

The Political Orientation of Extra-Campus Student Organizations in the 2019 Presidential Election

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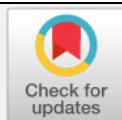
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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze extra-campus student organizations' political orientation in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city using the qualitative descriptive research methods approach. Data collection methods use in-depth interviews and literature studies. Informants selection using purposive sampling techniques. This research indicates that internal factors relate to the extra-campus student organization's internal conditions in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city. These internal conditions include encouraging their cadres to mature politically and democratically, maintaining the neutrality and idealism of cadres, and keeping the nation and state integrity. Besides, they supervise the government by conducting dialogue and discussion. At the same time, they imply that the 2019 presidential election's political agenda is a learning arena and rejects practical politics and oversees the candidate's vision and mission and every government policy by conducting studies. External factors are related to the influence from outside the extra-campus student organization, namely the alumni organization. The eight extra-campus student organizations consisting of HMI, PMKRI, GMKI, GMNI, PMII, IMM, KAMMI, and GEMA Pembebasan stated no intervention to select one candidate pair in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city based on alumni's organizational instructions. There are three political orientations in the extra-campus student organizations in Makassar city: first, cognitive

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political orientation, second, affective political orientation, and third, evaluative political orientation.

Keywords: Electoral Management Body, Extra-Campus Student Organization; General Election; Political Orientation, Presidential General Election

1. Introduction

According to historical reviews, there are four main periods/phases of the student movement in Indonesia, which consists of 1) the national movement period (1900-1945); 2) the old order period (1945-1965), 3) the new order period (1965-1998); and the reform period (1998-present). In the new order period 1965-1998, Indonesia's student movement and political order moved dynamically in several major phases. One of the student organizations at that time was Student Movement of Indonesia Concentration (Consentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia or CGMI), which stood out after the victory of the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia or PKI) in 1955. The impact of liberal democracy in 1950-1959 was the establishment of extra-campus student organizations such as Islamic Student Association (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam or HMI), Indonesian National Student Movement (Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia or GMNI), Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia or PMII), Indonesian Christian Student Movement (Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia or GMKI), Union of Catholic University Students of the Republic of Indonesia (Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katolik Republik Indonesia or PMKRI), Socialist Student Movement (GeMSos), and others (Berita Bojonegoro, 2015).

HMI, GMNI, PMII, GMKI, PMKRI, Muhammadiyah Student Association (Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah or IMM), Indonesian Muslim Student Association (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia or KAMMI), and Student Movement of Liberation (Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan or GEMA Pembebasan) are extra-campus student organizations actively involved in the 2019 presidential election. Extra-campus student organizations are one of society's elements, which respond massively to issues of political dynamics.

The momentum of the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city gave rise to the phenomenon of solidity between extra-campus student organizations. Extra-campus student organizations synergize with the Regional General Elections Commission of Makassar city and the Election Supervisory Agency of Makassar city in carrying out their duties and functions and reject the existence of political actors who considered dividing the unity.

Extra-campus student organizations in the 2019 presidential election are not involved in practical politics. There are no rules and legal basis for banning extra-campus students in practical politics. Rules for banning extra-campus student organizations from practical politics are found only in their respective internal regulations, known as the Statutes and Bylaws.

Table 1. Banning Rules on Organizations in Practical Politics

No.	Extra-Campus Student Organizations	Rules
1	HMI	Article 6, Chapter 3: Objectives, Efforts, and Characteristics, states that the Islamic Student Association is independent.

No.	Extra-Campus Student Organizations	Rules
2	PMKRI	MPA Decree Number 13/TAP/ MPA12/ 1998 in point 7 states that concurrent functionaries of PMKRI members are not allowed to ensure organizational independence for political organizations.
3	GMKI	Point 1, Article 5: Status and Form of Organization, states that this organization is an ecclesiastical organization and is not part of a political organization.
4	GMNI	Article 4, Point 2, in Chapter 3: Objectives and Characteristics, states that GMNI is an independent organization, free and active, and has a populist character.
5	PMII	Article 3, Point E, states that PMII is an independent organization. It was also emphasized by the independence statement of PMII on July 14, 1972, at the 2nd PMII Conference in Murnajati, Malang, East Java, known as the Murnajati Declaration.
6	IMM	<i>Khittah</i> Muhammadiyah in Denpasar in 2002 stated that IMM is independent of practical political interests.
7	KAMMI	Article 6, Chapter 3: Principles, Characteristics, Vision, and Mission, states that KAMMI is open and independent.

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Student Movement of Liberation (Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan or GEMA Pembebasan) is a relatively new extra-campus student organization. The organization was founded in 2002 in Makassar city to assist Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) in infiltrating students without directly using the name HTI (Chaidherrahman, 2015).

GEMA Pembebasan makes Islamic ideology the mainstream of Indonesia. This movement appears closely related to various issues, such as the absence of a fair and earnest law enforcement process and injustices in the social, economic, and political sectors (Sumtaki, 2003). This organization is still relatively new, so its existence in electoral politics is not very visible. In other words, the organization focuses more on strengthening recruitment patterns both in studies/seminars and conducting campaigns through social media.

