

Conflict Resolution on Governor Election in Indonesia

By

Hertanto

Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, Universitas Lampung
hertanto.1960@fisip.unila.ac.id

Abstract

Elections that are held in an honest, fair, and peaceful manner are one of the parameters of democratic governance. However, as the culmination of the contestation, the general election is an arena of conflict and at the same time can function as an instrument of conflict resolution. The success of a democratic general election is not only determined by the implementation of the ballot, but also by the transparent and fair resolution of conflict disputes. This study aims to: 1) determine the causes of conflict in the gubernatorial election in Lampung; 2) explain the implications of the conflict, and 3) explain conflict resolution. This type of research is descriptive and qualitative. Data collection was obtained from the results of interviews with informants, document studies, and literature. The results of the study show that first, the root of the conflict began with the proposal to cancel the victory of the elected governor and deputy governor candidates for the 2009-2014 period, Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said. Second, although in the end the elected candidate pair was sworn in, the implication is that the relationship between the governor and the Lampung Provincial KPU is not harmonious. This background triggered further conflicts between the Governor and the Regional People's Representative Council; conflict between the Governor and the General Election Commission; and internal conflicts within the organization of the General Elections Commission. Third, the conflict resolution between the Governor and the KPU of Lampung Province is carried out through the method of self-regulation of conflict resolution or self-regulation without involving third parties. The mechanism used is to hold meetings, both regular and plenary meetings, and a personal approach to conflicting parties. The parties involved in the conflict develop strategies and tactics to achieve the goals of conflict resolution. Thus, formal and informal interactions occur between the two conflicting parties to create collaboration or compromise ([win and win solutions](#)).

Keywords: General Election Commission, Governor Election, Conflict, Resolution.

Introduction

Rejection of the general election results often occurs, both at the local, national, and international levels. For example, Donald Trump, President of the United States, rejected the results of the 2020 United States (US) general election because he accused the media of colluding with the president-elect in an attempt to steal the White House ([Novianty, 2020](#)). The rejection of President Trump's defeat in the US presidential election on November 3, 2020, also blamed the election commission for fraudulently counting the results of ballots by mail ([vote by mail](#)). Even Trump, up to a month after polling day, still refuses to recognize the results of the US general election and thinks that Joe Biden's victory was due to election fraud. Trump has filed lawsuits in several states, but almost all of them failed because there was no evidence.

Senior United States officials in charge of holding the presidential election stressed that this year's presidential election was the cleanest in the country's history. A statement from the

Department of Homeland Security said there was no evidence the ballots were deleted, altered, or removed. The Committee on Cybersecurity and Security Infrastructure (CISA) said there was no evidence to suggest that the election was "engineered in such a way". This statement also refutes the repeated claims of fraud by President Donald Trump, who refuses to recognize Joe Biden's victory.

At the Indonesian national level, presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto also rejected the results of the 2019 presidential election. Presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto stated that he rejected the results of the 2019 presidential election won by Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin. Prabowo emphasized that he refused to count the votes that came from fraud. However, in the plenary recapitulation of the results of the national vote, the KPU determined the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair as the winner of the 2019 presidential election. The KPU determined the elected presidents and vice presidents on May 24, 2019, if there was no lawsuit for a dispute over the presidential election results submitted to the Constitutional Court. A lawsuit to the Constitutional Court has a time limit of 3x24 hours after the determination of the recapitulation of the results of the national vote (Erwanti, 2019).

The chairman of the panel of constitutional judges stated that all the legal arguments put forward by the Prabowo-Sandiaga legal team were groundless. In their legal considerations, the panel of judges of the Constitutional Court rejected the results of the vote count for Prabowo Subianto's camp which claimed to get 52% of the vote or around 68 million votes due to insufficient evidence. The results of the calculations presented by the Prabowo camp do not match the results of the KPU calculations, which say that Prabowo's camp only received 44.5% of the votes while Joko Widodo's camp was ahead with 55.5% of the votes (RI, MK. 2019).

Meanwhile, at the regional level which will be the focus of this study, there have been rejections of the election results and the victory of the candidate pairs in Lampung by the general election organizers, namely first, the rejection of the victory of the Lampung governor and deputy governor candidates, Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said, in the governor election. 2008. KPU Lampung canceled the results of the 2008 gubernatorial election. Before the inauguration of the Governor/Vice Governor of Lampung elected Sjachroedin ZP and Joko Umar Said on June 2, 2009, there was an attempt to cancel the inauguration by the General Election Commission or KPU Lampung. The Lampung KPU issued a cancellation letter signed by five members and sent to the Lampung DPRD for approval (Kompas, 2009). However, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mardiyanto, continued to inaugurate the Sjachroedin ZP-Joko Umar Said as the Governor and Deputy Governor of Lampung for the 2009-2014 period at the Lampung DPRD Building on June 2, 2009.

Second, the rejection of the victory of the candidate for mayor of Bandar Lampung, Eva Dwiana, and the candidate for deputy mayor Deddy Amrulah, in the 2020 mayoral election Lampung. The Examination Board of the Lampung general election supervisory body and the Bandar Lampung City KPU in their decision stated that the selected pair of candidates were legally and convincingly proven to have committed violations in a structured, systematic and massive manner. Therefore, they declared canceling the Candidate Pair for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Bandar Lampung on behalf of Eva-Deddy.

The last two facts are very interesting to study because they are different from the first and second facts, where the candidate pair's lawsuit was canceled by the electoral judiciary. Meanwhile, the last two facts are precisely the general election organizers who cancel the elected candidate pairs, causing electoral political conflicts. The question is, why are there often rejections of the general election results, what are the contributing factors, what are the

implications, and how are solutions reached?

Literature Review

General election

General election or abbreviated Election is the process of choosing someone to fill certain political positions in a government. The positions that a person accepts vary, ranging from the position of president/executive, people's representative/legislature, to the village head level. Elections are an attempt to influence the people in a persuasive or non-coercive manner by carrying out rhetorical activities, public relations, mass communication, lobbying, and other activities. The literature reveals that even agitation and propaganda in democracies are strongly condemned. However, in general election campaigns, agitation techniques and propaganda techniques are also widely used by candidates or politicians (Piereson & Smith, 1975). In elections, voters are called constituents. They offer their promises and programs during the campaign period for a predetermined time, ahead of polling day. The winner of the election is determined by the rules of the game or a winner-determination system that was previously determined and approved by the constituents (Johnston & Pattie, 1995). Constituents are usually divided into three categories, including permanent voters, additional voters, and special voters. Permanent voters are voters who have been registered with the General Elections Commission (KPU) and registered in the Permanent Voters List. Additional voters are the category of voters who move to the Election Places that have been determined by the KPU. Special voters are a category of voters who are not registered in the DPT and can vote by bringing an identity card (Labolo & Ilham, 2015). The general election system is divided into 3 types. First, the district system, which is a simple calculation in which political candidates collect the largest number of votes. The type of system; (a) absolute majority, (b) alternative vote, (c) block vote, (d) two-round system. Second, the semi-proportional system is the calculation of the district system that bridges the proportional. The type of system, (a) single non-transferable vote, (b) parallel system, (c) limited vote, (b) cumulative vote. Third, is the proportional system, which is a complicated calculation, in which political candidates collect by using the number of voters' divisors. The type of system; (a) single transferred votes, (b) proportional representation, (c) party lists, (d) mixed proportional members (Pardede, 2014).

