

# Looking At The Violation Of The Semarang Mayor Election Process With A Perspective Of Conflict In 2020

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## Abstract

Violations during the Mayoral Election process are certainly not new. The dynamics were changing during the election process. These violations are certainly evaluation material for the organizing body in the effort to resolve the problem. However, this problem can spark conflict between partisans, organizers, and candidates. Therefore, this article aims to see what forms of violations were during the Semarang of Mayoral Election process, to see violations through the lens of conflict. With a qualitative research method, a case study approach with conflict theory, this study presents information that violations found include violations at the stages of the election process and violations at non-stages. These violations are more directed at administrative violations in the data collection of permanent election candidates, Ad-hoc committee candidates, violations in the implementation of the campaign, ASN neutrality, vote recounts, and errors in filling out form D. These violations are said to be conflicts because one party has different goals with another. The violations that occur were included in the type of surface conflict but do not rule out the possibility of becoming alternative conflicts and open conflicts in the future because all citizens did not obtain political education so they did not understand how politics works properly.

**Keywords:** Mayoral election; violations; conflicts; resolution

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## Introduction

General elections (Elections) and regional head elections (pilkada) are political contests and 5-year democratic parties to obtain the right leaders. In its implementation, various dynamics emerged to color the political stage. Attacks between supporters became a common sight when the political year arrived. News about conflicts and violations alternately colors electronic news pages and social media. Political conflicts do not only target sympathizers, but also enter the family realm due to differences in choices (Sugitanata and Ridwan, 2024). Conflicts that arise in society have the potential to escalate, one of which is influenced by non-electoral factors (social, political, cultural, religious, economic, and legal) (Juanda and Iskandar, 2024). This is also similar to the conflicts that arise during the election process, namely between sympathizers and organizers and between organizers.

Election Law No. 7 of 2017 has affirmed that election violations and disputes are the duties of the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) in accordance with Article 39. Both disputes and violations in elections that are biased trigger conflicts. Conflict according to Fisher (2000) is that conflict departs from the perception of something but is not in harmony with the goal. The emergence of violations and disputes during elections is because the goals that have been set by the law are not heeded or what is expected is not in accordance but still tries to be enforced.

Cases of violations and disputes in elections also occurred in some regions in Indonesia such as in Central Kalimantan, in the 2019 election the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) has received an application for dispute resolution of

the election process. Some of those who experienced it include Katingan Regency which received 6 applicants and others, namely Murung Regency, Lamandau Regency, Sukamara Regency and East Barito Regency each (Tobing, 2019). Lampung Province in the 2019 election also received 8 cases of election results disputes with details of 3 cases at the level of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 1 case at the level of the Provincial DPRD, and 4 cases at the level of the Regency/City DPRD (Lestari and Hertanto, 2021).

Disputes in elections that occur as described above show that the opportunity for conflict can occur in any form, both in the form of disputes and violations even though they are in normal and safe conditions. This will certainly be a different story from the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) both at the provincial, district, and city levels in 2020 in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. The fluctuations in the vulnerability of disputes and violations are increasing. The chance of friction in abnormal conditions can be higher, as found by the findings of the Lampung IAARD. Balitbangda Lampung released the results of research on the 2020 regional elections showing that the potential for conflict is more attractive than the previous election caused by the declining economic condition of the community (Lampung, 2020). The 2020 regional political contest, which was attended by 270 regions, with explanations from 9 provinces, 224 districts and 37 cities (Zulfadli, 2020), became the largest simultaneous regional election compared to 2015, 2017, and 2018 (Wibawana, 2024).

The city of Semarang is one of the city governments that participated in this great

event. Lumpia City is one of the cities with a single candidate, namely the couple Hendrar Prihadi and Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu or more familiar with the greeting Hendi – Ita. Hendi – Ita is the incumbent single candidate pair. The status of those who are *incumbents* (incumbents) is certainly considered to make it easier to win the election with minimal violations. However, such an assumption is not entirely true. Data shows that there were 43 cases handled with a description of 32 cases of violations of Election Administration detailed in 25 cases regarding violations of the recruitment process of adhoc bodies, 3 cases of violations of non-neutral adhoc bodies, 1 case of violations of voter data updates, 1 case of election administration (KPPS) not carrying out the election process according to procedures, as many as 2 cases of violation of the Covid-19 protocol, 4 cases of election criminal cases and 7 cases of ASN violations (Semarang, 2021).

