

## Analysis of Empty Box Victory in Makassar City Regional Head Elections in 2018

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### Abstract

*This study analysis of empty box victory in Makassar City regional head elections in 2018. The approach used in this research is qualitative. Data collection techniques with in-depth interviews and literature study. The results showed that a single candidate against an empty box victory occurred in Makassar City regional head elections in 2018, after the Danny-Indira candidate pair was disqualified for alleged money politics. The empty box victory has relevance to the disqualification of Danny Pomanto as the incumbent when the regional head elections were already underway so that the winning team and supporters networks had been formed concretely, the spread of Danny Pomanto's support network was unavoidable and interest groups supporting empty boxes like Rewako were ready to accommodate and accommodate they. The attitude of domination politics and the use of identity politics by Appi-Cicu in the middle of an industrial and service city also plays a role in venting public antipathy and venting their choices into empty boxes.*

### Keywords

empty box victory; regional head elections; money politics



## I. Introduction

The democratic system demands a change of leadership with a change of leadership through general elections. Elections are an important instrument for a country that adheres to a modern democracy, and has become one of the benchmarks for a country to implement democratic principles. The most important main requirement in a democratic system is the existence of competition in the election of prospective leaders (Huntington, 1995). Elections will be a form of implementing people's sovereignty by giving the people the right to choose leaders of their own free will.

In 2015, Law Number 8 of 2015 Concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors was enacted which regulates the mechanism for implementing regional head elections which are held simultaneously in all provinces, regencies and cities in Indonesia. In the process of implementing the simultaneous regional head elections, a new political phenomenon that has never occurred in Indonesia, namely the implementation of regional head elections with a single candidate pair.

The phenomenon of single candidate pairs is considered a democratic anomaly and is not conducive to the constitutional rights of citizens, so there is an initiative from community groups (Efendi Gazali and His Colleagues) to propose a legal review initiative to the Constitutional Court regarding the laws and regulations governing regional head elections. The review was granted so that the Constitutional Court decided that in the implementation of regional head elections with a single candidate pair, an opponent would be formed (Abhan et al., 2017).

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The phenomenon of single candidate pairs against empty boxes still occurred until the 2018 regional head elections, there were 16 single candidate pairs against empty columns. These areas are Central Membrano Regency, Enrekang Regency, Bone Regency, North Padang Lawas Regency, Tangerang City, Tangerang Regency, Mamasa Regency, Jayawijaya Regency, Deli Serdang Regency, Prabumulih Regency, Lebak Regency, Pasuruan Regency, Tapin Regency, Southeast Minahasa Regency, Makassar City, and Puncak Regency.

The emergence of a "single candidate" is a condition that is normatively unpredictable, even minus engineering. That is, empirical democracy continues to develop in its implementation and is influenced by the political system that occurs in the region.

The trend of regional head elections with a single candidate pair always increases in terms of numbers at each regional head election. From the data on regional head elections for single candidate pairs, it can be seen that there is an increase in the number of regions holding regional head elections for single candidate pairs, namely from numbers 3 (2015), 9 (2017), 16 (2018), and 25 (2019). Thus, Indonesia has had 53 experiences of conducting regional head elections for single candidate pairs against empty columns with a trend that always increases each period of simultaneous regional head elections.

Ahead of the 2020 regional head elections, it was noted that after the General Elections Commission extended the registration period in regions with only one pair of candidates, namely on 11, 12, and 13 September 2020, there were a number of regions that would conduct regional head elections with a single candidate of 25 Regencies/City. This number indicates the ongoing trend of increasing single candidates in the implementation of regional head elections until 2020 (Nugraheny, 2020).

Regional Head Election Makassar City is one of the cities that has undergone a regional head election process with a single candidate pair. However, the contestation of the regional head election against the empty box did not occur since the beginning of its implementation, but along with the dynamics of local politics that developed so that there was a regional head election with a single candidate pair against the empty box.

Initially the Makassar City Regional General Election Commission had determined two pairs of candidates on February 12 2018, namely the Mochammad Ramdhan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari (DIAMI) pair who were the incumbent Makassar Mayor candidate pair, with the challenger pair namely Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu).

Danny Pomanto as the incumbent who won the Makassar regional head election in 2013 at that time was teamed up with the Democratic Party and the PBB, now the DIAMI candidate pair registers through individual or independent channels by collecting files of support from citizens reaching 117,492 people, which exceeds the minimum limit of 65,356 people (Cipto, 2018).