Political Conflict Factors in Elections

Conflict is a social process between two individuals or groups, where one party tries to get rid of the other party, by destroying or making him helpless in a way that is accompanied by threats and violence. Political conflict is a problem that has a bad impact on parties. Therefore, it can interfere with party recruitment and electoral performance (Robbins, 1978). Integrating political theory with the theory of planned behavior explains that personal resources namely political skills and self-efficacy enable political candidates to form more ambitious campaign intentions. Thus performing better in the selection. More deeply, the findings reveal that political skills are positively related to campaign efficacy and intention through campaign efficacy. Significant indirect effect for political skill on election performance i.e. percentage of the vote through campaign efficacy and intent (Silvester et al., 2021). Studies reveal that conflict is motivated by differences in the characteristics that individuals or groups bring in a social interaction. Various differences regarding physical characteristics, intelligence, knowledge, customs, and beliefs. Conflict is a normal situation in every social life. It would be impossible if the lives of individuals or groups of people had never experienced conflict (Kenney, 1987). The literature reveals four factors that influence party conflict, including; (1) party ideology, institutionalizing personal and oligarchic party leadership, and party coalitions; (2) the ineffectiveness of the formal rule of law; (3) a

combination of open proportional systems; (4) the direct election system and the extreme multiparty system. Recent studies have found the impact of social media on elections. Social media will be able to influence election results disseminated through blogs, party websites and alternative news portals that broadcast election results (Gomez, 2014). The negative impact of political conflict can damage relations between community groups, change the personalities and individuals involved, lead to the dominance of the winning group, and can encourage property and life victims. While the positive impact is increasing solidarity and adjustment of social norms in society (Dedi, 2019).

Method

This study method includes descriptive research. Descriptive research aims to make a systematic, factual, and accurate description and description of the facts, characteristics, and relationships between the phenomena to be investigated (Sukardi, 2005:157). While the approach used in this study is qualitative. Qualitative studies intend to understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perceptions, motivations, actions, and others thoroughly and using descriptions in the form of words and language, in a special natural context, and by utilizing various scientific methods (Moleong, 2006:6).

Determination of data sources on interviewees is done purposively, which is selected with considerations and objectives according to the focus of the study. Sources of data used in this study are: (1) Data obtained from people who are directly involved in the object under study and most know about the conflict situation for regional head elections, (2) Election Supervisory Committee, members of the Lampung provincial people's representative council, and (3) literature data and official documents related to research in the form of reading materials, library materials and archives for organizing elections, and similar research reports.

This study also uses two data collection techniques according to the type and source classification, namely: (1) Data collection techniques using semi-structured interviews with informants, (2) data collection through library research and documentation studies, (3) Triangulation, data collection obtained directly from interviews from outside the conflicting parties, such as academics, journalists and civil society groups. obtained from sources or informants who are considered to have the potential to provide relevant and actual information in the field related to political conflicts between the General Election Commission and Governor Lampung in the 2014 Lampung gubernatorial election.

The data analysis technique used in this study was carried out interactively and continued until it was completed so that the data was saturated. The activities in this research data analysis are by the opinion of Miles and Huberman (1984) in Sugiyono (2015: 246), namely: (1) Data Reduction, by summarizing the results of interviews from all informants and seeking information related to the research focus so that it can be found. the same information, (2) Data Presentation (Display Data), the researcher presents data in the form of narrative text and uses charts and tables in presenting the data, (3) Conclusion Drawing/Verification, the conclusions are drawn are based on the data presented based on the stages of triangulation of data sources and triangulation of data retrieval techniques. In this study, the researcher will conduct interviews with informants using an emic approach so that the phenomena that take place can be known based on the point of view of the informants under study. Then the researchers will use an ethical approach in formulating conclusions on the phenomena studied based on point of view of the researcher.

The data validity testing techniques in this study include (Sugiyono, 2015:270-277): (1)

Credibility testing, carried out by observation, increasing perseverance in accuracy, triangulation, discussions with colleagues, negative case analysis and member check, (2) Transferability testing, the researcher provides a detailed, clear, systematic and reliable description to apply the results of this study elsewhere, (3) Dependability testing, carried out by conducting an audit of the entire research process, (4) Confirmability testing, testing the research results associated with the process.

Research Result and Discussion

The findings reveal that there are often rejections of election results because they are deemed not to be implemented undemocratic. The three factors that cause conflict are determined by the cancellation of the candidate's victory, disharmony in relations between political officials, and conflict resolution without a third party as a mediator. The findings also reveal implications and solutions obtained from the literature study, including holding regular and plenary meetings, personal approaches to conflict parties, and developing tactics. General elections which are held in an honest, fair, and peaceful manner are one of the parameters of democratic governance. However, as the peak of open contestation between political parties and various interests to occupy public office, general elections cannot be separated from conflict. It can even be said that the general election is an arena of conflict and at the same time can function as an instrument of conflict resolution. As an arena of conflict, the general election process creates tensions between the actors involved in it. In many cases, these tensions derailed in an open conflict involving elements of physical and non-physical violence. Meanwhile, as an instrument of conflict resolution, elections are placed as a process to end conflicts or disputes by submitting decisions to the people. In this context, what needs to be emphasized is how the disputing parties can ensure that the general election is held in a free and fair manner, so that whatever the outcome will be acceptable to all parties.

General elections are a means to elect representatives of the people democratically and with integrity. There are two important aspects to realizing democratic elections with integrity. First, is the consistent implementation of the law on holding general elections to provide equality for election participants and voters so that their political rights are protected. Second, the general election is conducted by the general election organizer based on the principles of independence, impartiality, integrity, transparency, and professionalism (Wall, et al. 2006). Menurut Silvester et al. (2020), keterampilan politik dan self-efficacy dapat digunakan untuk pelaksanaan Pemilu yang demokratis. Yang jelas, pengetahuan dan kesadaran diri tentang demokratis sangat penting untuk menghindari konflik politik dalam Pemilu. Konflik ini terjadi kadangkala karena mereka memiliki sikap apatis bahwa pemilu hanyalah sebuah proses yang menguntungkan peserta yang terlibat sebagai calon legislatif dan hanya tim sukses belaka (Barus, et al., 2019). In addition, democratic elections with integrity can also be measured by the effectiveness of law enforcement that can prevent and minimize the practice of general election violations at all stages of the general election (Kodiyat, 2022).

