

The Influence of Taufan Pawe in the Election of the Chair of the DPD II Golkar City of Parepare (The Study of Political *Proxy*)

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Abstract. This study explains the influence of Taufan Pawe in his involvement in the election process for the chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party, Parepare City. Where the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe was caused by a relationship between the chairman of the DP D of the South Sulawesi Golkar Party, namely Taufan Pawe who is also the husband of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe. This study limits the discussion to the context of how Taufan Pawe used Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as a *Political Proxy*. This study uses a qualitative approach to explain the influence of Taufan Pawe in the election of the chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare. This study uses in-depth interview data collection techniques. The results of this study explain. What did Taufan do? Pawe in his involvement in Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's victory as chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party, the city of Parepare, researchers conclude as political *proxies*. The election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as Chair of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City is a form of Taufan Pawe's influence as Chair of the DPD I Golkar Party of South Sulawesi.

Keywords: Party Politics-1; Political Proxies-2; Symbols-3

1 Introduction

This study explains the election of Erna Taufan Pawe in the election of the chairman of the Parepare Golkar Party DPD. Where there are indications that Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's election was due to a relationship between the chairman of the DP D of the South Sulawesi Golkar Party, namely Taufan Pawe who is also the husband of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe. This phenomenon in political literature, especially political studies in Indonesia, is seen as a phenomenon of kinship politics or dynastic politics. Meanwhile, according to researchers, the phenomenon of the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in the city of Parepare is more towards the phenomenon of political *proxy*. Studies on *proxy politics* are still minimal, especially in Indonesia. This is because most researchers study the distribution of power involving the family at the political level of kinship or dynastic politics.

Proxies are covert roles where one party uses another person or a third party to fight the enemy.[1] In other words, cunning politics means that wars don't seem to use subtle means to defeat opponents using third parties. This is what caused the phenomenon of Andi Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's election to the election of the chairman of the Golkar Parepare Party DPD. Where Andi Taufan Pawe used his wife to occupy the position of chairman of the Parepare Golkar Party DPD. Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's position was used as a *proxy* or symbol of

representation [2] Taufan Pawe's political power within the Golkar Party in the city of Parepare. In this context, the political *proxy* is different from kinship politics or dynastic politics. Kinship politics exists along with political practices of liberalization and political decentralization [3]. Kinship politics is an old concept in the study of political science. In simple terms, kinship politics is interpreted as similar to nepotism. Why is that? Because kinship politics practice the division of power among blood family members [4].

The process of electing the chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City was colored by the dynamics of its implementation because at the Regional Conference (Musda) the only challenger to Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe, namely Taqjuddin Djabbar, decided to step down as a candidate for chairman in the middle of the Golkar Party Musda process in Parepare. Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe is just an ordinary cadre in the Parepare Golkar Party organization and has no track record or political positions either in the regions or in the province either in the Golkar party itself or in the government [5]. Even though in that election many cadres were considered capable and more experienced to occupy the position of chairman of the DPD II Golkar Parepare Party.

Taufan Pawe's position as Mayor of Parepare and Chairman of the DPD I Golkar Party of South Sulawesi has had a great influence on the Golkar Party. Considered a factor in the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as chairman of the DPD II Golkar Parepare Party, this was reinforced by the resignation of Taqjuddin Djabbar as a candidate for a chairman who was predicted by many parties to be elected. Many believe that Taqjuddin Djabbar's resignation from the contest for the election for the chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare was also caused by the political lobbying that occurred between Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's party.

Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe also has other assets that support his electability in obtaining a position as chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in the city of Parepare, Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe is also known for carrying out many da'wah activities to the Parepare community. In addition to capital as a preacher, Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe also has family capital as described above. Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe is the wife of the Mayor of Parepare and Chairperson of the DPD I Golkar Party of South Sulawesi. This phenomenon reinforces the fact that the power system passed down to family or relatives cannot be interpreted as mere political kinship practices or political dynasties.

Depart from the explanation above. This study limits the discussion only to the context of how Taufan Pawe used Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as a *Political Proxy*. And briefly explain the basic differences *between Proxy's* Political with other concepts that are almost similar in this study. Such as the dynastic and kinship political design that was briefly explained at the beginning of this study.

2 Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach to explain the influence of Taufan Pawe in the election of the chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party, Parepare City. And see literature-related discussion with studying this. Namely, literature concerning *political proxies* and studies that discuss the study of kinship politics and dynastic politics. This study also conducted interviews with the actors who were directly involved in this research. The informant is Dr. H. M Taufan Pawe, SH, MH as the main object in this study and served as chairman of the South Sulawesi Golkar Party DPD I, and Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe who was the elected actor in the election of the general chairman of the Golkar Party DPD II Parepare city. Qualitative data analysis

carried out in this study was carried out using a verification process from data sources (informants) [6]. Interview data obtained from informants were then interpreted according to research needs using interpretive methods [7].