The Appi-Cicu pair as the challengers succeeded in buying up parties so that they were able to get the support of a total of ten political parties that got positions in the seats of the Regional People's Representative Council. The political parties are PPP, PAN, PBB, PKPI, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Hanura, Gerindra, and PKS (Alfian, 2018). In fact, at first PKS was an intense party with Syamsu Rizal (the incumbent who failed to run for office because he failed to garner support from political parties) in the end also brought Appi-Cicu.

Munafri Arifudin (Appi) has a business background as well as a strong power relationship, thus encouraging his influence to buy into the party. Appi is the son-in-law of Aksa Mahmud, a large businessman who was the pioneer of the Bosowa group of companies and has served as deputy chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, Aksa Mahmud is the brother-in-law of vice

president Jusuf Kalla, who has strong political influence in Indonesia, especially in South Sulawesi (Cipto, 2018).

The process of determining a single candidate pair in the 2018 Makassar City regional head election was due to indications of violations of campaign rules by the incumbent candidate pair, Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti. Danny Pomanto as the incumbent used his benefits as the ruler at that time to conduct a program to distribute cellphones to the heads of the Rukun Tangga and Rukun Warga throughout Makassar during the campaign period, so that Danny Pomanto's actions were considered as money politics which were then investigated and reported by the pair of potential challengers, namely Appi-Cicu to the Makassar City Election Supervisory Committee.

The Makassar City Election Oversight Committee responded and decided on the report that Danny Pomanto had not violated any campaign rules. However, the Appi-Cicu candidate pair transferred the lawsuit to PT. TUN (High Administrative Court) Makassar City. PT. Makassar City TUN responded to Danny Pomanto's program in distributing cellphones to RT/RW heads throughout Makassar City as a violation of regional head election rules (Padmasari, 2018).

Action PT. TUN for this violation is to give an order to the Makassar City General Election Commission to disqualify the candidate pair Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari. Upon the decision of PT. TUN candidate pair Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari then filed an appeal to the Supreme Court to cancel the decision of PT. TUN Makassar City with fair legal considerations. However, as the legal process and trial progressed, the Supreme Court on the contrary rejected the application and upheld the decision of PT. TUN Makassar City which stated that the candidate pair Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari was guilty of distributing cellphones to the Rukun Tangga and Rukun Warga throughout Makassar City (Padmasari, 2018).

Through the Decision of the Makassar General Elections Commission Number: 64/P.KWK/HK/03.-Kpt/7371/KPU-Kot/IV/2018, the Makassar General Election Commission disqualified the DIAMI candidate pair as the incumbent so that the Makassar City regional head election was only followed by the pair of candidates for Appi-Cicu as the single candidate pair facing an empty box.

The 2018 Makassar City regional head election was carried out with a single candidate pair, namely the Appi-Cicu candidate pair, while the DIAMI candidate pair was officially disqualified. According to the results of the plenary meeting of the Makassar City General Election Commission, the only candidates who meet the requirements are the Appi-Cicu candidate pair. The Appi-Cicu candidate pair automatically faced an empty box opponent in the 2018 Makassar City regional head election (Asrul, 2018).

The 2018 Makassar City regional head election became even more unique because the single candidate pair Appi-Cicu lost against an empty box with the result that Appi-Cicu received a valid vote with a total of 46.77%, while an empty box won in front of a 53.23% vote. of the total number of votes 584,406.

The victory of the empty box in the 2018 Makassar City regional head election made Makassar City different from 15 other regions that held regional head elections with a single candidate pair. This is because the empty box victory in the Makassar City regional head election was the first empty box victory in the general election in Indonesia (Taufiqurrahman, 2018).

Based on the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 1 of 2018 concerning Amendments to the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 74 of 2016 concerning Leave outside the State Dependent for Governors and Deputy Governors, Regents and Deputy Regents, as well as Mayors and Deputy Mayors. In Article 4, it is

necessary to appoint an Acting Mayor for a certain period of time to fill the vacancy as long as the Mayor and Deputy Mayor are on leave outside of dependents appointed by the Minister at the suggestion of the Governor so that Makassar City is temporarily led by Iqbal Suhaeb as Acting Mayor of Makassar, who was appointed by the Governor of South Sulawesi, Nurdin Abdullah, based on the Decree of the Ministry of Home Affairs Number 131. 73-52 dated April 26, 2019. With a term of office for one year (Abdiwan, 2019).