The discussion of the problem of the regional elections or the election of mayors (pilwalkot) is not only closely related to conflicts, violations and disputes. There are other things that can be seen from the dynamics of the implementation of the regional elections in the midst of the Covid 19 pandemic. There are many aspects that surround it, including the health aspect. Efforts to reduce the rate of acceleration of transmission, so the campaign of candidates who are identified as violating the rules must be monitored and monitored by both Bawaslu and the legislature (Umagapi and Wasisto, 2020). In order to reduce the rate of covid transmission, the government issued an online campaign policy. However, online campaigns have several obstacles, including some areas that are not accessible to the internet, violations on social

media, and online campaigns that are unable to build candidate bonds with voters (Dewanti, 2020).

The number of violations and problems that occurred in the midst of the mayoral election with a single candidate is an interesting thing in addition to the fact that there are still many studies related to the regional elections. This shows that the discussion of this case is still worthy of being studied as an effort to enrich the study of conflict resolution against violations of the 2020 Semarang Mayor election. This article will look at what forms of violations occur and how violations are viewed with a conflict perspective.

## Method

Research on Examining the Resolution of Violations of the Semarang Mayor Election Process with a Conflict Perspective in 2020 using a qualitative research method with a case study approach. Qualitative research is a method in an effort to explore and understand the meaning that a number of individuals or groups of people consider to come from social or humanitarian problems (Creswell, 2014). The cases in this study lead to conflict resolution in the process of resolving violations. The data collection process is carried out by means of *in-depth interviews* and documentation. (1) The interview was carried out by digging up information from the organizers, namely the Semarang City KPU, Semarang City Bawaslu, several (2) Documentation carried out was digging up data in the form of documents for the violation registration process, articles and news related to violations during the Pilwalkot process. The collected data was then analyzed by triangulating the data.

## Theoretical Framework Conflict

Conflict is basically not something that should be avoided in daily life. Conflicts arise not without cause. The emergence is the result of interaction with each other in a short time or for a long duration. If according to Lecey (2003) that basically a well-managed conflict can generate profits and provide space for opportunities to continue to develop or advance (Gunaryo *et al.*, 2017). Conflict according to Fisher *et al.* (2000):

*"a relationship between two or more parties (individual or groups) who have, or think they have, incompatible goals"*

Fisher's opinion above reinforces that conflict can occur anywhere and anytime because conflict departs from perceiving something but is not in harmony with the goal.

Conflict according to Fisher *et al.*, (2000) can be seen from the type. The types of conflicts are as follows:

No *conflict*: A peaceful society, living dynamically, uniting behavioral conflicts with goals, and effectively overcoming them

Latent conflict: A hidden conflict, below the surface so that it needs to be brought to the surface for effective handling

Surface *Conflict*: A superficial or unrooted conflict that is caused by a misunderstanding of the purpose can be overcome by improving communication.

Open *conflict*: This conflict is rooted and visible on the surface so that actions are needed that lead to the superiority of the deep-rooted conflict and those that exist on the surface (Junaidi 2017).

Conflicts arise for several reasons. Here are the theories of the cause of the conflict:

### *Community Relation Theory*

To improve communication and understanding among opposing groups. To support greater tolerance and acceptance of diversity in society.

### *Principled Negotiation Theory*

Help conflicting groups to separate the individual from the problem and the problem, and to be able to negotiate on the basis of their interests and not on the basis of their position.

Facilitate deals that offer mutual benefits to both or all groups.

### *Human Need Theory*

Help parties to the conflict to identify, and convey unmet needs, and come up with options to meet those needs.

For these parties to reach an agreement on the important identity needs of all parties.

### *Identity Theory*

Workshops and dialogues are facilitated for parties to the conflict for the purpose of identifying the threats and fears they feel and to build empathy and reconciliation among them.

Together reach an agreement on the identity needs of all parties.

### *Intercultural Misunderstanding Theory*

Increase the knowledge of each party involved in the conflict about their respective cultures. Weakening negative *stereotypes* from each party. Improve effective intercultural communication

### *Conflict Transformation Theory*

Changing the structures and frameworks that lead to inequality and injustice, including economic redistribution

Improve long-term relationships and attitudes between parties to the conflict.