Causes of Political Conflict

The cause of the political conflict in 2009-2014 after the implementation of the regional head election in Lampung on September 3, 2008, was due to the cancellation of the voting results won by the candidate pair for governor Sjachroeddin and deputy governor Joko Umar Said by the General Election Commission of Lampung Province. Ahead of the inauguration of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Lampung elected Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said on June 2, 2009, there was an attempt to cancel the inauguration by the General Elections Commission. The Lampung KPU issued a cancellation letter signed by the Chairman of the

Lampung KPU Edwin Hannibal and sent to the Lampung Provincial People's Representative Council for approval. The Provincial KPU consists of five people, namely a chairman and member, Edwin Hanibal, and four members Handi Mulyaningsih (female), Pattimura, Nanang Trenggono and Sholihin.

Table 1. List of Candidates for Governor of Lampung in 2008

No	Candidate Pair Name	Support Party
1.	Andi Achmad Sampurnajaya & M Suparjo	Democrat Party and Reform Star Party
2.	M. Alzier Dianis Thabranie & Bambang Sudibyo	Working Group & United Development Party
3.	Muhajir Utomo & Andi Arif	Individual
4.	Oemarsono & Thomas Azis Riska	A coalition of Seven Small Parties
5.	Sjachroedin ZP & MS. Joko Umar Said	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
6.	Sofjan Jacob & Bambang Waluyo Utomo	Individual
7.	Zulkifli Anwar & Akhmadi Sumaryanto	National Mandate Party and Prosperous Justice Party

Source: KPU Provinsi Lampung, 2008

The results of interviews with informants, that after the Lampung KPU held a plenary meeting of vote counting and determination of the elected candidates for the 2008 Lampung governor election, six pairs of candidates who were not elected then filed an objection to the Supreme Court. However, the Court rejected the objection and still acknowledged the Lampung KPU's decision that the winner of the gubernatorial election was the pair of Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said. The previous study investigated the theory of elite political conflict which assessed that the concept of local politics, the relationship between the center and the regions was political events in the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Lampung Province for the 2003-2008 period. The findings reveal that the results of the Lampung Provincial DPRD's voting were successful in electing the Governor and Deputy Governor, namely: Alzier Thabrani and Ansori Yunus. However, the central government did not want to ratify the election results because it considered that it was not in accordance with legal procedures and Alzier's legal status as a suspect. As a result, conflicts occur between the central and regional political elites (Pakpahan, 2005). Previous literature identified the problem of political conflict as a political legacy. This is because Lampung Province has an unusual ethnic composition because in the last 100 years both the Dutch colonial government and the Indonesian government have implemented a gubernatorial election program. Lampung's indigenous political elites have adopted a number of strategies to help them maintain a role in local politics (Warganegara & Waley, 2021). This finding contradicts the opinion of previous research which claims that ethnicity plays a role in the selection of local officials. Evidence shows that the inharmonious relationship between local and central governments is also a factor in the emergence of political conflicts in the country.

The five commissioners of the Lampung KPU met and discussed letters received from the lawyers of the six losing and unelected pairs of candidates for governor and deputy governor of Lampung. The letter attaches the decision of the Tanjungkarang District Court regarding money politics carried out by Nurlaila ahead of the election for the Governor of Lampung on September 3, 2008, the decision of the High Court, as well as the Supreme Court's fatwa related to the lawsuit of six pairs of candidates for governor and deputy governor against the Lampung KPU regarding the determination of the results of the vote count for the governor election. Lampung. Nurlaila is a defendant who was sentenced to eight months in prison. The Panel of Judges considered that Nurlaila was conducting money politics to win the candidate pair Sjachroedin ZP and Joko Umar Said. In fact, in the trial, it was discovered that Nurlaila

was not the winning team for Sjachroedin ZP and Joko Umar Said. Nurlaila is just an ordinary citizen and happens to be one of the RT heads in Sumur Putri Village, North Telukbetung District, Bandar Lampung.

However, in the end, the Indonesian Minister of Home Affairs, Mardiyanto, appointed Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said as the Governor and Deputy Governor of Lampung for the 2009-2014 period at the Lampung DPRD Building on June 2, 2009. However, the political atmosphere in Lampung had heated up due to the KPU decree. Lampung, canceled the victory of Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said as Governor and Deputy Governor of Lampung. The pair of Governor and Deputy Governor of Lampung for the 2009-2014 period Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said won the 2008 Lampung Governor Election by winning 43 percent of the vote against the other six candidate pairs.

This case became a factor in the continued conflict between the Governor of Lampung and the General Elections Commission during the 2009-2014 period. Conflicts arise as a result of differences and conflicts of interest facing each other. Fisher, et al, in Sahih Gatara and Dzulkiah Said (2011: 183) explains the various theories of the causes of conflict, namely:

Public Relations Theory

That the conflicts that occur are more due to polarization, distrust, and social fragmentation, as well as distrust and hostility that continues to occur between different or diverse community groups. This theory helps explain the existence of pluralism and social tensions that occur due to differences and conflicts of interest, principles, and existing will (Sahih Gatara and Dzulkiah Said, 2011: 183).

Principles of Negotiation Theory

Conflict is caused by positions that are not in harmony and differences in views about the conflict between the parties involved in it. Negotiation is an effort to reach a consensus between two or more parties who want to make joint decisions and to reach consensus (Sahih Gatara and Dzulkiah Said, 2011: 183).

Human Needs Theory

Conflicts that arise in society are caused by the struggle for basic human needs, such as physical, mental, and social needs that are not met in the struggle. Understanding this theory will help conflicting parties to identify and jointly pursue their unmet needs, and generate options to meet needs and reach an agreement (Sahih Gatara and Dzulkiah Said, 2011: 183).

Implications of Political Conflict

Based on the results of the interview, the cancellation of the victory of the elected candidate pair has implications for the expansion of further conflicts; namely (a) the conflict between the governor and the Lampung Provincial DPRD, (b) the conflict between the governor and the Lampung KPU, and (c) the internal conflict between the Lampung KPU commissioner and the Lampung KPU Secretariat.

Conflict between Governor and DPRD Lampung

Conflict between the Governor of Lampung and the DPRD is a conflict between political parties that are trying to place their cadres in the government structure in Lampung Province. The aim is to gain access to economic resources, facilities, and networks to achieve the interests of political parties. This conflict is a continuation of the pro and contra attitudes towards the re-election of regional heads after the governor was elected in the previous regional head election, Alzier Dianis Thabrani was rejected by the central government (Irawan &

Ratnawati, 2006). The polarization of interests within the DPRD in responding to politics after the election of Sjachroedin in the re-election of regional heads and the patron-client relationship between the Lampung DPRD chairman and the Regional Leadership Council of the Golkar Party (Golkar) and the Golkar Party Central Executive Board are local factors that influence the conflict between the DPRD and the governor. Lampung period 2004-2009.