There were several considerations in the selection of eight extra-campus student organizations in Makassar city as follows: the first, extra-campus student organizations that are active in expanding ideology through the organization's internal cadre system; the second, extra-campus student organizations that are active in responding to the political dynamics in the momentum of the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city; and the third, extra-campus student organizations have members spread across universities.

Table 2. Distribution of Cadres of Extra-Campus Student Organizations in 2019

No.	Extra-Campus Student Organizations	Number of Cadres	Affiliation
1	GEMA Pembebasan	60	Universitas Hassanuddin, Universitas Negeri Makassar, UIN Alauddin Makassar, Universitas

No.	Extra-Campus Student Organizations	Number of Cadres	Affiliation
			Muhammadiyah Makassar, Universitas Muslim Indonesia (UMI) Makassar
2	GMKI	80	Universitas Hassanuddin, Universitas Muslim Indonesia (UMI) Makassar, Universitas Bosowa
3	PMKRI	90	Universitas Atmajaya, Universitas Pancasakti, Universitas Pejuang Republik Indonesia (UPRI)
4	KAMMI	350	Universitas Hassanuddin, Universitas Negeri Makassar, UIN Alauddin Makassar
5	GMNI	470	Universitas Hassanuddin, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Universitas Pancasakti
6	IMM	500	Universitas Hassanuddin, Universitas Negeri Makassar, UIN Alauddin Makassar, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Universitas Muslim Indonesia (UMI) Makassar
7	HMI	900	Universitas Hassanuddin, Universitas Negeri Makassar, UIN Alauddin Makassar, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Universitas Muslim Indonesia (UMI) Makassar, Universitas Bosowa, Universitas Islam Makassar (UIM)
8	PMII	1,100	Universitas Hassanuddin, Universitas Negeri Makassar, UIN Alauddin Makassar, Universitas Bosowa, Universitas Islam Makassar (UIM), Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, STMIK Handayani, STMIK Dipanegara
Total		3,550	

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Six extra-campus student organizations held a press conference on Thursday, November 3, 2016, regarding the massive action of thousands of people from South Sulawesi Province in a demonstration to demand that the Governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, be legally processed. PMII, GMKI, PMKRI, KMHDI (Indonesian Hindu Dharma Students Association/Kesatuan Mahasiswa Hindu Dharma Indonesia), GEMA INTI (Young Generation of the Chinese-Indonesian Association/Generasi Muda Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa), and GMNI in South Sulawesi will not take part in the action because they know for sure that the move will only bring issues that deliberately lead to practical politics ([Tribun Makassar, 2016](#)).

Besides, extra-campus student organizations are also involved in assisting the duties and functions of the organizer of the general elections. Students, who are members of the Islamic Student Association (HMI), which invite other elements of society to oversee the implementation of the legislative elections and the presidential and vice-presidential elections, which will be held simultaneously on April 17, 2019, emphasized through the literacy movement #2019HMIMengawalDemokrasi ([Berita Kota Makassar, 2018](#)).

Several student organizations that are members of Cipayung Plus Makassar City held a meeting and press conference in Makassar city, Tuesday, May 28, 2019. The meeting manifests

extra-campus student organizations' commitment and existence in maintaining unity and integrity after the 2019 presidential elections (Serikat News, 2019).

Extra-campus student organizations often face practical politics because they are considered quite influential in changing a nation. Actors who have political interests in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar are continually looking to extra-campus student organizations as a means to gain votes, especially when a political actor is also a former activist in an extra-campus student organization.

In the 2019 general election in Makassar city, Muhammadiyah (an Islamic organization in Indonesia), which has a close structural relationship with the Muhammadiyah Student Association, once recommended one of the Regional Representative Council's candidates (Al-fatih, A, personal communication, March 2, 2020). Besides, extra-campus student organizations are considered affiliates of political parties. The majority of GMNI cadres are involved in politics through the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. The majority of PMII cadres are engaged in politics through the National Awakening Party. The majority of IMM cadres are involved in politics through the National Mandate Party. Most KAMMI cadres are involved in politics through the Prosperous Justice Party. Of course, this is not intentional, but there are influences and closeness emotionally and structurally.

Students' encouragement to be active in political parties is due to the experience of students who are engaged in organizations (Akbar & Khairulyadi, 2018). Apart from these factors, the tendency of students who are active in extra-campus student organizations to be involved in political parties is the same ideology, vision, and mission. In the 2019 presidential election, eight extra-campus student organizations, consisting of HMI, PMKRI, GMKI, GMNI, PMII, IMM, KAMMI, and GEMA Pembebasan in Makassar city, stated that structurally the extra-campus organization was not affiliated or side with a political party. Cadres carry out partiality in political parties as individual actions, not organizational actions.

It is essential to analyze the extent to which extra-campus student organizations are involved in the 2019 Presidential Election in Makassar city by using the concept of political orientation to find the political alignments of eight extra-campus student organizations. This research will describe some of the relevant previous studies.

Di Battista et al. (2018), in their research, using the concept of morality. The idea is used to explore Italy's moral foundation assumptions by connecting honest insight and political orientation. In comparison, the argument used in current research is the concept of political orientation, which is analyzed using political orientation components, namely cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientation. This research is in line with the exploration of political orientation.