The opinion expressed by Henry B. Mayo concludes that a democratic political system is a form of government in which the right to make decisions or public policies is held by citizens through representatives elected by them through a free thought. Election theory is interrelated with democracy, namely as the implementation of democracy, in this case the simultaneous regional elections held in 2018 are a manifestation of the minimum requirements for democracy by Ngenget and Saily (2019), especially in the 2018 Makassar City regional head election.

This study analysis of empty box victory in Makassar City regional head elections in 2018.

## **II. Research Method**

The approach used in this research is qualitative. Qualitative research is defined as an investigative process to understand social problems based on the creation of a complete holistic picture formed in words, reporting the views of informants in detail and arranged in a natural setting (Asyraini et al., 2022; Otiva, 2018; Pandiangan, 2015; Pandiangan, 2022). Scientific research is the right way to solve social problems because it is a systematic, controlled, empirical, and critical investigation of natural phenomena guided by theories and hypotheses about the alleged relationship between these phenomena (Otiva et al., 2018; Pandiangan et al., 2021; Pandiangan et al., 2022). According to Keith Punch, qualitative research is empirical research where the data are not in the form of number. The characteristic model of qualitative research will greatly facilitate researchers in finding and understanding research questions. As mentioned by Creswell, where researchers can use multiple methods that are interactive and humanistic (Cresswell, 2003). Data collection methods developed along with the increasing number of participants and the sensitivity involved in this study.

Data collection techniques with in-depth interviews and literature study, various written literature is used as data to strengthen the interview results, such as various books/literature, journals and mass media reports that are relevant to the problem and research objectives. Data from in-depth interviews as the main data are strengthened by literature studies that will complement, control and confirm one another (Otiva et al., 2021; Pandia et al., 2018; Pandiangan et al., 2018). Overall data will be presented in the form of an analytical design in the form of a narrative equipped with rows and columns of a matrix for quantitative data such as tables, graphs, diagrams and so on. Through the presentation of the data, the data is organized, arranged in a relationship pattern, so that it will be easier to understand (Tobing et al., 2018; Pandiangan, 2018).

### **III. Results and Discussion**

#### **3.1 Factors Causing the Phenomenon of the Makassar City Regional Head Elections with a Single Candidate**

The situation of Makassar City which is holding regional head elections with a single candidate against an empty box is not a common phenomenon. In other words, the situation was held because of the strong and active local political dynamics, so that the regional head election was held with a single candidate. Different from other regions, in general the election of regional heads with a single candidate is due to political parties that move pragmatically so that they use an 'instant' victory route by supporting a candidate pair that is already popular in their area where the candidate pair is usually an incumbent. However, Makassar City is unique because the practice of buying up parties is actually carried out by the incumbent's rivals, while the incumbents are running again through independent or independent channels.

The candidates who have been appointed by the Makassar City Regency General Election Commission on February 12, 2018 as a candidate pair in the Makassar City Regional Head Election are Mochammad Ramdhan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari (DIAMI) which incidentally is the Makassar Mayor Incumbent Candidate Pair, while the challenger pair from the a political party followed by Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu). During the registration of candidate pairs, it was precisely those who carried out the practice of buying up political parties, not from the Makassar Mayor's Incumbent Pair. Danny Pomanto, as the incumbent Mayor of Makassar, prefers to advance through an independent path.

Danny Pomanto did not return together with his deputy, Syamsu Rizal, in the 2018 Makassar City Regional Head election. Instead, Danny Pomanto chose Indira Mulyasari as a Candidate for Deputy Mayor. The figure of Indira Mulyasari is a cadre from the Nasdem Party who serves as Deputy Chair of the Makassar City Regional People's Representative Council. The separation between Danny Pomanto and Syamsu Rizal was due to Syamsu Rizal's intention to run himself as a candidate for mayor together with Iqbal Djalil, a Prosperous Justice Party politician. However, until the end of the registration of the candidate pairs, Syamsu Rizal-Iqbal Djalil failed to garner support from political parties with a minimum acquisition of 20% of the seats or 25% of the votes for political parties so that the candidate pair Syamsu Rizal-Iqbal Djalil failed to nominate themselves as a Candidate Pair for Mayor-Deputy Mayor of Makassar.

During the campaign stage, the incumbent Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti was deemed to have violated the campaign rules. Danny Pomanto conducted a program to distribute cellphones to the heads of the Rukun Warga and Rukun Tangga throughout Makassar City during the campaign period, so it was decided that the incumbent Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari candidate was disqualified, which means that the 2018 Makassar city regional head election will automatically be held with a single candidate.