According to Cahyadi (2017), the concept of political power in Lampung culture is related to Piil Pesenggiri Lampung. This means that political power in Lampung is essentially a reflection of society's politics and culture. When viewed from political science and history, this political concept is influenced by western cultural thought, especially Europe. The two political parties that have the most seats in the DPRD, namely the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and Golkar, are the two most prominent forces playing their role in the conflict in Lampung. The centralization of political parties has encouraged the intervention of central political party administrators against political parties in the regions. This intervention has led to the protracted conflict in Lampung. The political stance of the Golkar Party Central Leadership Council which continues to support the leadership of the Lampung DPRD has prompted the DPRD to decide not to recognize the existence of the governor and not to cooperate with the governor. At the same time, the transition process of government from centralization to decentralization which has created uncertainty has also influenced the conflict in Lampung. Centralization of political parties, central government intervention, and the transition to decentralization are national factors that have contributed to the conflict between the DPRD and the Governor of Lampung (Irawan and Ratnawati, 2006).

Conflict between the Governor and the KPU Lampung Province

The conflict began with the determination of the schedule and budget for the 2014 Lampung governor election between the Lampung governor Sjachroedin and the Lampung Provincial KPU which became a very important political issue at that time. Several informants who were commissioners of the KPU who served in the period 2008-2014 stated that there had indeed been a conflict between the governor and the KPU of Lampung Province. The head of the Lampung Provincial KPU at that time thought that the difference in attitude between the governor and the KPU occurred because the government considered that the KPU under the leadership of Edwin Hanibal was not neutral. After all, it favored one of the pairs of candidates for the 2008 gubernatorial election, namely Alzier Dhianis Thabranie and Bambang Sudibyo.

During the 2008 general election, Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said were elected with more than 43% of the vote even though at that time there were seven pairs of candidates participating in the general election. Everyone thought this support was so great that even the gubernatorial election lasted only one round. However, the KPU later canceled the appointment of Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said as the elected governor and deputy governor. This cancellation is related to the assumption that money politics is being carried out by the couple's campaign team (Interview results on February 2, 2017, at 09.30 WIB). For example, recently, the phenomenon of post-gubernatorial governance occurred in West Kalimantan. Previous findings reveal that the direct election of the Governor and Deputy Governor is able to strengthen the decentralized system. The positive impact is the development of democratic life and the increase of community principles. The negative impact is that it leaves a residue of conflict between government supporters and the implementation costs are not small. This opens up opportunities for the governor and deputy governor for corruption, collusion, and nepotism (Ilham, et al., 2022). Thus, the impact of political conflict not only worsens relations between elite officials but also has an impact on society. According to Purnomo and Sulaksonon (2012), the facts show that the general election has triggered a political conflict that has continued to this day. Direct elections cannot be held without taking into account the local context. Election

conflicts like this do not only occur in Lampung but also in other areas such as Yogyakarta and Kalimantan. Basically, the democratic theory has explained that government must be supported by the people where the voting system should be able to create a legitimate government. On the other hand, the election situation in Lampung at that time became a valuable lesson about the importance of true democracy where the government should not be controlled by the elite.

According to the KPU, based on Law Number 32 of 2004 as amended by Law Number 12 of 2008 concerning regional government, article 78 paragraph (h) states that in campaigning it is prohibited to use government and regional government facilities and budgets. Also, Article 82 paragraph (1) states that pairs of candidates and/or campaign teams are prohibited from promising and/or giving money or other materials to influence voters. According to them, the KPU's step in deactivating the elected candidate pair has a strong basis, especially with the court's decision related to money politics. This is one of the reasons why the polemic regarding the schedule and budget for the 2014 gubernatorial election occurred. While the Lampung Provincial KPU adhered to the prevailing laws and regulations, the governor-elect was considered to have violated the law, but on the other hand, the Minister of Home Affairs at that time still inaugurated the elected candidate pair Sjachroedin and Joko Umar Said.

The dynamics of the Lampung gubernatorial election cannot be separated from the KPU's dependence on funding for regional head elections. To finance the election of governors and deputy governors, the Provincial KPU relies entirely on grant funds from the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD). The fact is that many regional heads are reluctant to disburse regional head election funds for various reasons. The budget difficulties experienced by the KPU in Lampung Province, it is inseparable from the politicization of the budget carried out by the Lampung Provincial government. The reason that the budget is not available or a budget deficit, the Lampung Provincial government cannot fulfill the KPU's budget request in organizing the gubernatorial election in 2013, even though the planning and coordination of the gubernatorial election have been carried out by the Lampung Provincial KPU since 2012.

Lampung Province at that time was one of the provinces whose governorship term had to be completed in June 2014. By the Circular Letter of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 270/2305/SJ dated May 6, 2013, the Province of Lampung had to advance the implementation of the gubernatorial election to 2013 because in 2014 there will be legislative elections and presidential elections. There are 43 regions in Indonesia whose term of office ends in 2014 and must accelerate the implementation of regional head elections to 2013. For this reason, discussions on the Lampung Governor election have been started since 2012 with the issuance of the Lampung General Election Commission Decree Number 75/Kits/KPU- Prov-008/2012 dated 11 September 2012 concerning the determination of the voting day for the 2013 gubernatorial election. The decree confirms that the first round of the Lampung gubernatorial election will be held on 2 October 2013 and the second round will be prepared on 4 December 2013. On October 2, 2013, the election for the Governor of Lampung could not be held. The Lampung KPU through the plenary together with the Central KPU set the schedule for the Lampung governor election to be pushed back to December 2, 2013. This was stated in the Decree of the Lampung General Elections Commission Number 44/Kpts/KPU-Prov-008/2013 dated September 2, 2013. This decision has not yet been approved by the Governor of Lampung, so the election for the Governor of Lampung has been postponed again for an undetermined time.

After a review by the Lampung General Elections Commission, they rearranged the schedule for the Lampung Governor election and finally decided that the Lampung Governor

election would be held on 27 February 2014, and the determination of the winner of the regional head election on 12 March 2014. This was stated in the Election Commission Decree. General Lampung Number 55/Kpts/KPU-Prov-008/2013 dated December 2, 2013, With the reason that the budget was not available, the Provincial Government again made the election for the Governor of Lampung unable to take place.

Therefore, this study shows that there is a match between the information obtained from informants and the concept of conflict behavior theory proposed by Mitchel (1981: 17) in Demmers (2012: 5), namely the external conflict that occurs between the governor and the KPU Lampung Province is a situation where one or more “parties” (defined or structured) feel they have conflicting goals; The governor of Lampung does not want the gubernatorial election to be held in 2013 or 2014, on the contrary, the KPU wants the gubernatorial election by the stages in 2014. This conflict can be called a conflict because it consists of three components: a mismatch of goals between the governor and the KPU, the attitude of the governor, and the KPU which are contradictory. background and the conflicting behavior of the two in terms of timing and budget for the governor election.

The conflict between the KPU commissioner and the KPU Secretariat

The General Election Commission (KPU) consists of two rooms (or it can also be called a bicameral system), namely the KPU commissioner's room and the government bureaucrats' room. KPU commissioners in carrying out their duties are assisted by the KPU Secretariat General institution which is led by a secretary. However, the elite bureaucrats who administer the general election must serve two masters, because on the one hand they work for the Minister of Home Affairs and on the other hand they work for the KPU commissioners (Mar'iyah, 2009: 239-242). The State Civil Apparatus who work at the Central KPU Secretariat and KPU secretariats in the Provinces, Regencies, and Municipalities are also divided into organic employees and employed employees who come from local government employees. The existence of the placement of employees employed in the KPU secretariat causes a double loyalty in which their compliance and performance accountability is not only to the KPU but also to the agency of origin (RI, KPU, 2015: 28).

