, Barru, and Parepare regencies, with 23,750 PDIP votes from 9 legislative candidates contesting, seeking 522,299 valid votes from all political parties. The legislative candidates who collected the highest support were Mawang Batara Soli, with 9,967 votes, Andi Kemal Baso Cammi (2,339), and Andi Ahmad Riza (2,205). In electoral district 7 of Bone Regency, PDIP vote support was 10,351 votes out of the total valid votes for all political parties, 403,731. Among the seven legislative candidates who took part in the race, the candidates who received the most votes were Said Pabokkori 4,132, Nurlaela Mappamadeng (883), and Andi Ultra (8.45) (KPU D Provinsi, 2014).

In electoral district 8, with the electoral area covering Soppeng Wajo Regency, PDIP won 17,277 votes out of the total 361,833 votes contested. Seven legislative candidates were competing, and those who received the highest votes were Andi Ansyari Mangkona with 8,052, Basri Iska with 2,224, and Indo Manni Pawakkang (1,621). Dapil 9 covers the electoral districts of Sidrap, Pinrang, and Enrekang Regencies. The PDIP won 30,827 votes out of the total political party votes of 488,386. There were nine legislative candidates with the highest votes: Abdullah Tappareng with 13,179, Arifuddin Malli (8,568), and Dwi Joko Purnomo (4,458). Electoral District 10 covers Tana Toraja and North Toraja regencies; PDIP won 27,768 votes out of 260,237 party votes.

Among the five legislative candidates contesting, the highest votes obtained was Dan Pongtasik with 17,142, Alexander Matangkin (3,725), and Marthen Biu Pulung (1,993)—electoral district 11 covers Luwu, North Luwu, East Luwu and Palopo Regencies. The legislative candidates who participated in the contest received nine votes. The total votes won by PDIP were 52,273 out of the total valid votes for all political parties of 583,917. The legislative candidates who received the highest votes were Sarce Bandaso with 12,838, Adrianus Parenden (10,868), and I Made Merada (7,947). (South Sulawesi KPU: 2014). As a result of the 2014 elections, PDIP could only place five representatives in the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD for the 2014-2019 period. The names and electoral districts, as well as the votes obtained, are depicted in the following table:

Table 2. PDIP's acquisition of seats in the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD 2014-2019

No	Name	Electoral district	Votes
1	Rudi F Gono	1	15.117
2	Alimuddin	4	21.054
3	Abdullah Tappareng	9	13.179
4	Dan Pongtasik	10	17.142
5	Sarce Bandaso	11	12.838
TOTAL			79.330

Source: Processed data from Provincial KPU, 2016

As a result of the 2014 elections, PDIP failed to place elected legislative candidates in the South Sulawesi DPRD in all electoral districts. The regions that can take their legislative candidates into the legislature of South Sulawesi Province are Dapil 1, 4, 9, 10, and 11. Meanwhile, the Dapil with vacant seats is Dapil 2 Makassar City, Dapil 3 Gowa and Takalar Regencies, Dapil 5 includes Bulukumba and Sinjai Regencies, Dapil 6 Maros, Pangkep, Barru and Parepare, Dapil 7 Bone, Dapil 8 Soppeng and Wajo Regencies. The political dynamics of the South Sulawesi PDIP during the 2014

election were powerful political forces of attraction to gain voter support. One of the focuses of attention of party functionaries is prioritizing party ideology, which becomes the central theme of campaign material for legislative candidates competing to win seats in the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD. Deputy Chairman of the South Sulawesi PDIP DPD, Husain Djunaid, said the following:

"PDIP has always been consistent in caring for and maintaining a nationalist ideology that cares about and pays attention to the "Wong Cilik." Consistency in small communities is the party's attraction so that voters still use PDIP to channel their political aspirations" (interview, 6/2/2016).