Yunita & Stanislaus (2014) explained that the basis for voters' cognitive orientation is the vision, mission, and work program. Based on the affective orientation, voters have an orientation level on a candidate's social image. Based on the evaluative orientation, voters have an orientation level towards the identification of political parties.

Farzianto & Rafni (2020) explained that *santri*' cognitive orientation is still lacking. *Santri* (students of boarding school or *pesantren*) lack knowledge of elections. *Santri*' affective orientation is also very lacking. The lack of attitude of *santri* at the general election will give rise to the *santri*'s apathy. In the form of *santri*'s assessment of the general election, evaluative orientation seems good, both in the implementing and organizing institution.

The two studies above are studying political orientation, which makes novice voters and *santri* the research targets. In comparison, the research targets of the current research were extra-campus student organizations. However, there are similarities between the two studies

above with current research, namely, analyzing the cognitive, affective, and evaluative political orientation.

Fadli (2018) explains the difference in political orientation before and after the dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). The difference only lies in the name and organization for the activities of their activists. Before the dissolution of HTI, their activist carried out actions in the name of HTI, but after the dissolution of HTI, they no longer used the name of HTI. The dissolution of HTI by the government has further strengthened HTI's solidarity and collectivity. Former HTI activists still have views, ideas, and aspirations in upholding the Islamic caliphate.

Kurniawan (2017) explains that cognitive orientation is knowledge about regional head elections and the candidate's leading figure. There is an affective orientation, namely feelings related to the problem of emotional ties that individuals have to prospective leaders, namely ethnic, racial, religious equality, equality in political choice (party), and others that include feelings or emotional ties. Evaluative orientation is a combination of the candidate's knowledge and the similarity of residence, ethnicity, religion, race, and other similarities.

2. Literature Review

Political orientation is an attitude that individuals or groups have in their political life interactions, including political attitudes, values, and behavior. In the study of the Indonesian political system, political orientation is one aspect of community political participation. Although different, political orientation and participation are related to one another (Surbakti, 1992).

Political orientation is a crucial aspect of a democratic country. Elements of actors and supporters of democracy such as individuals, organizations, political parties, interest groups, the middle class, workers, activists, civil society, intellectuals, religious leaders, and political elites have a political orientation in the form of their involvement in the political process (Fadli, 2018).

A person's orientation may change according to his/her knowledge and values. Those values will influence and can sometimes shape the overall attitude of society towards an orientation. That is what emerges or becomes a pattern as the political orientation of society. Internal and external factors influence those values. Internal factors, namely factors that come from within the individual, in education, family, and others. While external factors, namely factors that come from outside the individual, can be in the form of information, knowledge, environment, playmates, and so on (Sjamsuddin, 1993).

Every element in society in Indonesia has a political orientation of both individuals and the group. Awareness of internal factors that are influenced from within individuals in education, family, and others to form a political or group orientation of an organization; meanwhile, the environment, political system, and government system influence external factors.

Based on the above statements, individual and group political orientation factors greatly influence the extra-campus student organizations to shape their political orientation according to the ongoing political cycle.

2.1. Political Orientation Components

According to Almond & Verba (1984), a person's political orientation towards the political system can be seen from three components including (1) Cognitive political orientation, namely a person's or society's knowledge of belief in politics, its role and all its obligations, as well as its input and output and also assess a person's level of knowledge about the course of the political system, government figures, the policies they take, or about the symbols possessed by a political

system; (2) Affective political orientation, namely feelings towards the political system, its role, actors and its appearance that make a person accept or reject a political system; (3) Evaluative political orientation, that is, decisions and opinions about political objects that typically involve a combination of shared values and criteria with information and feelings. The moral evaluation determines this orientation that a person has and relates to normative evolution, political morals, and political ethics.

Cognitive orientation is related to extra-campus student organizations' political beliefs in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city. Affective orientation is related to the organization's feelings towards a political system and the responses of extra-campus student organizations to political actors. Meanwhile, the evaluative orientation is related to the things evaluated by the extra-campus student organizations at the momentum of the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city.

2.2. Student Organization

The student organization is a forum that is expected to accommodate all student activities and is also a means to improve the ability to think or reason regularly outside of formal lectures and organize and foster leadership. The formation of this student organization or organization aims to help students realize the power of reasoning to benefit students when they are actively involved in society after completing their college studies (Joesoef, 1978).

The campus student organization is an organization engaged in student affairs, equipped with clear and well-planned technical devices such as structures, mechanisms, functions, procedures, work programs, and other elements, which serve to direct all the potential that exists in the organization towards its goals or the ultimate goal to be achieved (Launa, 2000, as cited in Leny & Suyasa, 2010).

Student organizations can be classified as non-formal and informal education because, in student organizations, there is an annual activity planning, which is called an annual work meeting, and activities classified as informal education. Because in carrying out activities in a student organization, the experience of activities in the field provides much good education. An organization has a point of contact with its social environment, namely the political, economic, and cultural conditions that exist at a particular time in that society. The primary process in this dimension is the influence of who has more influence; the organization affects the environment or the environment affects the organization, an essential process for institutional building. The influence process also concerns organizational autonomy, the extent to which the organization can fortify itself against undue influence from outside, in addition to opening up to healthy influences (Pareek, 1996).