## **Discussion**

### **Political Dynamics of the Semarang Mayor Election**

#### *Single Candidate with full support from all parties in the city DPRD*

The Semarang mayoral election which was held on December 9, 2020 was the first experience where the regional election coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic. At that time there were 21 districts and cities in Central Java that held a grand democracy party. There are 6 regions filled by one pair of candidates, namely Semarang City, Boyolali Regency, Kebumen, Sragen, Grobogan, and Wonosobo (Idhom, 2020). The existing single candidates, some of them are incumbents, either who initially served as regional heads or representatives in the previous period.

The single-candidate election that took place in Semarang City was between the candidate pair Hendrar Prihadi and Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu against the empty column. This pair of candidates has pocketed the support of all parties in Semarang City. Not only PDI Perjuangan as a supporting party, Hendi-Ita is fully supported by the Democratic Party, Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, Nasdem Party, PKB, PAN, PSI and PKS as well as 5 non-parliamentary parties, namely the PKPI party, the Hanura party, the UN party, the PPP party,

the Berkarya party. This is a new history of the 3rd simultaneous direct regional head election where a pair of candidates is carried and supported by all existing parties (Derapjuang, 2020).

The permanent voter list (DPT) of the Semarang City Pilwalkot is 1,174,068 people consisting of 569,266 men and 604,802 women in accordance with the Decree of the Semarang City KPU No. 457/PL.02.1-Kpt/3374/KPUKot/X/2020. The election of the mayor of Semarang was not marked by election disputes and serious violations. The election that took place at the end of 2020 was fairly peaceful, harmonious and went as expected. However, the election that took place in the midst of a pandemic was considered quite troublesome for the candidates and election implementers because there were many rules that had to be followed compared to the previous period of the election without a pandemic. Even in the midst of a pandemic, the enthusiasm of residents to exercise their right to vote is quite high.

The details of the number of residents who used the right to vote were 371,555 men and 433,969 women. Women voters in this case are more than men. The sub-district with the most use of voting rights is in Tembalang District with a total of 85,774 votes with details of 39,836 votes for men and 45,948 votes for women. The following is the distribution of voters according to each sub-district in the Semarang Pilwalkot:

#### 1.1 Data of residents who exercise their right to vote in the 2020 Semarang City election

| NO | District   | Voting Right Users |        |
|----|------------|--------------------|--------|
|    |            | LK                 | PR     |
| 1  | Banyumanik | 28.907             | 34.877 |
| 2  | Candisari  | 17.563             | 20.970 |

|    |                      |                |                |
|----|----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 3  | Gajahmungkur         | 12.507         | 14.660         |
| 4  | Gayamsari            | 16.798         | 19.801         |
| 5  | Genuk                | 26.547         | 30.256         |
| 6  | Gunungpati           | 23.237         | 26.676         |
| 7  | Mijen                | 17.698         | 20.165         |
| 8  | Ngaliyan             | 33.282         | 37.329         |
| 9  | Pedurungan           | 41.225         | 47.844         |
| 10 | Semarang Barat       | 33.595         | 39.576         |
| 11 | Semarang Selatan     | 14.241         | 17.423         |
| 12 | Semarang Tengah      | 11.980         | 14.729         |
| 13 | Semarang Timur       | 15.274         | 18.898         |
| 14 | Semarang Utara       | 30.824         | 35.793         |
| 15 | Tembalang            | 39.826         | 45.948         |
| 16 | Tugu                 | 8.051          | 9.024          |
|    | <b>Sum</b>           | <b>371.555</b> | <b>433.969</b> |
|    | <b>Total (lk+pr)</b> | <b>805.524</b> |                |

Source: Semarang City KPU Data

### *Implementation of less effective Virtual box campaign in the midst of a pandemic*

The 2020 pandemic election was very felt during the campaign, where there was a limit on the number of participants to only 50 people with a long licensing process. Candidate pairs must include a permit from the Health Office to be forwarded to Bawaslu, KPU, and the Police. This is strengthened by the explanation of one of the commissioners of the Semarang City Bawaslu:

These strict regulations are rarely known to the public, so when they organize without telling us, it becomes a boomerang for the campaign team. This is a violation of the campaign team, not a violation of PDI Perjuangan, because the one who coordinates it

is the campaign team and is handed over to the supporting parties.