3 Results and Discussion

3.1. The Election of Erna Rasyid in Taufan Pawe as a Form of Taufan Pawe's Influence

Political parties that should be the driving force for democracy often do not carry out democratic processes within themselves, such as leadership regeneration. In the process of regeneration, the political party leadership is often negligent in carrying out the democratic process internally. The kinship system has grown and developed in today's political parties. strong kinship and relations between elite actors are natural in the practice of selecting candidates for party heads [8].

The Golkar Party in Parepare Municipality is one of the parties with the most votes in Parepare Municipality. Based on the results of the vote count in the 2019 Pileg City of Parepare. The Golkar Party won 5 seats from 3 electoral districts in Parepare City. This result has decreased since the 2004 election and 2 elections after. In the 2019 Legislative Election, there were 4 seats for the Parepare City Golkar party itself in the Parepare City DPRD. Even though in the 2019 legislative elections the seats owned by the Golkar Party did not experience an increase and positive changes. This is a reference for actually recruiting the chairman of the DPD II Golkar City of Parepare to restore the glory of the Golkar City of Parepare in the upcoming election.

The Parepare City Golkar Party DPD II meeting decided to elect Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as Chair of the Parepare City Golkar Party DPD II. Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe became chairman of the DPD II Golkar City of Parepare through long political considerations and processes before the opening of the Parepare Regional Golkar Party Regional Conference. The political process that occurred in the election of the chairman of the Golkar DPD City of Parepare resulted in Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe being elected by acclamation. Even though at first there was another candidate who took the form of a candidate for chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City. However, towards the opening of the Musda Taqjuddin Djabbar decided to withdraw from the nomination process so that Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe was elected by acclamation as chairman of the DPD II Golkar City of Parepare.

The election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as Chairperson of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City raised many questions because Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe was just an ordinary cadre in the Golkar Party organization of Parepare Municipality and has no track record or political position either at the regional or provincial level. Even though in that election many more experienced cadres occupied the position of Chairperson of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City. Meanwhile, in the DPD II Golkar Party, Parepare City, some cadres are considered more suitable for this position.

The election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City is closely related to Taufan Pawe's involvement in influencing the course of the selection process. Taufan Pawe's position as Mayor of Parepare and Chairman of the DPD I Golkar Party of South Sulawesi has had a great influence on the Golkar Party. Considered a factor in the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as chairman of the DPD II Golkar Parepare Party, this was reinforced by the resignation of Taqjuddin Djabbar as a candidate for a chairman who was predicted by many parties to be elected. Many believe that Taqjuddin

Djabbar's resignation from the contest for the election for the chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare was also caused by the political lobbying that occurred between Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's party.

3.2 Involvement of Taufan Pawe Erna Rasyid's Victory of Taufan Pawe as a Form of Political Proxy.

Pawe as the Chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City cannot be classified as a phenomenon of kinship politics or dynastic politics. The reason is the position of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe who was elected chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City. More influenced by the involvement of Taufan Pawe as Chairperson of the DPD I Golkar Party in South Sulawesi Province as a third party or the mastermind behind the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe to maintain his influence and power within the Golkar Party in the city of Parepare. In this case, the researcher considers what Taufan Pawe did in his involvement in Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's victory as Chairperson of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City, referred to as a Political Proxy. Political proxies are covert roles in which one party uses another person or a third party against an enemy. In other words, political proxies mean that wars do not appear to use subtle means of defeating opponents using third parties [9]. It was in this context that Taufan Pawe used his wife to occupy the position of Chairperson of the DPD II Golkar Parepare Party. Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's position was used as a proxy or a symbol of representing Taufan Pawe's political power within the Golkar Party in the city of Parepare.

Many studies on kinship politics have been carried out, both in various countries in the world and Indonesia. For example, the study of Dal Bó et al. (2009) and Querubin (2016) and Rossi (2016) discuss the influence of a politician's tenure on the tendency for the emergence of political dynasties [3]. An important finding from this research is related to the length of the term of office of a politician which can provide advantages for his relatives who are fighting in the election contest, because of a well-known family name or a strong and broad political network. Kinship politics in practice can be found in various countries in the world, including countries with an established democratic system. For example, In the United States, we know the Kennedy and George Bush dynasties.