Normatively, the working relationship between KPU members and the secretariat has been regulated in Presidential Decree Number 54 of 2003 concerning Organizational Patterns and Working Procedures of the General Election Commission and further elaborated through KPU Regulation Number 05 of 2008 as amended by regulation Number 1 of 2010 concerning Commission Work Procedures. General Elections, Provincial Election Commissions, and Regency/Municipal General Election Commissions, regulate the working relationship between the KPU and the secretariat in the secretariat sector. The purpose of the arrangement through this work procedure is so that the KPU (commissioner) and the Secretariat have clear duties and responsibilities in implementing the implementation of activities from all areas of working relations that have been determined. In regulating the working relationship between the KPU and the Secretariat in each of these fields, the KPU has the authority to determine policies, while the secretariat implements the policies that have been determined and is accountable to the KPU through a plenary meeting as the highest decision-making forum (Achyani, 2015: 4).

By the provisions of Law Number 15 of 2011 concerning General Election Organizers, the task and authority of the General Elections Commission Secretariat are to facilitate the KPU in all stages of organizing general elections. The task of the General Elections Commission Secretariat is to facilitate the KPU regarding budget requirements in a large framework for holding general elections. This budget support includes the need for general election logistics such as ballot papers, ink, ballot kits, ballot boxes, and supporting equipment at the polling

station. In addition to budget support, the KPU Secretariat General also provides administrative technical support such as providing correspondence, administrative staff, and other human resources to assist in the smooth distribution of general election administration equipment (Surbakti & Nugroho, 2015:57).

The phenomenon that occurs is that there is often disharmony in work relations in almost all KPU work units. This has led to internal conflicts among the commissioners, between secretariat staff, and between commissioners and secretariats, not infrequently the case even reaches the Election Organizing Honorary Council, disrupting the stages of the general election. Case that happened in 2012, for example, the Honorary Council has handled a case between the commissioners of the KPU of the Republic of Indonesia and the secretariat of the KPU-RI. Member of the KPU commissioner, Ida Budhiati, considered the KPU secretariat to have disobeyed and did not support the KPU commissioners in the process of verifying the administration of political parties, thus causing the postponement of the schedule for the announcement of the results of the verification of political party administrations. This resulted in the Secretary General of the General Elections Commission and several secretariat staff being replaced.

An internal conflict also occurred in Bali Province during the 2013 gubernatorial election. This conflict arose in the formation of a working group for the procurement of government goods/services because twenty-eight people who had expert certificates on government procurement of goods/services refused to be part of the procurement team for goods/services at the KPU. Province because they do not have experience in the field of simple auctions. This Civil Servant is also mentally not ready because of the logistics of regional head elections that are in contact with politics (Gayatri, 2015: 12). This internal conflict then escalated into an external conflict and the case was handled by DKPP.

In contrast to the experience of the case at the Bali Provincial KPU, the Lampung Provincial KPU had experienced an external conflict that triggered an internal conflict. On April 9, 2014, the KPU Lampung Province held the election for the governor and deputy governor of Lampung for the 2014-2019 period which was held in conjunction with the legislative general election. The implementation of this gubernatorial election has been marked by a conflict between the Governor of Lampung and the KPU regarding the determination of the schedule for the gubernatorial election.

The external conflict faced by the Lampung Provincial KPU indirectly has implications for the loyalty, impartiality, and neutrality of the Lampung Provincial KPU secretariat staff, most of whom are employees of the Lampung Provincial government. On the one hand, these employees must be accountable to the KPU and on the other hand, must submit to the agency from which the provincial government originates. Internal problems began to arise when the Budget User Authority, Commitment Making Officer, and treasurer for the governor election resigned unilaterally at the stage of procurement of goods/services for the governor election. The resignation of these officials had affected the logistics tender process for the gubernatorial election at that time. Based on the plenary meeting of the KPU and the KPU secretariat, the Chairperson of the Lampung Provincial KPU was appointed as the official power user of the budget as well as the official making commitments in the procurement of goods/services for the 2014 Lampung governor election. .

This internal conflict is included in the realm of political science studies, where bureaucratic institutions cannot be separated from political interests. Some indications show this phenomenon.

Lampung Governor Intervention

The results of the study indicate that there is a match between the results obtained with the principle of negotiation theory, where conflict is caused by positions that are not in harmony and differences in views on conflict by the parties experiencing the conflict (Fisher in Gatara & Said, 2007: 183). In the conflict experienced by the secretary and the KPU commissioner, there are different views between the secretary and the KPU commissioner. In the analysis through this theory, the secretary is of the view that he has been assigned by the governor to secure the governor's policies at the KPU secretariat. Meanwhile, the commissioner is of the view that the governor's policy is contrary to the regulations and hampers the schedule for the stages of the governor election held by the KPU.

Furthermore, external factors that influence conflict within the KPU are in line with the concept of conflict sources proposed by Nitisemito in Pasolong (2008: 174), namely, conflict can occur due to external causes of the organization where there are contradictions by other parties intentionally or unintentionally. According to the commissioner, the governor as the party who instructed the secretary to hinder the gubernatorial election in 2013 (backed to 2014) became a factor influencing the conflict of interest between the secretary and the KPU commissioner who wanted the governor election according to the schedule and stages.

Factors of Interest

The results showed that there was a match between the results obtained with the theory of public relations. This theory assumes that conflict is caused by the ongoing polarization in society, causing distrust and hostility between different groups. This theory also explains that one of the conflicts that occur is caused by the interests of the conflicting parties (Fisher in Gatara & Said, 2007: 183). One of the causes of internal conflict, according to the commissioner of the KPU Lampung Province, is because of the secretary's interest in securing the governor's policy to get a strategic position in the local government so that he hinders the gubernatorial election by resigning from the position of the Budget User Authority for the governor election grant. While on the other hand, the Lampung Provincial KPU has an interest in holding gubernatorial elections by the schedule for the stages of the general election.

Safety Needs Factor

The results of the study indicate that there is a match between the results obtained with the theory of human needs which assumes that conflicts that occur can be caused by basic human needs. This theory assumes that conflicts that occur are caused by basic human needs that are not met or deliberately inhibited by other parties. Basic human needs usually involve three things, namely physical, mental and social needs (Fisher in Gatara & Said, 2007: 183). The need for security is one of the basic human needs according to Maslow in Lianto (2010: 27-31). In the KPU's internal conflict, the need for a sense of security or safety is the reason for the resignation of secretariat staff from their positions. Insecure people need order and stability and will go to great lengths to avoid the unfamiliar and unexpected.