#### **3.2 The Legal Process for the Implementation of a Single Candidate Regional Head Elections**

The distribution of cellphones made by Danny Pomanto was later reported by the Appi-Cicu candidate pair as a violation to the Makassar City Election Supervisory Committee. The Election Supervisory Committee's response to the report stated that Danny Pomanto was not considered to have violated campaign rules. In response to this response, the Appi-Cicu couple attempted to divert their report by filing a lawsuit to PT. TUN

Makassar City. PT. TUN gave a different response from the Panwaslu that PT. TUN Makassar City agreed that the actions taken by Danny Pomanto in distributing cellphones to the Head of the Rukun Warga and Rukun Tangga in Makassar City were a violation of the regional head election rules. For these violations, PT. TUN gave an order to the Makassar City General Election Commission to disqualify the Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari candidate pair.

Upon the decision of PT. TUN candidate pair Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari filed an appeal to the Supreme Court to overturn the decision of PT. TUN Makassar City. After receiving the file and undergoing the trial process, the Supreme Court actually rejected the application and upheld the decision of PT. TUN Makassar City which stated that the candidate pair DIAMI was guilty of distributing cellphones to the Rukun Warga and Rukun Tangga throughout Makassar City.

Following up on the decision of the Supreme Court Number 250 K/TUN/Regional Head Election/2018, the Makassar City General Election Commission then disqualified the Candidate Pair Danny Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari from the Makassar City regional head election. The policy of canceling the incumbent mayor as a candidate pair for the regional head election was carried out by the Makassar City General Election Commission by revoking SK number 35 which contained the names of two pairs of candidates. The Makassar General Election Commission then issued Decree No. 64 which contained the determination of one pair of candidates for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Makassar in 2018, namely Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu). Thus, the Makassar City Regional Head Election was finally followed by only one candidate pair, namely the Appi-Cicu candidate pair.

The DIAMI candidate pair again filed a lawsuit to the Election Oversight Committee, then the Election Supervisory Committee approved DIAMI's claim and requested that their status as a candidate pair for the regional head election be reinstated by the Makassar City General Election Commission. This was responded by Prof. Dr. Rafli stated that the Makassar City General Election Commission should restore Danny Pomanto's constitutional rights as a candidate for Mayor of Makassar. However, the request for the Election Supervisory Committee as well as responses and opinions by experts did not receive a response from the Makassar City General Election Commission. The Makassar City General Election Commission maintains SK Number 64 regarding the determination of Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu) as the only candidate pair entitled to participate in the 2018 Makassar City regional head election.

The Makassar City General Election Commission is of the opinion that when the Supreme Court has made a decision, the decision is considered final. The Makassar City General Election Commission has also coordinated with the General Election Commission of South Sulawesi and the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia. So that the Panwaslu's decision asking for the reinstatement of Danny Pomanto's status is considered unlawful and does not have to be obeyed.

The opinion of the General Election Commission of Makassar City was clarified by the Election Supervisory Board of South Sulawesi Province as an election supervisory agency that is higher than the Makassar City Panwaslu. The Election Supervisory Body of South Sulawesi said that the General Election Commission of Makassar City did not violate the rules when it did not carry out the decision of the Makassar Election Supervisory Committee which asked Danny Pomanto to be reinstated as a candidate pair status. The opinion of the General Elections Supervisory Agency of South Sulawesi Province was passed through the Gakkumdu study, and also requested expert information from the General Elections Supervisory Agency of the Republic of Indonesia.



### **3.3 The Coalition of Supporting Parties for the Appi-Cicu Candidate Pair**

The process of selecting regional heads with a single candidate is not only motivated by a legal basis, but there is the influence of the majority of political parties holding seats in the Makassar City Regional People's Representative Council which was successfully bought up by challenger Danny Pomanto, namely Munafri Arifuddin-Andi Rachmatika Dewi (Appi-Cicu). This pair managed to control ten political parties that have seats in the Regional People's Representative Council of Makassar City. The ten political parties claiming to support the Appi-Cicu are Golkar, Nasdem, Hanura, PAN, PBB, PKPI, PDIP, Gerindra, PKS, and PPP. Even PKS, which was initially intense with Syamsu Rizal, in the end also brought Appi-Cicu. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party and PDIP did not formally support Appi-Cicu. The Democratic Party itself has 7 seats, while the PDIP has 5 seats.