The social environment is the main arena in which all organizations work. Organizational attention to social processes is significant. The most relevant social processes for student organizations are values and power. Likewise, it is essential what values prevail in society. Understanding values are considered more important in society and concerning the character of what people are considered necessary in society (Pareek, 1996).

One way to analyze an organization's environment is to review its relationships with other organizations in its environment. Each organization shows a collection of other organizations that have a relationship with an organization. Competitors, consumers, governments, technological developments, sources of raw materials, sources of finance often have to be faced in the form of an organization. Therefore, an organization may have relationships with hundreds of other organizations in its environment (Lubis, 2008).

2.3. Characteristics of Student Organizations

According to [Muhammad \(2000\)](#), each organization has different characteristics. These characteristics are dynamic, require information, have goals and structures. There are also the grouping of characteristics which include (1) Dynamic, organizations that have an open system are constantly changing because they always face new challenges from their environment and need to adapt to environmental conditions which is always changing; (2) Requires information, without information, the organization cannot run. Therefore communication plays a vital role in the organization to get the information needed for the organization. This required information both from within the organization itself and outside the organization; (3) Having a goal, the organization is a group of people who work together to achieve specific goals. All organization members must share organizational goals hoping that each member can support the organization's goals through their participation; (4) Structured, achieving organizational goals usually make rules, laws, and hierarchies of relationships. An organization develops a structure that helps the organization control itself.

3. Research Methodology

This research method is qualitative. Data collection methods use in-depth interviews and literature studies. Following the method used, the data analysis used is qualitative. The research informants totaled 24 people consisting of three elements: the chairman, secretary, and alumni. The chairman and secretary of extra-campus student organizations (HMI, PMKRI, GMKI, GMNI, PMII, IMM, KAMMI, and GEMA Pembebasan) served in the 2019 period. Alumni who take charge of alumni organizations consist of the HMI Alumni Corps (KAHMI), PMKRI Alumni Communication Forum, GMKI Senior Association, GMNI Alumni Association, PMII Alumni Association, IMM Alumni Family Forum, and KAMMI Alumni Family. GEMA Pembebasan does not have an alumni organization, so the informants selected are informants who are alumni of GEMA Pembebasan Makassar branch, who now serves as the Chairman of GEMA Pembebasan of South and West Sulawesi. This research was conducted in Makassar city for three months, from February to April 2020.

This qualitative research method's choice was due to the characteristics and problems, and objectives, namely to obtain descriptive analysis data about the political orientation of extra-campus student organizations in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city. Furthermore, this research is a descriptive type of research, which aims to solve problems and seek answers or research questions ([Afrizal, 2014](#)). The research method is a method used to analyze research data based on research questions.

The selection of research informants following the objectives of this research. Selection of informants using a purposive sampling technique. Informants are not based on strata, position, guidelines, or areas but based on specific goals and considerations related to research problems ([Sugiyono, 2013](#)).

The selection was made deliberately based on predetermined criteria and was determined based on the research objectives. The criteria and informants appointed or selected in this research were informants active in extra-campus student organizations in Makassar city who were currently serving as chairman and secretary for the 2019 period and alumni who were active in each alumni organization.

4. Results and Discussion

This discussion refers to Sjamsuddin's concept, which states that a person's value and attitude in determining his/her orientation reviewed from two factors, namely internal and

external factors. Internal factors, namely factors that come from within the individual, education, family, and others. External factors, namely, factors that come from outside the individual, can be information, knowledge, environment, playmates, and others (Sjamsuddin, 1993).

Internal factors are related to the extra-campus student organizations' internal conditions in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city. This internal condition is the organization's internal attitude in responding to the 2019 presidential election's momentum in Makassar city. External factors of extra-campus student organizations are factors outside the structure but still have an emotional connection, for example, alumni organizations.

Internal factors relate to the internal conditions in which a person or group faces the existing political situation. The 2019 presidential election in Makassar city is one of the political situations that resulted in the extra-campus student organizations' internal conditions being different. Internal conditions are closely related to the existence of extra-campus student organizations in responding to and seeing the dynamics of national politics in general elections, in the regional scope.

Every element of society is required to be actively involved in every process of change in this nation. Students who are agents of change are required to adapt to every changing era. Extra-campus student organizations certainly have a considerable influence on these changes, plus their involvement in responding and highlighting any political agendas in the process during prospective state leaders' election.

In third-world countries such as Indonesia, students' status and movement are important as agents of change because extra-parliamentary political pressure is an effective mechanism to control leaders (Akbar, 2016). Control over leaders can go through any political agenda. Later, the people will elect the leaders so that the cadres of extra-campus student organizations as the nation's successor must be consistent in carrying out their maturity in politics and democracy.

Apart from street demonstrations, electoral political moments become opportunities for political control by examining every vision and mission, and policies that have been planned by prospective leaders. Political control is an essential part of a democratic country to guard every government policy so that it is not absolute.

The form of political control is an implementation of the discourse on political participation. The political control exercised by extra-campus student organizations in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city varies. During the electoral political agenda, the control process reviewed the candidates' vision and mission, discussions, dialogues, studies, and direct control. According to Almond as cited in Mas'ood (2008), the discussion is part of conventional political participation.

Apart from political discussion, a person's communication is also conventional political participation. Individual communication is the relationship between the extra-campus student organization and several individuals in the organization's internal scope called external factors.