The total campaign carried out during the implementation of the 2020 Semarang Pilwalkot was 582. The following are the details of the campaigns carried out in all sub-districts during the Semarang election.

| NO           | District         | Number of Campaigns |
|--------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1            | Banyumanik       | 80                  |
| 2            | Candisari        | 46                  |
| 3            | Gajahmungkur     | 21                  |
| 4            | Gayamsari        | 33                  |
| 5            | Genuk            | 23                  |
| 6            | Gunungpati       | 22                  |
| 7            | Mijen            | 34                  |
| 8            | Ngaliyan         | 24                  |
| 9            | Pedurungan       | 45                  |
| 10           | Semarang Barat   | 56                  |
| 11           | Semarang Selatan | 38                  |
| 12           | Semarang Tengah  | 42                  |
| 13           | Semarang Timur   | 56                  |
| 14           | Semarang Utara   | 22                  |
| 15           | Tembalang        | 22                  |
| 16           | Tugu             | 18                  |
| <b>Total</b> |                  | <b>582</b>          |

Source: PPID Bawaslu Semarang City 2020

The number that exists is the total of online and offline campaigns. Hendi – Ita uses a virtual box campaign to reach the community. Virtual

Box is a form of synchronous online campaign using a zoom or gmeet form plate (Milasari, 2021). Hendi and Ita can directly interact and respond to inputs, complaints, and aspirations from residents who are gathered on a limited basis. Campaign strategies like this are still considered to be not optimal because the number of participants is limited and prone to violations such as *physical distancing*, reducing crowds, and using masks when interacting as an effort to counter the spread of the covid-19 virus. The amount of data from campaign activities carried out by the Hendi-Ita couple is still recorded to be dominated by 295 offline campaigns.

During the campaign period, there was no movement to win the empty column massively, such as the crowd in Wonosobo district where the alliance of people who care for democracy made a movement to choose the empty column (Hartono, 2020). They massively socialized to the public that voting for empty boxes was legalized by law.

The existence of a movement to choose a blank column is enough to influence the acquisition of the candidate's pair of votes. The Semarang Pilwalkot Hendi-Ita pair won significantly 91.56 percent of the valid votes and was able to defeat the empty column. Handi-Ita obtained 716,693 votes out of a total of 782,764 valid votes, while the blank column obtained 66,071 valid votes. Of the total DPT of 1,174,068 people, 805,524 DPTs exercised their voting rights. The victory of 91.56 percent of Hendi-Ita over the empty column is relatively high when compared to the Regional Elections in Kebumen and Wonosobo districts. The winner of the single candidate in the two districts is quite tense. The victory of Afif Nurhidayat - M

Albar over the empty column for the Wonosobo 1 seat was a difference of 116,184 votes from the legitimate votes of the Afif-Albar pair of 269,789 votes and the total votes of the empty column were 153,605 (Slamet 2020). Meanwhile, in the Kebumen elections, Arif Sugiyanto and Ristawati Purwaningsih

won 60.8 percent or as many as 389,463 valid votes compared to the empty column won 250,821 votes or a difference of 138,643 votes (Marzuki 2020).

The difference in valid votes obtained by Hendi-Ita from the results obtained by the empty column shows a considerable value. This shows that the dynamics of the movement to win the column are not so massive in Semarang City. In addition to this incumbent couple having a loyal support base, where Semarang City is a bull's drum. The strong support from all parties in the Semarang City DPRD has become a new history in the midst of parties forming a coalition to contest. The efforts made by election organizers such as the KPU, Bawaslu, and the Semarang city police are no less important in making the democratic party performance a success in the region. This is different from the candidate pair (paslon) Afif-Albar in Wonosobo and the Arif and Ristawati candidate pairs in Kebumen which are not fully supported by the party in the DPRD.

### *Forms of Violations of the Semarang Mayor Election Implementation Process*

The election of the mayor of Semarang has gone smoothly. There was no reporting by any party on the organization of the democracy party which was then called a dispute in the regions which was held simultaneously on December 9, 2020 in several regions in

Indonesia. However, during the election process, there were still violations. This is as conveyed by one of the commissioners of the Semarang City Bawaslu:

The implementation of the Semarang city election is fairly smooth according to the stages of the program, that is in terms of the duties of the KPU, while from the Bawaslu session, we are in charge of supervision and prevention related to the implementation but there are still violations. If there is a dispute, there is a lawsuit that goes to Bawaslu because it cannot be in the form of findings.