Communication Factor

Handoko (1984) in Pasolong (2008:174) states that communication can be said to be a source of conflict because: of (a) unclear orders, (b) various barriers to communication facilities, (c) an unsupportive communication environment, and (d) system communication. One of the causes of conflicts that occur in the internal KPU organization is a poor communication system and an unsupportive communication environment where both parties do not communicate with each other. According to the principle of negotiation theory that conflict is caused by positions that are not in harmony and differences in views about conflict

by parties experiencing conflict (Fisher in Gatara & Said, 2007: 183). It should be in the face of a difference that can cause problems, the conflicting parties build good communication to negotiate and find solutions to these differences before problems occur which will later interfere with organizational performance.

Based on the results of interviews that personal incompatibility is one of the causes of internal problems in the KPU Lampung Province. The attitude and behavior of some people who were considered unfavorable caused a commotion. According to Handoko (1984) in Pasolong (2008:174), humans and their behavior are said to be a source of conflict, because humans with educational backgrounds, personal traits, and various instincts, both individually and in groups, cannot escape. from various symptoms of interest such as (1) various attributes related to rank and position, (2) unequal value systems among subordinates and between superiors and subordinates, (3) the existence of various expectations (expectations),(4) leadership style, (5) various traits or personalities, (6) passion and ambition.

The results show that there is a match between the results obtained with the theory of public relations, that conflict is caused by the polarization that continues to occur in society, causing distrust and hostility between different groups(Fisher in Gatara & Said, 2007: 183). Distrust and hostility in the relationship between the secretary and the KPU commissioners are motivated by personal differences, attitudes, and behavior that are not in harmony between one party and another..

Political Conflict Resolution

The mechanism for resolving internal problems of the Lampung Provincial KPU is by holding meetings, both regular meetings, and plenary meetings. However, before holding a meeting, a personal approach will usually be taken to the conflicting parties. The procedure for handling KPU internal problems carried out by the Lampung Provincial KPU through a plenary meeting is by KPU Regulation Number 1 of 2010 concerning Amendments to KPU Regulation Number 5 of 2008 concerning the Work Procedure of the General Election Commission, Provincial General Election Commission, and Regency/City General Election Commission. This regulation describes the KPU's decision-making mechanism, a policy that is the implementation of laws and regulations relating to the holding of general elections. Every KPU decision-making is carried out in a plenary meeting of KPU members, which consists of a closed Plenary Meeting and an open Plenary Meeting.

The steps were taken by the Provincial KPU in addition to holding meetings and plenary meetings are to take a personal approach. The KPU commissioner will summon the problematic party to take a persuasive approach. As with the issue of the resignation of the officers, the treasurer, and chairman of the procurement committee for the 2014 gubernatorial election, were also resolved through a personal approach. However, not all of these approaches yielded positive results, as several officers continued to resign from the positions they had held. The KPU commissioners responded by holding a plenary meeting and deciding on the KPU chairman to take over the position that manages the governor election grant funds and appointing Jumadi as the new treasurer.

It turns out that the Commission's internal problems have not been resolved. Based on the explanation of the KPU Commissioner informant that sometime after the Lampung gubernatorial election which coincided with the legislative election on April 9, 2014, the KPU Secretary had been deactivated by the Chair of the Provincial KPU through a plenary meeting of commissioners. The plenary meeting decided that the secretary should be given a sanction because it was deemed to have hampered the gubernatorial election (Interview Results on

March 7, 2017, at 16.00 WIB). The secretary was deactivated for three months starting on December 12, 2014, and was replaced by Gunawan Riadi who served as the acting Secretary of the KPU Lampung Province.

However, on January 30, 2015, the old secretary who had been replaced inaugurated several echelon IV officials at the Bukit Randu Hotel without notification to the commissioner. The commissioners considered that the old secretary had been deactivated and the person concerned should not have taken strategic policies. The old secretary emphasized that he still had the authority to inaugurate the KPU secretary for East Lampung Regency and Mesuji Regency because at that time he still held the mandate as Lampung KPU secretary from his superior, the Secretary General of the Central KPU. According to him, the new secretary status is still acting as appointed by the Governor of Lampung. Meanwhile, he had also reported this to the governor of Lampung before inaugurating his subordinates at the district level. The reason is that the KPU is a vertical agency and he has not been dismissed by the Secretary General of the central KPU .

The continuation of this internal conflict began to subside through an open auction of positions based on a letter from the Secretary General of the KPU of the Republic of Indonesia Number 188/SJ/II/2015 dated February 13, 2015 regarding the Open Selection for the Position of Secretary of the Provincial KPU. So on April 30, 2015 Gunawan Riadi was inaugurated as secretary of the KPU Lampung Province by the Secretary General of the KPU Arif Rahman Hakim based on Decree Number 271/Kpts/Setjen/YEAR 2015 dated April 30, 2015 (<http://www.kpu.go.id/index.php/post/read/2015/3887/Sekjen-KPU-Lantik-Sekretaris-KPU-Lampung>. Retrieved March 25, 2017).

The results showed that the KPU Lampung Province used conflict resolution methods through self-regulation or self-regulation. According to [Wirawan \(2010:177\)](#), conflict resolution through self-regulation occurs when the parties involved in the conflict attempt to resolve their conflict. These conflicts are not resolved through courts, administrative processes, or alternative dispute resolutions, which consist of mediation and arbitration. The resolution of this internal problem does not involve a third party. The KPU commissioner of Lampung Province only coordinated with the KPU RI, but no mediation was carried out by any party. Based on the nature of the conflict that occurs within the internal organization of the KPU in Lampung Province, this conflict can be classified as a constructive conflict or a productive conflict. Constructive conflict according to [Wirawan \(2010: 59\)](#) is a conflict whose process leads to finding a solution regarding the substance of the conflict. The absence of Standard Operating Procedures in handling conflicts within the KPU has resulted in the absence of standard standards on how to resolve conflicts both in the internal and external domains of the organization. In addition, in the future, the KPU commissioners, the KPU secretariat, and the government need to build good bureaucratic organizational relationships and support each other.

Therefore, to avoid the repetition of the same conflict in the future, the implementation of regional head elections must be fully supported by funds from the central government through the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget. This solution will at least break the chain of budget politicization in regional head elections. The Revenue Sharing Fund will be the best alternative that can be provided by the central government through the regional government before the implementation of the regional head election stage. Funds for regional head elections will still be kept by the central government and will only be given before the regional head elections, i.e. before the regional head election stage begins. The guarantee of budget certainty for the regional head election will make the Provincial General Election Commission more focused on carrying out its duties as the executor of the general election, starting from the

planning, and implementation to the evaluation stages of regional head elections. This allows for no more intervention and tug-of-war regarding the number of funds and the timing of the disbursement of regional head election funds. Sarino (2021) in his study offers a communication model for the KPU in increasing voter participation in the gubernatorial election. The communication model used is through audio and visual media. The public can ask questions regarding procedures and things they want to know about the election. Then the officer will answer and vice versa. Another finding, as stated by Tuw (2021), explains that direct election of governor and deputy governor will improve the decentralization mechanism. So that brings positive consequences. In addition, legitimacy to the region in the community is increasing, implying that sovereignty really belongs to the people without any money politics. the implication is the increasing support for community participation in governance, development, and the community environment.