The external condition closest to the extra-campus student organization is the alumni organization. Every extra-campus student organization will continue to fight for and maintain its existence to the top level by forming an alumni organization. External factors are closely related to the influence of alumni organizations in internally intervening in extra-campus student organizations.

However, the phenomenon seen in the momentum of the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city is the absence of intervention, especially if the intervention is a political intervention. Alumni organizations do not have the right to interfere with the political choices of extra-campus student organizations. In general, alumni organizations only encourage active

cadres to carry out each work program and assist and support morally and materially.

4.1. Cognitive Political Orientation of Extra-Campus Student Organizations

Cognitive political orientation is the knowledge of individuals and groups about beliefs in the political system (Almond & Verba, 1984). Cognitive political orientation is the extra-campus student organization knowledge about running the political system. Political trust is an attitude instilled by individuals or groups in participating and being involved in general elections.

Political trust is related to political participation (Bourne, 2010). Individuals who have social beliefs tend to have high participation. Trust is the readiness to accept risk-based on positive expectations (Rousseau et al., 1998).

Likewise, the knowledge and trust of extra-campus student organizations on the implementation of the political system in the 2019 general election in Makassar city, political trust is closely related to political participation, namely, the intention of a person to vote. Political trust is based not only on the involvement of a person or group in a political system but also on the organization's positions to trust the electoral management body, in this case, the Regional General Elections Commission of Makassar city and the Election Supervisory Agency of Makassar city.

The synergy between stakeholders is vital in achieving organizational goals. Synergy is also a combination/part element that can produce better and greater output if built appropriately with stakeholders (Rahmawati, 2014). The electoral management body is an organization in which actors in its have an interest. The interest is in upholding democracy in realizing quality general elections. To achieve this, it takes every element of society involved in the general election, including extra-campus student organizations.

The electoral management body has the constitutional authority to regulate the implementation of general elections. Whether the election process is fair or not depends on the credibility of the electoral management body. So that in carrying out its duties, the electoral management body should be supported. Apart from that, control over the electoral management body is also critical because there are still problems facing every general election process, for example, money politics, the non-neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus, and several other election violations. Therefore, it is vital to encourage the electoral management body to remain independent so that democracy is not only in the procedural but also in the substance.

As for its role, namely, building robust and reliable democratic institutions. Thus, the General Election Commissions' pillars as a public organizing institution, namely structural independence, functional independence, and personal independence, must be consistent and maintained (Marzuki, 2008).

The 2019 general election is a process in a democratic system to elect candidate leaders. One of the essential parts of the system is political actors. Violation of political morals in the practice of the nation's political life and the state has led leaders, political elites, and policymakers to a moral crisis and a crisis of moral legitimacy. The crisis of moral legitimacy causes distrust of the public because political elites and policymakers display actions that violate morals. Society no longer listens to leaders' moral appeals because leaders often model actions that violate morals (Habermas, 1973).

One of the extra-campus student organizations that rely on their political beliefs on political morals strengthens is PMKRI Makassar branch. There are several reasons why PMKRI encourages political morale in political agendas, such as general elections. First, moral and political education is a new aspect that has not been implemented in PKMRI to foster students'

sense of morality. Second, there is a gap between moral and political education as a categorical imperative and a moral obligation on the one hand and political practice and praxis on the other. As a result, politicians and government bureaucrats straddle moral values and moral principles. Pragmatism and irrationality have co-opted politics (Sayangan, 2015).

Political morals have a significant relationship with political ethics. According to Muchson (2004), political ethics demands for claims over society's right to rule or organize society must be morally accountable. Political ethics is a subsidiary, namely to help discuss ideological issues objectively, based on arguments that can be accepted by all who understand the problem. Political ethics only provides a benchmark orientation and normative guideline to assess the quality of order in political life (Suseno, 1986). Knowledge and trust in the electoral management body and strengthened political actors' political morale; the point of contact is society. The public as the voter for the leader is one of the keys to a general election process.

The 2019 presidential election in Makassar city is not only a temporal momentum that ends at the voting booth. However, the 2019 general election is on the people's agenda. The community agenda, whose election duration is approximately 5 to 10 minutes, is in the voting booth, but the effect is for the next five years. Candidates for leaders who are elected at the voting booth, whether good or not, depends on the community. Therefore, it is crucial to encourage a perspective that the 2019 general election agenda is the community's agenda, not political actors, groups, or political parties.

Every element of society must have different knowledge and beliefs about general elections. This knowledge and belief can come from the electoral management body, strengthening political morals and society. However, there are also elements of society whose knowledge and beliefs rely on a system. The system in question is not currently being implemented in Indonesia, namely a democratic system but an Islamic state system. The extra-campus student organization that encourages implementing an Islamic state system in Indonesia is Gema Pembebasan. GEMA Pembebasan believes that implementing an Islamic state system is the path to goodness.

GEMA Pembebasan understands that da'wah is to invite others to the path of goodness and live a life based on Islamic ideology and rules. Da'wah is also aiming to invite a total return to Islam and leave the kufr rules that have shackled the ummah, such as democratic, capitalist, and non-Islamic rules (Lufaei, 2018).