The party ideology contained in the AD/ART is continuously imparted to all cadres. One strategy often carried out is to hold cadre formation at all levels of management. At the PDIP DPP level, there is a program called cadre teachers. Furthermore, according to Husain Djunaid as follows:

"Two strong party cadres have undergone the cadre process as cadre teachers, namely Ikbāl and Iin Manaba. Both are resource persons in the cadre formation program known as party schools. It was through schools that the PDIP ideological party was grounded. The release of party schools produces cadres at the intermediate cadre and pratama cadre levels. The cadre school alumni who came forward maintained and grounded the party's ideology" (interview 6/2/2016).

During the 2014 Legislative Election campaign, the ideological campaign theme of the PDIP party as the heir to grounded nationalist ideology with the characteristic of caring and siding with the little people or small communities, as stated by Husain Djunaid as follows:

"Alumni of the party's middle cadres and pratama cadres is one of the requirements if you want to become a legislative candidate in the PDIP. While participating in party school, understanding and inheritance, as well as maintaining nationalist ideology, are given. "After these graduates return to society, they will become ideological apparatus and party officers who at all times ground their ideology by taking sides and defending small people or people on the fringes" (interview 6/2/2016).

In the 2014 Legislative Election in South Sulawesi, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) experienced solid political dynamics to gain voter support. Even though it succeeded in placing its representatives in the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD from several electoral districts, PDIP could only place elected legislative candidates in some districts. The strategy carried out by PDIP to gain voter support is mainly related to maintaining and grounding the party's nationalist ideology. Through cadre formation programs and party schools, the PDIP ideology, which focuses on caring for and supporting small communities, continues to be instilled in party cadres, who become agents of its defense and grounding in society. However, changes in political dynamics and voter preferences, especially towards political pragmatism, also influenced the role and strength of ideology in political contestation in South Sulawesi during that period.

CONCLUSION

The shift from fanatical and loyal voters to pragmatist voters in the PPP and PDI Perjuangan in the South Sulawesi region in the 2014 elections, made these two parties less prominent in ideological battles among voters in gaining voter support and sympathy. Such political realities mean that the struggle between Islamic ideology for the PPP and nationalism for the PDI Perjuangan during the 2014 General Election in South Sulawesi is no longer intense and sharp, let alone leading to a horizontal ideological battle, as in the first General Election in 1955. The political reality of the South Sulawesi PPP in the 2014 General Election, Ideological contestation, especially with the nationalist ideology promoted by the PDI Perjuangan, is no

longer very strong. Political reality shows that there are political symptoms that voters are less concerned about party ideology, but prefer the figures and figures who competed in the 2014 Legislative Election. As the heir and guardian of nationalist ideology, South Sulawesi PDIP is also faced with the reality of pragmatic politics. However, the presence of cadre teachers who have gone through the doctrination and cadre formation process, is still always present at the opening of party schools to carry out cadre formation to pass on and refresh the values of belief contained in the PDIP ideology. During the campaign period in the 2014 elections, the campaign materials for the legislative candidates had previously been provided to the legislative candidates. The ideological contestation, especially between nationalism and Islam in the 2014 elections, is no longer as sharp and strong as in the early days of the Orde Lama and the first elections of the Orde Lama in 1955.