The role of local governments will also be greater in supporting the implementation of regional head elections by becoming a partner of the Provincial KPU in updating population data regularly, at least once a year. A database is needed which can be obtained through the implementation of a good and correct e-KTP database. All information required by the KPU must be able to be provided by the government population database, both regarding personal data, especially regarding the age limit for novice voters, and valid occupations so as not to invalidate their rights as voters because they are still members of the TNI/Polri, or domicile address. so that it can be easily sorted by the KPU to enter the voting booth close to their domicile. This will make it easier for the KPU to verify the population data needed for determining voter data ahead of the regional head election.

Then at the stage of verifying voter data, the KPU can embrace a third party such as a credible University Research Institute to help verify voter data that has been provided by the local government through a list of population figures per sub-district). Like the experience of the Bandar Lampung KPU which has succeeded in involving students in data entry and voter verification in the 2015 regional head election to minimize voter data errors and as a medium for learning democracy for the younger generation.

In the internal realm of the Provincial KPU, the commissioners and the KPU secretariat still have a close coordinating relationship within the organization. Both support each other despite their respective duties and responsibilities. The commissioner has the responsibility to set the policy, while the secretariat is obliged to implement the policy by providing administrative technical support, budget, and human resources for the implementation of the policy. It is possible that in the future, with the KPU's human resources who are independent and have the skills, knowledge, and experience, especially in dealing with disputes, general election disputes, and conflicts, KPU secretariat staff can become election management experts the general public who support the commissioner's duties. Various institutions put forward democratic electoral standards. One of them is IDEA (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) which states that according to international standards a legal framework for resolving electoral political conflicts must be:

“... provide that every voter, candidate, and political party has the right to complain about the competent electoral management bodies (EMB) or court when an infringement of electoral rights is alleged to have occurred. The law must require that the appropriate EMB or court render a prompt decision to avoid an aggrieved party losing his/her electoral right. The law must provide a right of appeal to an appropriate higher level of EMB or court with the authority to review and exercise final jurisdiction in the matter. The decision of the court of last resort must be issued promptly.”(International IDEA, International Electoral Standards,

Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2002, h. 93-94)

With this model of cooperation and coordination, it is hoped that the implementation of regional head elections will be more democratic. External and internal conflicts will be avoided in line with the support from various parties to the KPU in holding the general election. The success of a democratic general election is not only determined by the implementation of a vote but also by an honest and fair dispute resolution.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis and discussion of the problems and the focus of the research, it can be concluded that the background of the external conflict that occurred between the governor of Lampung and the KPU of Lampung Province was caused by the incompatibility of goals between the governor and the KPU, the contradictory attitudes of the governor and the KPU and the behavior of the two who were contradicting each other in terms of determination of the time and budget for the gubernatorial election. Factors causing conflict based on research conducted according to the source are divided into two main factors, namely organizational external factors and organizational internal factors. Organizational external factors are external factors that influence the emergence of conflicts within the organization, namely the governor's command and pressure factor as a continuation of the cancellation of the victory of Governor Sjachroedin and his deputy Joko Umar Said in 2009.

While internal organizational factors are factors that already exist in the organization that triggers internal conflicts, namely interest factors, security needs factors, personal incompatibility factors, and communication factors. KPU Lampung Province uses conflict resolution methods through self-regulation or self-regulation. The resolution of this internal problem does not involve a third party. The KPU commissioner of Lampung Province only coordinated with the KPU RI, but no mediation was carried out by any party. When faced with conflicts, secretaries tend to compete and avoid problems, while commissioners prefer to collaborate by negotiating, understanding conflict issues, or learning from each other's disagreements. Then based on the nature of the conflicts that occur within the internal organization of the KPU Lampung Province, this conflict can be classified as a constructive conflict or a productive conflict that has a positive impact.

Several steps that should be taken by the Lampung Provincial KPU related to anticipating and resolving conflicts that occur in the future can be seen from various aspects, including: first, the financial aspect, where the regional head election budget which has come from the regional government is one of the causes of problems in the implementation of regional head elections. In terms of budgeting for regional head elections, it is necessary to regulate so that the organizers of the general election are no longer dependent on the regional government. One of the ways is by using profit-sharing funds between the central government and local governments in the APBN as funds for financing regional head elections. This method can reduce the dependence of general election organizers on APBD funds and can also reduce conflicts of interest that arise regarding the budget for regional head elections conducted by incumbent candidates.

The second is the institutional aspect, where it is necessary to increase the competence of KPU human resources through guidance, training, and certification, especially certification of goods/services procurement. KPU must have independent KPU resources, organic resources, and not seconded resources (DPK) from local governments so that later there will be no ambiguity in the responsibilities of secretariat staff. The KPU should immediately

prepare regulations such as Standard Operating Procedures for handling conflicts that occur within the KPU's organizational body, both internal and external conflicts.

The three aspects of personal relations, where the commissioner and the secretariat are elements that form the KPU that cannot be separated from one another. Involving the secretary in every plenary meeting is a good way to maintain openness and strengthen cooperation between the two parties. However, it is necessary to carry out activities that are personally related to strengthening personal relationships. Adopting a strategy carried out by private organizations, employee gatherings are the best way to strengthen harmonious personal relationships between staff. This activity will provide a new atmosphere and bring refreshment to the staff so that the working relationship within the organization becomes more harmonious.

References

- Achyani, Febriyana Tri, dkk. 2015. Efektivitas Hubungan Kerja Komisioner dengan Sekretariat Komisi Pemilihan Umum Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur. *Jurnal Kebijakan dan Administrasi Publik (JKAP)*, Volume 19 No 1-Mei 2015. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jkap.7533>.
- Barus, R. K. I., Matondang, A., Angelia, N., & Batubara, B. M. (2019). Politics and Political Participation of "Grass-Roots" in General Election 2019, Bandar Selamat Regency, Medan, Indonesia. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute (BIRCI-Journal): Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(1).scholar.archive.org
- Cahyadi, Robi (2017) Pili Pesenggiri, A Concept of Political Power in Lampung Culture. *JSP UGM*, 21 (1). pp. 74-86. ISSN 1410-4946. <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jsp/article/view/28702>
- Dedi, A. 2019. Analisis Sistem Pemilihan Umum Serentak 2019. *Moderat: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 5(3), 213-226. <https://jurnal.unigal.ac.id/index.php/moderat/article/view/2676>
- Demmers, Jole. 2012. *Theories of Violent Conflict. An Introduction*. Routledge. USA. 155 hlm.
- Erwanti, M.O. 2019. "Prabowo Tolak Hasil Pilpres 2019", <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4558398/prabowo-tolak-hasil-pilpres-2019>. 21 Mei 2019).
- Fisher, Simon. 2001. *Mengelola Konflik: Keterampilan dan Strategi untuk Bertindak*. Jakarta. The British Council Indonesia.
- Gatara A.A, Said dan Said, Moh. Dzulkiah. 2007. *Sosiologi Politik. Konsep dan Dinamika Perkembangan Kajian*. CV Pustaka Setia. Bandung. 260 hlm.
- Gayatri. 2015. *Konflik Kekuasaan Dalam Anggaran Pemilukada Provinsi Bali*. E-Jurnal Akuntansi Universitas Udayana 12.2. Bali. 32 hlm.
- Gomez, J. (2014). Social media impact on Malaysia's 13th general election. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 24(1), 95-105. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1326365X14539213>.
- Ilham, M., Lukman, S., & Wargadinata, E. (2022). Analysis of Divided Government Phenomena Post 2018 Governor Election in West Kalimantan. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute (BIRCI-Journal): Humanities and Social Sciences*, 5(2), 11306-11316. <https://www.bircu-journal.com/index.php/birci/article/view/4948>
- International IDEA, 2002. *International Electoral Standards, Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections*, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, h. 93-94.
- Irawan, M. Risco & Ratnawati. 2006. "Konflik antara DPRD dengan Gubernur di Propinsi Lampung." Tesis S2 Ilmu Politik (Politik Lokal dan Otonomi Daerah. Yogyakarta: UGM.