GEMA Pembebasan is consistent with the struggle for political belief in the Islamic system and ideology. Although the 2019 presidential election made democracy a system, the system was not following Islamic teachings. GEMA Pembebasan will never participate or, in other words, do not vote at the voting booth. Participation is a right for all levels of society. This form of participation is to oversee any government policies, but for selecting presidential and vice-presidential candidates for 2019 in the voting booths, GEMA Pembebasan cadres are instructed not to participate.

As a da'wah organization, GEMA Pembebasan firmly makes Islam an ideology; it is new in the student movement. Moreover, the movement is juxtaposed with electoral politics, such as the 2019 presidential election. Concerning electoral politics, GEMA Pembebasan carries out the mandate of da'wah by making Islam mainstream. In the momentum of the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city, GEMA Pembebasan divides politics into two components: (1) practical politics; (2) participatory politics.

Practical politics is practiced by political actors who are political parties and participate in electoral politics in the legislative and presidential elections. Participatory politics, according to GEMA Pembebasan, is in the framework of guarding and supervising state policies. In general,

at the momentum of the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city, GEMA Pembebasan took a participatory political path to oversee all state policies or improve the problems around the people of Makassar city.

Practical politics is political actors who are political parties and participate in electoral politics in the legislative and presidential elections. Participatory politics, according to GEMA Pembebasan, is in the framework of overseeing state policies. In general, at the momentum of the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city, GEMA Pembebasan took a participatory political path to oversee all state policies or improve the problems around the people of Makassar city.

4.2. Affective Political Orientation of Extra-Campus Student Organizations

Affective political orientation is related to a person or group's feelings and roles towards the political system and political actors who can decide to accept or reject it (Almond & Verba, 1984). The 2019 general election represents a political structure in which some people work based on political agreements. The role of extra-campus student organizations in the 2019 presidential election varies.

One of the roles of extra-campus student organizations in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city participates in volunteer democracy activities. One of which is the extra-campus student organization, namely HMI Makassar branch. HMI Makassar branch's role in the general election process follows the HMI Board's directions. Implementation of engagement through an application development program called i-Pantau. HMI runs this program to oversee and monitor any election violations that often occur.

These violations often come from local political actors. Political actors are one of the keys to the success of a political agenda. The role of actors is crucial to democracy's success because actors' behavior and the policies produced have an essential meaning and influence the consolidation of democracy (Zuhro, 2009).

However, it is different in Makassar city. Although several political actors' involvement in the elections has a considerable influence on governance, these political actors need to be selected and evaluated. In politics, it is part of a strategic war battle that depends on political interests.

The political fanaticism of political actors tends to break the chain of better democracy. It is vital to strengthen political literacy to combat this phenomenon. The use of political literacy controls the movement of political actors in making policies that are not pro-society.

Political literacy is a manifestation of political action that society elements can control every government policy through social media, print media, and online media. In contrast to the transitional period towards the reform era, what stands out is the movement to oversee government policies through demonstrations, but at present, the most productive instrument to oversee any policy is political literacy.

Strengthening political literacy is one way to maintain the spirit of nationality. Maintain the spirit of nationality is something that is pre and post-2019 general elections. The way to achieve this is to build and re-establish good relationships among citizens, as is done by extra-campus student organizations such as GMKI Makassar branch and GMNI Makassar branch.

The spirit built by GMKI Makassar branch and GMNI Makassar branch is part of the extra-campus student organization's duties and functions as the agent of change, implemented to maintain and carry out the meaning of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Even at the momentum of the 2019 presidential election, interpretation of the meaning of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika done openly. The attitude raised by GMNI Makassar branch in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar

City is an open attitude in its activities by bringing GMNI Makassar branch's name directly to the community to strengthen its organizational identity.

The involvement of extra-campus student organizations in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar can not only see from the side of the organization's desire to build a robust political system, but organizational identity is also often interpreted to be an issue of political alignments. The extra-campus student organization's identity as an extension of the Muhammadiyah mass organization at the campus level, namely the Muhammadiyah Student Association.

Previously, the Muhammadiyah of South Sulawesi Region had recommended a candidate for the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2019 general election. The similarity of the candidate's vision and mission with the Muhammadiyah mass organization became a reason for making recommendations. The Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders of South Sulawesi had recommended in the 2018 governor and vice-governor elections. This recommendation is a rash and wrong attitude. For IMM Makassar branch, if it fully supports it, of course also in egalitarian ways, giving recommendations without measurement. It means that Muhammadiyah and its several derivatives cannot measure in terms of political alignment.

Affective political orientation includes feelings about the political system, roles, actors, and appearance that make a person accept or reject a political system (Almond & Verba, 1984). Indonesia applies a democratic political system in the implementation of general elections. GEMA Pembebasan Makassar branch rejects the system applied in general elections, namely the democratic system. The democratic system is considered a liberal, capitalist system, not an Islamic system from western countries and then used in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, GEMA Pembebasan arises because no student organization has aspirations to promote Islamic ideology and make Islam a solution to its problems. So far, only movements focus on society, politics, and other struggles by putting aside Islamic ideology (Lufaei, 2018).