A similar opinion was also conveyed by the commissioner of the Semarang City KPU who said that:

The implementation of the election went quite well, there was no lawsuit on the election results. Unlike the one in Kebumen where the blank column sued the KPU. There is no dispute not because the election participants are only one pair of candidates and the incumbent is in fact in Kebumen like that. This is an effort and effort made by many parties, of course.

Adanya violations are one of the bases of Bawaslu's duties as an executor to supervise the implementation of elections. This is stated in article 93, b number 1. There were several violations that occurred in the performance of the democracy party in Semarang City. This is justified by the Semarang city Pilwalkot organizing body, the KPU and Bawaslu. The KPU, Mrs. Novi said that:

There were indeed several violations that occurred during the implementation of the Semarang Pilwalkot. We admit that it is for example the installation of an APK (campaign prop) that is not suitable. This happened during

the campaign period. We were also sent letters of recommendation related to Ad hoc bodies that are suspected of having involvement in the party. As well as updating voter data. However, everything has been resolved and has been clarified by the person concerned and has sent a letter to Bawaslu if the findings submitted have been worked on.

The Bawaslu Commissioner also admitted that there were several findings of violations addressed to the Semarang City KPU from Bawaslu, such as:

The task of Bawaslu is not only prevention but also supervision such as related to updating voter data, Bawaslu conducts supervision. If in the process of updating the data, Bawaslu finds that there is inappropriate data such as a participant who has moved location or died but is still recorded as DPT, usually it is updated again if the data has not been determined to be a DPT. However, if the election DPT has been determined, the data will be maintained. Maintained here means that the data is fixed but held at the PPS during the implementation or D-day and there is no one to replace it.

The following are the details of the form of violation of the Semarang election implementation process:

### **Violation at the stages of the Semarang mayor election process**

#### *Violations in the permanent voter data collection process*

Voter list data collection is still carried out by carrying out matching and researching voter data. At this stage, Bawaslu found several unqualified voters (TMS). Voters who are not suitable are: (1) Death status as many as 238



voters, (2) Moving as many as 181 voters, (3) Double writing as many as 5 voters, (4) Eligible voters (MS) with new voter status who have not been registered as many as 17 voters. The findings of violations in this stage in the PPDP registration are that there are 10 villages that do not attach the Decree issued by the Semarang City KPU.

#### *Violations in the process of establishing an Ad-hoc committee*

Another finding against PPS is that there are PPS candidates indicated to be affiliated with political parties. These parties include PDIP, Democrats, PAN, Gerindra, PKB, PPP, Golkar, Democrats, and Berkarya. This violates KPU regulation No. 13 of 2017, Article 18 Paragraph 1 letter e which explains that not being a member of a political party is evidenced by a certificate from the management of the political party (parpol) concerned. In this case, there are 14 cases spread across 8 sub-districts, including Ngalian District, Central Semarang, Gunungpati, Candisari, North Semarang, Banyumanik, Pedurungan and East Semarang. Not only PPS candidates, PPK candidates were marked by violations of the PPK nomination supervision process amounting to 8 cases. Cases related to PPK that are considered quite numerous are about violations of the code of ethics committed by PPK candidates. The cases include (1) not residents of Semarang City registering to become PPK, (2) registering at the district. In contrast to domicile, (3) having been a successful team of candidate pairs in the 2015 mayoral candidacy and 2018 gubernatorial candidates, (4) being a PKB administrator, (5) having committed a violation of the code of ethics by the Ad Hoc team in the 2019 election

which resulted in a shift in the number of election participants, (6) having been a panwaslu and not heeding the recommendations of the PPK.

#### *Violations in campaign execution*

Online campaigns are indeed one of the alternative solutions in reducing the number of crowds because they can be accessed anywhere and anytime. However, online campaigns are a form of campaign that is not widely known and may be new to some of the lower classes. The virtual box campaign carried out by Hendi-Ita was monitored 274 times, conventional 295 times and 13 times without STTP (notification receipt letter). Of the total existing campaigns, Bawaslu has disbanded 36 campaigns because the number of campaign participants exceeded the set rules, which is a maximum of 50 people or 50 percent of the room capacity. Another violation is that campaign participants do not comply with health protocols, namely not wearing masks in the crowd.