- Johnston, R. J., & Pattie, C. J. 1995. People, place and the economic theory of voting: the 1992 British General Election. *Politics*, 15(1), 9-17. <https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1467-9256.1995.tb00015.x>
- Kodiyat, B. A. (2022). General Election Glorious Without Lies. *International Journal Reglement & Society (IJRS)*, 3(2), 89-99. <http://www.jurnal.bundamedia grup.co.id/index.php/ijrs/article/view/221>
- Kenney, P. J., & Rice, T. W. 1987. The relationship between divisive primaries and general election outcomes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 31-44. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2111323>
- Kompas.com. 2009. "KPU Lampung Keluarkan Surat Pembatalan Pelantikan", <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2009/05/22/19383399/kpu-lampung-keluarkan-surat-pembatalan-pelantikan?page=all.22/05/2009>.
- Kompas.com. 2009. "Sjachroedin ZP Dilantik Jadi Gubernur Lampung", <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2009/06/02/09300851/~Regional~Sumatera>.
- Labolo, M., & Ilham, T. 2015. Partai politik dan sistem pemilihan umum di Indonesia. Rajawali Pers.
- Lianto. 2010. "Aktualisasi Teori Hirarki Kebutuhan Abraham Maslow Bagi Peningkatan Kinerja Individu Dalam Organisasi". *Jurnal Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Ekonomi Widya Dharma Pontianak*. 36 hlm. <https://www.neliti.com/publications/146235/aktualisasi-teori-hierarki-kebutuhan-abraham-h-maslow-bagi-peningkatan-kinerja-i>
- Moleong, Lexy J. 2006. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya. 253 hlm.
- Pakpahan, R. T. 2005. Konflik elit politik pusat dan daerah (Studi kasus pemilihan gubernur dan wakil gubernur Provinsi Lampung periode 2003-2008)= Conflict of central and regional elite politicians (Case study of governor and vice governor election in Lampung Province for the period of 2003-2008). <http://www.digilib.ui.ac.id/detail?id=80468&lokasi=lokal>
- Pardede, M. (2014). Implikasi Sistem Pemilihan Umum Indonesia. *Jurnal Rechts Vinding: Media Pembinaan Hukum Nasional*, 3(1), 85-99. www.rechtsvinding.bphn.go.id
- Pasolong, Harbani. 2008. *Kepemimpinan Birokrasi*. CV Alfabeta. Bandung. 234 hlm.
- Prihatmoko, Joko. 2003. *Pemilihan umum 2004 dan Konsolidasi Demokrasi*. Semarang. LP2I Press.
- Piereson, J. E., & Smith, T. B. 1975. Primary divisiveness and general election success: a re-examination. *The Journal of Politics*, 37(2), 555-562. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1017/S0022381600041281?journalCode=jop>
- Purnomo, E. P., & Sulaksonon, T. (2012). Asymmetric Democracy in Indonesia: Democracy Without Governor Direct Election. Available at SSRN 2087643. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2087643
- RI, KPU. 2015. *Rencana Strategis Komisi Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2015-2019*. KPU. Jakarta. 113 hlm.
- RI., MK. 2019. "Mahkamah Konstitusi menolak permohonan pasangan calon presiden Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno terkait gugatan hasil Pilpres 2019." https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-48782425.27_Juni_2019.
- Robbins, S. P. 1978. "Conflict management" and "conflict resolution" are not synonymous terms. *California management review*, 21(2), 67-75. <https://doi.org/10.2307%2F41164809>
- Ross, Marc Howard. 1993. *The Management of Conflict: Interpretations and Interests in Comparative Perspective*. Yale University Press.
- Sarino, S., Efendi, E., & Azhar, A. A. (2021). *The General Election Commission (KPU)*

- Communication Model in Increasing Voter Participation in the Election of the Governor of Sumut 2018 in Labuhanbatu Selatan District. Budapest International Research and Critics Institute (BIRCI-Journal): Humanities and Social Sciences, 4(2), 2306-2316.
- Silvester, J., Wyatt, M., Ellen III, B. P., & Ferris, G. R. (2021). Candidate effects on election outcomes: Political skill, campaign efficacy, and intentions in a British general election. *Applied Psychology*, 70(4), 1628-1668. <https://doi.org/10.1111/apps.12292>
- Sugiyono. 2011. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif dan R&D*. Bandung. Alfabeta.
- Surbakti, Ramlan dan Nugroho, Kris. 2015. *Studi tentang Desain Kelembagaan Pemilu yang Efektif. Kemitraan Bagi Pembaruan Tata Pemerintahan*. Jakarta. 99 hlm.
- TUW, A. S., Ilham, M., Lukman, S., & Wargadinata, E. (2021). Analysis of the Symptoms of Split Government after the 2018 West Kalimantan Governor Election. *International Journal of Science and Society*, 3(2), 69-81. <http://ijsoc.goacademica.com/index.php/ijsoc/article/view/318>
- Warganegara, A., & Waley, P. (2021). The political legacies of transmigration and the dynamics of ethnic politics: a case study from Lampung, Indonesia. *Asian Ethnicity*, 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2021.1889356>
- Wall, Alan, dkk. 2006. *Electoral Management Design: The International IDEA. Hand Book*. Jakarta: Konstitusi Press.
- Walton, Richard E. 1987. *Managing Conflict*. New York. Addison-Wesley.
- Winardi. 1994. *Manajemen Konflik (Konflik Perubahan dan Pengembangan)*. Bandung. Mandar Maju.
- Wirawan. 2010. *Konflik dan Manajemen Konflik (Teori, Aplikasi, dan Penelitian)*. Jakarta. Salemba Humanika.