The process of campaigning Islam as an ideology run by GEMA Pembebasan attempts to implement an Islamic state system through jihad. Indonesia is considered a country that has failed to carry out Islamic ideology. With its democratic system, Indonesia has experienced many problems, so that the solution is only one, namely the caliphate. The emergence of student movements that promote Islamic ideology is due to the unresolved nation's problems until today.

The emergence of GEMA Pembebasan in Indonesia today is a form of their disappointment with the previous regimes. In this context, GEMA Pembebasan feels called and obliged to continue the struggle for political Islam by formulating ideological Islamic politics by carrying out the application of Islamic law in realizing the idea of an Islamic caliphate (Chaidherra, 2015).

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia once raised the idea of an Islamic caliphate, but in the end, the government dissolved this organization. However, the idea is still consistently carried out and continued by the extra-campus student organization, GEMA Pembebasan. According to GEMA Pembebasan, the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city is the opening momentum to restore Islamic life in society. Public awareness that Islam is a blessing for the universe, even though some people do not understand and hate the caliphate, GEMA Liberation Makassar branch will continue to spread da'wah through non-violence consistently.

The extra-campus student organizations' affective political orientation in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city differs. The differences arise based on each extra-campus student organization's background, vision, mission, and ideological struggles.

4.3. Evaluative Political Orientation of Extra-Campus Student Organizations

Evaluative political orientation is a decision and opinion about political objects that typically involve shared values and criteria with information and feelings. The determination of this orientation is through the moral evaluation of a person or group and is also related to normative evolution, political morality, and political ethics (Almond & Verba, 1984).

Extra-campus student organizations need to evaluate each general election process to maintain a better democratic system. The 2019 presidential election in Makassar city contains many phenomena identified as problems that often arise in the electoral political process, namely media independence, State Civil Apparatus neutrality, identity politics, and money politics.

Discussing the relationship between the media and the political realm is a dilemma because media coverage attitude is not entirely neutral from political intervention and capital patronage (Dhakidae, 1992). The non-neutrality of the media in presenting news is undoubtedly a problem because it will make the public reckless in understanding the news, plus if the media presents hoax news. The discourse regarding the media's alignment to a political actor or entrepreneur is not new in Indonesia, but this discourse is always present in every political agenda.

The media are very vulnerable to political intervention because of media owners' interests (Jati, 2013). According to Chomsky (2011), media politicization occurs when the owner penetrates practical politics. During the political agenda in Makassar city, two politicians were media shareholders in Makassar city: 1) Munafri Arifuddin, son-in-law of Aksa Mahmud, an entrepreneur who owns the *Tribun Timur* newspaper and makassar.tribunnews.com. Both media are under the Bosowa Group network. 2) Moh. Ramdhan Pomanto, a shareholder of *Koran Sindo* (Seputar Indonesia), Makassar (edunews.id, 2018). It is crucial to evaluate the media as a basis for strengthening information to the public. If the candidates in the 2019 general election have media networks, it is unlikely that the media in Makassar city will produce independent news.

Besides, the phenomenon that occurred in Makassar city during the momentum of the 2019 presidential election was the phenomenon of the non-neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus. The State Civil Apparatus is not allowed to side with anyone's political interests. The State Civil Apparatus must maintain a neutral stance in general elections.

It is necessary to evaluate the phenomenon of the State Civil Apparatus' involvement in the 2019 Presidential Election so that the democratic system runs well. According to data from the Election Supervisory Agency of Makassar city, the State Civil Apparatus' involvement in supporting one of the candidates is 15 (Tribun Makassar, 2019).

HMI Makassar Branch and PMKRI Makassar Branch encourage the next crucial political agenda to encourage the neutrality of State Civil Apparatus and media independence. The State Civil Apparatus may not side with any group, let alone participate in fighting for the seat of power (Fatkhuri & Syarbaini, 2019). The main reason for the involvement of a State Civil Apparatus in practical politics is part of a political contract with a certain political actor or candidate because if not, then the position that will be at stake and the threat of transfer could occur. A State Civil Apparatus will think logically rather than losing office, transfer, or not being given space by the leadership involved in practical politics; the only way is to support one of the candidates.

The 2019 presidential election's political dynamics in Makassar's city seem to be at a high political temperature. The emergence of this phenomenon is because the presidential election agenda coincides with the legislative elections to divide the people of Makassar city. Political

actors who are too fanatical about their respective candidates give the impression that political actors are heading towards a political maturity process. It is not clear that political actors' ideas and discourses, debates in virtual spaces only revolve around “*Cebong*” and “*Kampret*”.

An essential element in a political system is students who can provide input and criticism to build a better political system. The strengthening of practical political action on the political agenda is a challenge for a system called democracy. It takes active involvement by every element of society, including extra-campus student organizations. Apart from practical politics, the community's problem is the strengthening of ethnicity, race, religion, and money politics. This issue seems attractive to political actors who are not responsible for a group or personal interests.

The extra-campus student organization considers that practical politics will only break national unity due to differences in political choices. There is a threat to the nation's integrity in every political agenda that comes from strengthening identity politics through issues of Ethnicity (*Suku*), Religion (*Agama*), Race (*Ras*), and Intergroup (*Antar Golongan*) or called SARA and easy to raise by certain actors or interest groups in politics.