REFERENCE

- Alfian. (1971). *Hasil pemilihan umum 1955 untuk Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*. LEKNAS. https://books.google.co.id/books/about/Hasil_pemilihan_umum_1955.html?id=ZFVRvgAACAAJ&redir_esc=y
- Amin, M., & Ritonga, A. D. (2022). The Differential Effect of Women Politicians' Communication, Efficacy, and Ideology in Building Citizens' Political Satisfaction and Trust: A Case of a Developing Nation. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, 9(4), 87-105. <https://doi.org/10.29333/ejecs/1375>
- Argenti, G. (2020). Jurnal Politikom Indonesiana : Ideologisasi Partai Islam Masyumi di Indonesia. *Jurnal Politikom Indonesiana: Kajian Ilmu Pemerintahan, Ilmu Politik Dan Ilmu Komunika*, 5(1), 37-57. <https://journal.unsika.ac.id/index.php/politikomindonesiana>
- Baharuddin, T. (2022). *Kontestasi Modal Sosial dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah: Studi Kemenangan Amran Mahmud atas Baso Rahmanuddin di Kabupaten Wajo Tahun 2018*. <https://etd.umy.ac.id/id/eprint/34373/>
- Baharuddin, T., & Purwaningsih, T. (2017). Modalitas Calon Bupati Dalam Pemilihan Umum Kepala Daerah Tahun 2015. *Journal of Governance and Public Policy*, 4(1), 205-237. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jgpp.4176>
- Baharuddin, T., Qodir, Z., Jubba, H., & Nurmandi, A. (2022). Prediction of Indonesian presidential candidates in 2024 using sentiment analysis and text search on Twitter. *International Journal of Communication and Society*, 4(2), 204-213. <https://doi.org/10.31763/ijcs.v4i2.512>
- Baharuddin, T., Sairin, S., Qodir, Z., & Jubba, H. (2023). Form of Capital in Elections: Candidate Victory over Political Economy Domination. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Civic and Political Studies*, 18(1), 77-96. <https://doi.org/10.18848/2327-0071/CGP/v18i01/77-96>
- Feith, H., & Castles, L. (1988). *Pemikiran politik Indonesia 1945-1965*. LP3ES. <https://balaiyanpus.jogjaprovo.go.id/opac/detail-opac?id=11149>
- Fox, C. A., & Menchik, J. (2023). Islamic political parties and election campaigns in Indonesia. *Party Politics*, 29(4), 622-635. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221091656>
- Gwiazda, A. (2023). Gender Ideologies and Polish Political Parties. *Government and Opposition*, 58(4), 641-660. <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2021.57>
- Habibi, M., & Nurmandi, A. (2021). Electoral manipulations and fraud political contestation: The case of regional head election. *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review*, 6(3), 360-374. <https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v6i1.23447>
- Huddy, L., Del Ponte, A., & Davies, C. (2021). Nationalism, Patriotism, and Support for the European Union. *Political Psychology*, 42(6), 995-1017. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12731>
- Igwebuike, E. E., & Chimunya, L. (2024). Self-promotion, ideology and power in the social media posts of Nigerian Female Political Leaders. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 23(1), 67-90. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.22148.igw>
- Irsyam, M., & Romli, L. (2003). *Menggugat Partai Politik*. LIP.