The success of Munafri Arifudin (Appi) in buying up all political parties in the Makassar City regional head election, cannot be separated from Munafri's power relations and background as an entrepreneur. In the context of power relations, it is widely known by the public that Appi is the son-in-law of Aksa Mahmud, who in fact is the founder and owner of the Bosowa group company. Aksa Mahmud has also served as deputy chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, Aksa Mahmud is the brother-in-law of vice president Jusuf Kalla, who has strong political influence in Indonesia, especially in South Sulawesi. This condition makes Aksa Mahmud count as the owner of capital who is influential in the political sphere of South Sulawesi. Meanwhile, Munafri himself is counted as a successful entrepreneur, and serves as Chief Executive Officer of PT. Pagolona Sulawesi Mandiri (PSM) as the company that has handled the PSM Makassar Football Club since early 2016. Everything that Munafri has, makes it possible to become a candidate for Mayor by buying up 10 political parties. In the 2018 simultaneous regional head elections, Munafri challenged the incumbent mayoral candidate Danny Pomanto.

Pragmatism carried out by political parties has indirectly reduced the potential for the birth of alternative leaders who should have emerged from party cadres as gatekeepers of an election contestation, but political parties have instead chosen an instant way to play a role in the contestation of regional head elections. With this, political parties have failed to carry out their functions in political recruitment and given political participation is a pseudo-participation agenda.

### **3.4 Empty Box Victory in Makassar City Regional Head Elections in 2018**

The general election for the Mayor of Makassar City which was held on 27 June 2018 was a regional head election held with a single candidate against an empty box, the implementation of the single candidate occurred after one of the pairs of candidates was officially disqualified so that the vote count was determined to only take place by the candidate pairs Munafri Arifuddin and Andi Rachmatika Dewi against an empty box.

Based on the minutes of recapitulation of the calculation results of the city of Makassar in the 2018 mayoral election for deputy mayor on July 6 2018, the empty box won the election contestation by obtaining 300,795 total votes. This result defeated the Appi-Cicu candidate pair with 264,245 total votes, with a total of 565,040 votes.

**Table 1.** Recapitulation of Voting per District

No.	District Details	Appi-Cicu Candidate Pair	Empty Box
1.	Biringkanaya	36.092	39.320
2.	Bontoala	10.584	11.907
3.	Kepulauan Sangkarrang	3.261	3.645
4.	Makassar	13.654	21.081
5.	Mamajang	10.886	13.407
6.	Manggala	30.384	27.631
7.	Mariso	11.566	12.845
8.	Panakkukang	25.069	31.108
9.	Rappocini	29.884	32.460
10.	Tallo	26.297	29.122
11.	Tamalanrea	16.912	21.138
12.	Tamalate	33.817	33.541
13.	Ujung Pandang	3.822	7.319
14.	Ujung Tanah	7.362	8.317
15.	Wajo	4.695	7.954
	The Final Result	264.245 (46.8%)	300.795 (52.32%)

Source: Makassar City General Election Commission

The recapitulation of vote acquisition has illustrated that the majority of Makassar City residents want to win the empty box in the 2018 Makassar city regional head election. This situation is explained in the vote acquisition referring to the decision of the Makassar City Regional General Election Commission which resulted in an empty box winning the election contestation match against the candidate. single pair, namely the Munafri Arifuddin-Rachmatika Dewi pair with 264,245 votes (46.8%) and the empty box received 300,795 votes (53.32%).

Empty boxes won in 13 Sub-Districts out of 15 Sub-Districts in Makassar City and the single candidate pair Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi only won in 2 Sub-Districts, namely Tamalate and Manggala. The political participation of the people of Makassar City in the 2018 regional head election was only attended by 584,406 registered voters (57.20%). From these votes, the empty box has officially won the Makassar City Regional Head election which resulted in the Acting Mayor of Makassar being appointed by the Minister of Home Affairs.

### 3.5 Empty Box Support Group Identity

The continuity of regional head elections with a single candidate, which has an increasing trend to date, should provide a phenomenon as a learning medium for the democratization process at the local level. In the third wave of simultaneous regional head elections at this time, it illustrates a phenomenon when an election contestation contest with a single candidate has a tendency to give birth to groups of supporters of the empty box. As more regions conduct simultaneous regional head elections, there will also be a single candidate who colors the contestation with various backgrounds. This indirectly creates empty box support groups in areas where election contestation occurs with a single candidate.