Another thing that cannot be separated from the campaign series is the use of campaign props (APKs). The use of APK is Law No. 7 of 2017 article 298 and will usually be clarified by implementing regulations. Bawaslu has ordered campaign props (APK), namely: (1) Control of banners and MMT as many as 1550 pieces; (2) 128 billboards; and (3) Flags and banners totaling 2,353. (Data obtained from PPID Semarang City). The high number of case findings about APK control is something that should not happen. The disorder that occurred does not mean that the KPU is completely at fault, but it could be due to the inability of the winning team of the candidate pair to

communicate with fellow teams or teams on the field.

### *Findings at the voting stage*

The findings of Bawaslu at the voting stage were (1) Lack of ballots in Gunungpati District 123 and 7 ballots in Central Semarang, (2) Errors in the writing of the Form C of the KWK result was detected when the data of form C of the KWK results was entered in the excel template resulting from the innovation of the Semarang City Bawaslu. This filling error occurred in 226 polling stations spread across 94 sub-districts, (3) Re-counting votes at 23 polling stations in 16 sub-districts and spread across 7 sub-districts, and (4) Findings of 7 errors in filling out form D of KWK results after recapitulation at the sub-district level where there was an inconsistency in voter data and DPPH and DPTb voting rights users spread across 7 polling stations out of 226 polling stations in the city of Semarang.

### *Non-stage violations*

Violations that occurred during the Semarang election were not only at the election stage but also at the non-stage. Bawaslu found several violations, namely:

### *State civil servants (ASN) who are not neutral*

Bawaslu found that there were violations committed by ASN in the form of their neutrality cases. A total of 17 findings were recorded including (1) direct offline support in campaign activities in the form of gatherings, istighosah, or campaign activities wrapped in religious activities, (2) virtual activities that lead to support certain candidate pairs in the form of

narratives, comments, likes, status posts and shares.

In terms of status, civil servants are civilians who have a choice, unlike the TNI and the police, are not allowed to engage in politics and use their voting rights. However, ASN must be neutral, must not take sides or lean towards candidates, and must not campaign and become a successful team, this is based on Law No. 5 of 2014 concerning ASN Discipline and is explicit in Government Regulation No. 94 of 2021 concerning Civil Service Discipline.

### *Money Politics*

Related to money politics (Money politics), according to Aspinall and Berenschot (2019) categorizes money politics in clientelism. Clientelism is like a patron-client relationship that emphasizes reciprocal relationships (Aspinall and Berenschot, 2019). Or Clientelism is defined as the offering of material goods in exchange for support in elections, where the distribution criteria are determined by patrons.

There are 2 cases that are considered as the practice of money politics in the Semarang election process, namely in the form of providing basic necessities in the form of rice and campaign materials with the image of Hendi – Ita by one of the DPRD factions in Pedurungan Kidul Village, Pedurungan District and by a team of volunteers in Banyumanik District. This activity has been included in the category of money politics and part of the case of alleged criminal acts. Criminal acts in the implementation of elections or elections are continued in the process of handling violations in Gakkumdu.

Gakkumdu according to Law No. 31 of 2018 concerning the Integrated Law Enforcement

Center contained in article 1 Paragraph 2 explains that Gakkumdu is a center for law enforcement activities for election crimes consisting of elements of the General Election Supervisory Agency, the Provincial General Election Supervisory Agency, and/or the Regency/City General Election Supervisory Agency, the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia, the Regional Police, and/or the Resort Police, and the Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia, the High Prosecutor's Office and/or the District Attorney's Office.

The handling of criminal violations in the form of money politics mentioned was not continued due to the lack of supporting evidence, namely material requirements in the form of basic necessities in the form of rice.

### *Violations in Conflict Perspectives*

The implementation of the Semarang Pilwalkot without being colored by various serious conflicts and disputes is certainly a relief and a record of success for the organizers of the Pilwalkot. However, Bawaslu has recorded several findings of violations both from the election stage such as the process of updating data, the formation of PPS, PPK, campaign implementation, and voting as well as non-stage violations such as election crimes and violations of ASN neutrality.