Previously, there was also John Adams (the second US president) whose son, John Quincy Adams, became the sixth US president. There is also Franklin Delano Roosevelt (32nd US president) who is a cousin of Theodore Roosevelt (26th US president). Roosevelt himself is said to have been related to 11 presidents: 5 by blood and 6 by marriage [10]. Then the Nehru and Gandhi families in India, the Bhuto families in Pakistan, the Trudeau in Canada, and the Allende in Chile are some examples of political dynasties. (Jainuri, 2012) . The Philippines is no less spectacular in the practice of kinship politics. More than half of the elected legislators and governors have relatives who occupy strategic positions in various government agencies. In fact, in 40% of the 79 provinces, governors and legislators are relatives.

In research conducted by Nico Harjanto (2011) entitled Kinship Politics and the Institutionalization of Political Parties in Indonesia explains [12]. Kinship politics or dynastic politics, especially in Indonesia, is getting stronger. This can be seen from the number of party elites who give power in political parties to their families to continue their influence or leadership in a party. The terms family politics and kinship politics are the same, namely referring to political actors who have affinity or kinship ties with former political officials and a span of at least two generations. Meanwhile, dynastic politics according to Hess (1966) is a family that has at least four members, with the same name, elected as official officials. Meanwhile, according to Yasushi Asako (2010), dynastic politics occurs when a family member occupies a political position previously held by his relative.

The limitations of the definition based on the understanding above show the difference in the dimensions of time and amount. Families of previous political officials spanning a minimum of two periods of power and consisting of at least two generations are called political kinship whereas dynastic politics refers to four relatives who are the same in an official position or even consisting of four generations [13]. In contrast to these studies and research concerning kinship politics and dynastic politics. The election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe, who moves in a non-formal space and is a process of a tug-of-war of interests, the writer will use symbolic representation theory as an analytical tool to reveal the political dynamics that occur.

According to Pitkin, symbolic representation is an agent who symbolically 'defends' the principal, namely the representation of constituents through representatives who suggest or evoke feelings. Pitkin's definition is part of a four-dimensional political representation framework, namely formalistic (formal rules of representation), and descriptive ('position'). physical), substantive ('acting for'), and symbolic. Pitkin defines symbolic representation as a dimension in itself, complementing but not derived from descriptive representations. He does so by outlining the conceptual distinctions of the various dimensions of political representation through agent-principal relationships and identifying the roles of standing (physically or symbolically) and acting (substantially) agents for principals or constituents.

From the perspective of symbolic representation, the author then looks at the relationship between Taufan Pawe and Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe in the election of the chairman of the Parepare Golkar Party DPD. Where Rasyid Taufan Pawe was used as a representative of the symbol of power owned by Taufan Pawe in the Golkar party because Taufan Pawe as chairman of DPD I Golkar party South Sulawesi and former chairman of DPD II Golkar Party Parepare is still trying to maintain his power. power in the Parepare Golkar Party.

Symbolic representation in particular is seen by Pitkin as a process by which a symbol, through association or convention, represents something other than itself, such as a flag representing the values and beliefs of a nation.[14] While creating space for defining symbolic representation as a stand-alone dimension, Pitkin primarily associates it with authoritarian regimes and demeans them for two reasons, perhaps the lack of activity in symbolic representation and its irrational component.

The theory of symbolic representation is a new wind in viewing political dynamics in the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in the city of Parepare. This symbolic representation provides a broader picture and perspective regarding the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as *Taufan Pawe's representative* in exercising his power and influence within the Golkar Party in the city of Parepare. In addition, the author also uses the proxy concept to try to strengthen the analysis and argumentation related to the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe who was used as a *proxy* by Taufan Pawe in the process of selecting the chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party, Parepare city. At the same time further analyzes the power possessed by Taufan Pawe as a central political actor in the use of his influence in *the political proxy process* in the dynamics of the Golkar Party Deliberation in the city of Parepare.

4 Conclusion

The election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as Chairperson of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare City is a form of Taufan Pawe's influence as Chairperson of the DPD I Golkar Party

of South Sulawesi in influencing the course of the selection process within the Golkar party in Parepare City. Taufan Pawe's position as Mayor of Parepare and Chairman of the DPD I Golkar Party of South Sulawesi has had a great influence on the Golkar Party. Became one of the factors causing the election of Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe as Chair of the DPD II Golkar Party, City of Parepare.

What did Taufan do? Pawe in his involvement in Erna Rasyid Taufan Pawe's victory as chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Parepare, researchers conclude as political *proxies*. Where Rasyid Taufan Pawe was used as a representative of the symbol of power owned by Taufan Pawe in the Golkar party because Taufan Pawe as chairman of DPD I Golkar party South Sulawesi and former chairman of DPD II Golkar Party Parepare is still trying to maintain his power. power in the Parepare Golkar Party.

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