The existence of groups that mobilized the masses to win the empty boxes came as a reaction to the determination of a single candidate by the General Elections Commission which arose due to the deadline for the registration process for Candidates for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of no more than 1 candidate or there are other agendas that affect continuity



of regional head elections such as violations that cause disqualification. This situation is protected by the legal umbrella of the Constitutional Court's decision Number 100/PUU-XIII/2015 that the regional head election is still valid even though there is only one participant or candidate, so that the state of the regional head election with a single candidate is allowed.

### **3.6 Empty Column Volunteers (Rewako) in Makassar City**

The empty box victory in the Makassar City regional head election was inseparable from the role of interest groups who mobilized to support and win, one of the groups that moved massively was Rewako. Rewako made the declaration shortly after candidate pairs Danny Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari were disqualified, on June 5 2018. Rewako was chaired by Anshar Manrulu, a former Gerindra Party politician.



*Figure 1. Empty Column Volunteers (Rewako) Logo*

The existence and success of Rewako as an organization that mobilizes the community to support and vote for the empty box cannot be avoided as a result of Danny Pomanto's disqualification as a candidate for Mayor. The disqualification process carried out by the General Elections Commission took place when the regional head election contestation was already underway and had even carried out public campaigns and debates, so that the networks of winning teams and supporters built by Danny Pomanto were automatically comprehensive, especially when correlated with Danny Pomanto's efforts to carry out distribution of cellphones to the head of the Rukun Tangga or Rukun Warga in Makassar City, it is certain that the network built by Danny Pomanto as the incumbent has reached the grassroots stage. Even though Danny Pomanto admitted that the winning team had been disbanded after the disqualification, with such a wide and comprehensive network the spread of the network to support groups was unavoidable in order to win their interests.

### **3.7 Empty Box Victory Impact**

The empty box victory in the regional head election in Makassar was inseparable from the role of interest groups who mobilized to support and win, one of the groups that moved massively was Rewako. Rewako made the declaration shortly after candidate pairs Danny Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari were disqualified, on June 5 2018. Rewako was chaired by Anshar Manrulu, a former politician from the Gerindra Party.

Organization must have a goal to be achieved by the organizational members (Niati et al., 2021). The existence and success of Rewako as an organization that mobilizes the community to support and vote for the empty box cannot be avoided as a result of Danny Pomanto's disqualification as a Candidate for Mayor. The disqualification process carried out by the General Elections Commission took place when the regional head election contestation was already underway and had even carried out public campaigns and debates, so that the networks of winning teams and supporters built by Danny Pomanto were automatically comprehensive, especially when correlated with Danny Pomanto's efforts to carry out distribution of cellphones to the head of the Rukun Tangga or Rukun Warga in Makassar City, it is certain that the network built by Danny Pomanto as the incumbent has reached the grassroots stage. Even though Danny Pomanto admitted that the winning team had been disbanded after the disqualification, with such a wide and comprehensive network the spread of the network to support groups was unavoidable in order to win their interests.

After Danny Pomanto was disqualified, the General Election Commission immediately decided that the 2018 Makassar City regional head election would only be followed by one pair of candidates. Most of Danny Pomanto's supporters immediately gave their support in the form of escorting cases to the Honorary Council for Election Organizers and the General Elections Supervisory Body, others then organized themselves to form empty box support groups or joined empty box support groups that had already been formed, such as Rewako. Rewako became one of the groups that accommodated the network of Danny Pomanto's winning team that had already been formed, this was acknowledged by Anshar Manrulu as the Rewako Coordinator.

During the regional head elections, many groups supporting the empty box emerged, not only for Rewako. However, Rewako has become a group that moves in a dominant and massive manner to carry out escorts in order to mobilize and organize community groups in an effort to persuade people to vote for empty boxes. Danny Pomanto was disqualified about a month before the vote count, so the effectiveness of the empty box support groups in Makassar was very high and nimble.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

The results showed that a single candidate against an empty box victory occurred in Makassar City regional head elections in 2018, after the Danny-Indira candidate pair was disqualified for alleged money politics. The empty box victory has relevance to the disqualification of Danny Pomanto as the incumbent when the regional head elections were already underway so that the winning team and supporters networks had been formed concretely, the spread of Danny Pomanto's support network was unavoidable and interest groups supporting empty boxes like Rewako were ready to accommodate and accommodate them. The attitude of domination politics and the use of identity politics by Appi-Cicu in the middle of an industrial and service city also plays a role in venting public antipathy and venting their choices into empty boxes.

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