Discussions about election violations from a legal perspective often examine the model found by Faridhi et al. (2022) showing that there are three models of violations, namely criminal, administrative, ethical and legal. Violations always color the implementation of elections. Indonesia However, the Indonesian government continues to make natural

improvements in an effort to maintain the stability of its democracy. Some of the factors that affect the democratic process, namely election manipulation that leads to fraud or violations, include manipulation of election rules, conditioning of votes in the form of money politics, updating voter lists, conditioning of candidacy requirements, and cyber attacks (Perbawa, Hanum and Atabekov, 2024).

Most of the violations that arise during the implementation of the Semarang Pilwalkot are resolved properly through communication made by Bawaslu to the Semarang City KPU or stop at the Gakkumdu special team (integrated law enforcement center). Gakkumdu is an institution that coordinates with Bawaslu regarding reports of election crimes and ensures that the process of handling violations is resolved.

In terms of formal legal rules, the case of violations that occur can be said to have been completed because they have received warnings or punishments according to the level of the violation committed. However, when viewed from the existing form of violation, with the lens of conflict as conveyed by Fisher *et al.*, (2000) is *a surface conflict*, namely a conflict whose roots are shallow or do not have a strong root of blame but only a misunderstanding of the goal and can be overcome by improving communication. For example, the dissolution of campaigns that do not have STTP, the control of APKs that reach thousands, stopping the election process of Ad-hoc bodies from PPS, PPK who are identified as part of the party or have served 2 terms in the same position, violations of ASN neutrality, violations of health protocols and criminal cases of money politics.

The settlement of the form of violation that occurred can be said to be completed according to the rule of law. Because the tension that occurred between the two parties was muted with the existence of rules as mediators. Tension or dispute over the different goals of the election organizers from what the community is aiming for. This can be seen as a conflict. This is related to what was conveyed by Fisher *et al.* (2000) that conflict departs from perceiving something but is not in harmony with the goal.

Actions taken by the general public, both personally and as a representative of support groups, have different goals and interests from election organizers. This becomes *an underlined statement* if the violation committed can be seen through the lens or perspective of conflict. The existing conflict frame can be sorted into personal conflicts that depart from *personal interest* and *community interest*. Personal interest as in the case of PPS candidates, several candidates who have served 2 terms in the same position are running again. The purpose of PPS candidates is personally in terms of income. It could be that PPS candidates for 2 terms of office already understand that there are rules that do not allow it, but only from the list. Meanwhile, from the election organizers in this case, the KPU is guided by KPU Regulation No. 13 of 2017, article 18 paragraph 1 letter which reads that the requirements to become PPK, PPS and KPPS as referred to in article 3 paragraph 5 in letter k have never served 2 (times) as PPK, PPS, and KPPS.

PPS candidates who are still running for office even though they have served 2 in the same position. The cause leads to *human need theory*. The goals or interests of the candidate

can be seen from the need for economy and prestige because they are part of the election organizers. It becomes a prestige for the general public because not everyone has the same opportunities.

Cases of violations committed by successful or winning teams often result in friction because there are opposing interests. The hope of the team is that the APK will be installed so that the public knows the candidate being carried and can win the election, while from the organizers the rules must be enforced because they are considered disruptive and not in accordance with the rules. When viewed from the cause of the conflict, the conflict in the APK case includes *Principled Negotiation Theory*. It is included in this category because there are parties whose positions are contrary and their views are 'zero-sum'. This can be seen by the position of each party. The APK is installed even though it violates while the other party is pegged to the rules so that then the organizer easily orders the APK where the APK has a nominal value that can be calculated as a loss from one of the parties. And if it is not ordered, it will be found as negligence on the part of the organizers on duty.

Other cases such as *money politics* carried out by a team of volunteers and one of the members of the Semarang City DPRD Faction, when viewed from the cause of the conflict, are closer to *identity theory*. Money politics can be categorized as a fairly serious case because it is in the criminal realm. What these offenders did was quite brave. In fact, it is known that this finding can drag the perpetrator to court and the level of punishment is certainly heavier when compared to the sanction of reprimand.

Their willingness to commit dangerous actions is certainly not on humanitarian grounds, but there are things that strengthen these actions either because of the same identity, in the name of loyalty to the party or group, and or the pressure of power that exists on it. So they are willing to provide massive support even though it is dangerous. This is almost similar to the violation of ASN neutrality in violation of the ASN Law. Law No. 5 of 2014 has regulated the rules that are prohibited for ASN and its derivatives, namely Government Regulation No. 94 of 2021 concerning Civil Servant Discipline. Based on these regulations, the actions taken by ASN in violating existing regulations are certainly not based on basic needs. ASN certainly knows what the consequences are for what is decided to be done. They will receive a verbal or written reprimand if they fall into the light category, postponement of promotion and postponement of salary increase are moderate sanction categories. Dishonorable dismissal is a form of severe sanction.