- https://books.google.co.id/books/about/Menggugat_partai_politik.html?id=DxKPAAAAMA-AJ&redir_esc=y
- Jubba, H., Baharuddin, T., Qodir, Z., & Iribaram, S. (2023a). Sentiment Analysis: Predicting the Position of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia in the Next Election. *Lecture Notes in Networks and Systems*, 694 LNNS, 1027–1034. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3091-3_84
- Jubba, H., Baharuddin, T., Qodir, Z., & Iribaram, S. (2023b). Sentiment Analysis : Predicting the Position of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia in the Next Election. *International Congress on Information and Communication Technology*, 1027–1034. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3091-3_84
- Jubba, H., Qodir, Z., Abdullah, I., Qudsy, S., Hidayati, M., Pabbajah, M., Adawiah, R., Iribaram, S., & Misran, M. (2022). The Contestation of Islamic and Nationalists Parties in 2019 Election. *International Conference on Democracy and Social Transformation, ICON-DEMOST 2021*. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.15-9-2021.2315552>
- KPUD Provinsi. (2014). 85 Wakil Rakyat Sulsel Resmi Dilantik. Kpu.Go.Id. <https://www.kpu.go.id/berita/baca/3535/-Setelah-sempat-tertuda-karena-belum-terbitnya-SK-Kemendagri--akhirnya-85-wakil-rakyat-hasil-Pemilu-Legislatif-9-Juli-2014-resmi-dilantik>
- Kwak, L. J. (2020). Problematizing canadian exceptionalism: A study of right-populism, white nationalism and conservative political parties. *Onati Socio-Legal Series*, 10(6), 1166–1192. <https://doi.org/10.35295/osls.iisl/0000-0000-0000-1127>
- Marks, G., & Steenbergen, M. (2002). Understanding political contestation in the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8), 879–892. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001041402236297>
- Mayrudin, Y. M. (2017). Dinamika Partai Politik Dan Positioning Ideologi: Studi Tentang Pergeseran Positioning Ideologi Partai-Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu 2014. *Journal of Governance*, 2(2), 163–185. <https://doi.org/10.31506/jog.v2i2.2674>
- Noor, F. (2016). Islamic party and pluralism: The view and attitude of masyumi towards pluralism in politics (1945-1960). *Al-Jami'ah*, 54(2), 273–310. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2016.542.273-310>
- Nurjaman, A., Suprpto, B., & Masmuh, A. (2018). Nationalist Vs Islamic: The dynamic of politik aliran in post-suharto Indonesia. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 26(3), 2009–2020.
- Paragoan, W. (2003). *PPP 30 Tahun Bersama Ummat*. DPPP PPP.
- Qardhawi, Y. (1988). *Ideologi Islam dan Karakteristik Ideologi Islam*. Gema Risalah Press.
- Rossini, P., Mont'alverne, C., & Kalogeropoulos, A. (2023). Explaining beliefs in electoral misinformation in the 2022 Brazilian election: The role of ideology, political trust, social media, and messaging apps. *Harvard Kennedy School Misinformation Review*, 4(3), 37016. <https://doi.org/10.37016/mr-2020-115>
- Sary Sakti, A. M., Al-Hamdi, R., & Dwi Kurniawan, B. (2020). Strategi Kampanye Partai Nasionalis: Pengalaman Partai Nasdem Pada Pemilu 2019. *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 8(1), 155–185. <https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v8i1a7>
- Triatmo, A. W., Karsidi, R., Kartono, D. T., & Suwanto. (2020). A political ideology of the Indonesian Islamic philanthropy: a case study of Suryakarta Berama foundation. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 10(2), 353–380. <https://doi.org/10.18326/IJIMS.V10I2.353-380>
- Utami, D. M., Ikhsan, M., Dartanto, T., & Mallarangeng, R. (2024). The role of the 30% threshold for Islamic parties: A fast-growing middle class and religion-based political preferences in Indonesia. *Heliyon*, 10(4), 25700. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2024.e25700>
- Widayat, R. M., Nurmandi, A., Rosilawati, Y., Qodir, Z., Usman, S., & Baharuddin, T. (2022). 2019 Election Campaign Model in Indonesia Using Social Media. *Webology*, 19(1), 5216–5235. <https://doi.org/10.14704/web/v19i1/web19351>
- Ybert, E. (2013). Islam, nationalism and socialism in the parties and political organisations of Azerbaijani Muslims in the early twentieth century. *Caucasus Survey*, 1(1), 43–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2013.11417282>
- Yunanto, S., & Hamid, A. F. A. (2013). Fragmentation and conflict among islamic political parties

- in Indonesia during reformasi era (1998-2009): Anatomy, factors and implications. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 7(2), 337–365. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2013.7.2.337-365>
- Yustisia, W., Eka Putra, I., & Hakim, M. A. (2023). What determines incumbent vote in Indonesia? Understanding the roles of economic conditions, religiousness, political ideology, and incumbent performance. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 23(2), 453–473. <https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12355>
- Zepeda, A. V., Arandia, J. L., Palafox, K. H. O., & Pérez, C. O. M. (2024). Political parties, democracy and resilient electoral campaigns. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 30(1), 111–121. <https://doi.org/10.31876/rcs.v30i1.41641>