The operationalization of identity politics, which is cultural, will occupy three public spheres that become the source of conflict between many cultural interests:

- 1) The role of the operationalization of identity politics is played optimally through the government.
- 2) Religion sphere.
- 3) Identity politics operates through power-sharing, in which group identity will include the interests of its identity in a particular way.

Domestic political communication determines the dynamics of political currents ([Lestari, 2018](#)). Political actors often make SARA issues to achieve specific goals. For example, the rejection of Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno and the team of Neno Warisman arrival in Makassar city by PMKRI, GMKI, PMKRI, and PMII ([merdeka.com, 2018](#)).

The problem that often occurs in every electoral political agenda is money politics. According to [Aspinall & Berenschot \(2019\)](#), the increase in money politics hinders the increasing electoral politics' integrity. In the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city, the phenomenon of money politics is wrong behavior that is rejected by extra-campus student organizations such as PMII and GMNI. Based on the Election Supervisory Agency of Makassar city, a politician from the United Development Party committed the money politics case. The United Development Party is a coalition of parties supporting the candidate pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Every political agenda will always face money politics issues ([kompas.com, 2019](#)).

The path to a better democratic system requires all society elements, including extra-campus student organizations, the electoral management body, and the community, to build a solidarity spirit. One way to pursue the spirit of solidarity is to synergize among fellow extra-campus student organizations to minimize fraud in the 2019 presidential election process in Makassar city. It takes synergy between student organizations and the electoral management body. The synergy between student organizations and electoral management body is one way to minimize actions that can harm society.

The momentum of the 2019 Presidential Election in Makassar city has many phenomena. It is necessary to evaluate casuistic phenomena such as ballot boxes made of cardboard and voting place officials' death cases. The evaluation process is not only on the general election mechanism but also on the general election system.

An extra-campus student organization that emphasizes more on a casuistic evaluative political orientation is GEMA Pembebasan. This extra-campus student organization tends to be

different from other organizations. The basic concept of evaluative political orientation is the phenomenon of ballot boxes made of cardboard, mental disorders, and punched ballots considered to influence the public to lose their political confidence. Besides, GEMA Pembebasan raises the issue of evaluating the general election mechanism that uses the Islamic caliphate system rather than a democratic system. The emergence of several political actors encouraged by the ulama (religious experts of Islam) shows that public awareness is getting more vital for better change.

The 2019 presidential election represents a democratic system in which there is an element of freedom. Freedom often translates into things without limits or control. One way to control the democratic system is by being active in extra-campus student organizations to oversee every political agenda in Indonesia to produce the shared view that the democratic system is imperfect. The study of the political orientation of the extra-campus student organizations can test this shared view. The study of political orientation reaches the form of involvement, attitudes, and views of a person or group and provides important notes for better future political agendas.

5. Conclusion

Internal factors relate to the internal conditions of the extra-campus student organization in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city. These internal conditions of extra-campus student organizations in Makassar city include: HMI encourages its cadres to mature politically and democratically. PMKRI maintains the neutrality and idealism of cadres, and GMKI keeps the nation and state integrity. Besides, GMNI supervises the government by conducting dialogue and discussion. At the same time, PMII implies that the 2019 presidential election's political agenda is a learning arena and rejects practical politics. IMM oversees the vision and mission of the candidate by conducting studies. KAMMI and GEMA Pembebasan oversee every government policy.

External factors are related to the influence from outside the extra-campus student organization, namely the alumni organization. The eight organizations stated no intervention to select one candidate pair in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar City based on alumni's organizational instructions. There are interventions but with an individual scope in extra-campus student organizations, such as those experienced by PMKRI, GMKI, PMII, IMM, and KAMMI. Alumni organizations only support each work program, a form of support both morally and materially.

The cognitive political orientation of the extra-campus student organizations consisting of HMI, GMKI, GMNI, IMM, and KAMMI is that political trust rests on the electoral management body, in this case, the General Election Commissions, the Election Supervisory Agency, and PMII relying on their political trust in society. It is different from PMKRI, which relies on political belief on strengthening political morals as a form of knowledge in a political system, and GEMA Pembebasan consistently places its political trust in the Islamic state system. GEMA Pembebasan instructs its cadres not to vote at the voting booth due to the 2019 presidential election used a democratic system.

Affective political orientation is related to a person or group's feelings and roles towards the political system and political actors who can decide to accept or reject the system. The extra-campus student organizations' affective political orientation in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city include: 1) in line with the organization's vision and mission, the existence of seniors involved as political actors, general elections as a means of strengthening knowledge in politics and democracy. 2) political actors are in the process of political maturity. 3) synergize

with other youth organizations. 4) volunteering for the Election Supervisory Agency in the context of strengthening political education. 5) the political agenda's success by providing assistance and enlightenment for the community on being a good voter. 6) the 2019 presidential election brought about a phenomenon of community polarization. 7) the 2019 presidential election is related to the exchange of various interests.

Evaluative political orientation is related to the decisions and opinions of a person or group about political objects. The determination of this orientation is through the moral evaluation of a person or group and is also related to normative evaluation, political morality, and political ethics. The evaluative political orientation of the extra-campus student organizations in the 2019 presidential election in Makassar city consists of the media, political morality, political ethics, neutrality of the State Civil Apparatus, SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Intergroup) issues, money politics, recruitment of electoral management body, and the 2019 general election mechanism.

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