*This funishment is serious and has an extraordinary impact on the family's career path and economic destiny.* The courage of civil servants to act against the law is certainly not without rational calculations because it has serious consequences. It could be that the *act of liking* a candidate's post on social media does not have a specific purpose, but they must realize that from the beginning they decide to become an ASN, of course, they already understand their rights, obligations, prohibitions, and orders and what the consequences are if they take actions that are not in accordance with the applicable rules. However, ASN is basically

an employee who structurally has a superior. If the boss runs for mayor again, many possibilities can happen. They are bound by a direct power relationship between the incumbent and his subordinates. So that intervention is very possible.

The actions taken by ASN individuals described can be classified into *identity theory* such as the case of money politics. A person's courage in carrying out an action that has severe consequences will not be carried out by a careless person and without realistic rational thinking. The stakes are no longer personal but the good name of the institution and the fate of the family's welfare. This is not a light thing, therefore this case seems to have a *hidden identity* that ASN may have. In addition, they are protected by *hidden powers* outside of themselves that guarantee their safety.

Friction conflicts do not only occur between organizers and election participants, organizers and the community, but can also occur between election implementing institutions, namely the KPU and Bawaslu. Bawaslu is in charge of prevention and enforcement in accordance with Law No. 7 of 2017 while the task of the KPU is to implement elections. As the Election Implementer, the KPU is supervised by Bawaslu. The many case findings described above can very well trigger conflicts between these two institutions, if the communication built by the two does not go well. This arises because the two have to communicate with each other in many ways, both related to violations in implementation and disputes. The formal communication carried out by the KPU and Bawaslu procedurally can be said to be complete. The duties of implementation and

supervision are certainly prone to friction where the KPU seems to be spied on by Bawaslu over what is done as a form of trust so that it will be very easily triggered to conflict if they do not understand each other's main duties and functions. Do not let election organizers conflict themselves as Arofah found if Bawaslu and KPU have conflicts regarding the determination of which political party passes the election (Arofah, 2016).

Violations that initially fall into the type of surface conflict can turn into a type of latent conflict that can be caused by general elections and regional head elections being held periodically, scheduled for five years. Therefore, the same conflict will resurface at the same moment because the resolution of the conflict is very normative and tends to be rigid. This can be the root of the problem if it does limit people's rights as citizens. Another root is the lack of direct socialization due to limited budgets, wide area coverage, so that information is not distributed evenly which makes residents not have the same understanding. The lack of political education also makes people not pay attention to the appropriate rules of the game.

All of this can be the cause of conflicts between supporters of candidate pairs (community and community), organizers and election participants, residents and organizers and between implementers will continue as long as there is no formulation that can prioritize common interests.

## Conclusion

The implementation of Pilwalkot in the midst of a pandemic is a challenge for the community and organizers. There are many

rules that must be obeyed so that they are prone to violations. On the one hand, candidates want to campaign, but on the other hand, the shadow of Covid-19 must continue to be encouraged because the people exposed continue to increase from mild to severe levels to deaths. Another interesting thing is that the incumbent received political support from all parties in the DPRD and parties outside parliament. This became the history of local politics in the simultaneous election of regional heads. However, on the other hand, it is certainly a burden if you lose with an empty column so that massive campaign efforts are carried out with a virtual box strategy. However, there are still many violations that occur.

The forms of violations that occurred were divided into violations in the election and non-election stage processes. The violations that occur are more likely to lead to types of administrative violations that are not serious. From violations of permanent voter data collection, to the neutrality of ASN.

All of these forms of violations can be included in the conflict category with the intention that the violation is caused because the goals that are shared by one another are not the same or different. As for if it is categorized as a type of conflict, the violation can be included in the type of surface conflict. Because the violations that occurred arose from a disagreement with the rules. However, this type can turn latent and open conflict based on the fact that the regional elections will always exist periodically, five years. So similar violations will tend to be repeated. Especially if the existing settlement is more on rigid legal norms. And the people are not equipped with strong political education.

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