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To

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THE DYNAMICS OF ELECTION IN THE BORDER CROSSING: A CASE STUDY OF TALAUD ISLANDS ELECTION, NORTH SULAWESI 2013-2014

DR. NUR HIDAYAT SARDINI¹

ABSTRACT

This study aims to create a model of political dynamic in Pemilukada, local executive election in Indonesia, in the border crossing area. The first model constructed by the author is the model of radicalism in Talaud's local election, which consists of Asymmetrical Political participations, Reification Political Deprivations, and Civil Disobedience. The second one is the model of causative factor of radicalism in Talaud's election which is consists of Relatively Autonomous Characteristic, the political atmosphere of democratization in post-authoritarianism era, and the spatialization of expression as the result of political decentralization in Indonesia since the beginning of the reform in 1998. The last but not least, the author is constructing the model of radicalism reason in local executive election in Talaud in 2013 which is consists of the gap between the hope and the fact, primordial's loyalty, and the deadlock of society. While, conceptually, this research formulates two possible political interactions of intra-state and extra non-state actors, that is producing positive political allocation which will produce Political Collaboration and stimulate the changes, and negative political allocation which will raise Political Conflict, just like what happened Talaud's local executive election 2013.

Keywords : Pemilukada, participation, civil disobedience, subversion

INTRODUCTION

In a general, talking about border crossing area, we will immediately think about the concepts of archipelago, sovereignty, continental, sea and water territorial, and some problems related to the sovereign rights and jurisdiction of Indonesian sea contiguous zone (contiguous waters), economic exclusive zone, high sea, the international seabed area, and the continental shelf of the outer limit (BNPP, n.d). The border crossing area has its own dynamics and complexities with rational dimensions of international relations or diplomacy, socio-cultural and socio-economical aspect, rule of law, as well as defense and security. Those complexities also identified from the local politics point of view, such as the dynamics of the local executive election (Pemilukada). Unfortunately, only a few researchers focus in this problem. Even, the government sometimes took this problem as the last concerning issues of government. Whereas, through the results of this research I have conducted, we can understand, formulate, and look for solutions for some problems in the border area, especially those related to the political influences and other dimensions in the context of international relations. Thus, speculatively, the absence of study about the political dynamics in border crossing area indicates that the stakeholders do not yet understand, formulate, and seek for the solution for the problems faced by border crossing area comprehensively.

As the largest archipelagic country in the world, giving special attention to border areas becomes an important agenda for some parties in Indonesia, including the government, stakeholders, frontier research world, and the Indonesian people themselves. This importance is should be realized because the border area is very vulnerable to the problems associated with the crucial sovereignty of Indonesia itself. According to Indro Dwi Haryono

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(2012), at least there are five basic problems of border areas in Indonesia. These problems are: (1) the socio-economic gap, (2) the shifting of state borders (including the country stakes) which is adverse the economic interests and sovereignty, (3) illegal fishing, illegal logging, illegal labor, human trafficking, terrorism, and a variety of smuggling from the border towns such as Nunukan-Malaysia, Tahuna Davao, Batam-Singapore, Dumai-Malaysia, and so on, which will eliminate some potentials income of Indonesia, (4) the limited infrastructure services and facilities in small islands in the maritime area that will relatively cause alienation of the region, and (5) the undeveloped economic potential of small islands.

Responding to those potential problems, the government of Indonesia actually did not stay silent. Through a special institution to deal with the border area named the National Agency for Management of Border Areas (BNPP), which was formed in 2012, the government demonstrated its seriousness as the responsibility towards the border areas with a focused and systematic strategy. In the Article 15 of UU No. 43 of 2008 and Article 3 of Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2010, the government through the BNPP emphasizes the management of state borders in order to improve the people welfare in the border area by conceptualizing some main programs such as (1) Establishing a policy of development program in border area; (2) Formulating financial plan for the border area; (3) Coordinating the implementation of those programs, and (4) Evaluating and supervising the management of Boundary Country and Border Regions. However, BNPP itself admits that it has not reached the optimal performance in dealing with the border area yet. Therefore, the contributions from the researches can be the alternative way as the consideration to solve the problem faced by the border area. A kind of research that can give significant impact on the management of border area is the political point of view especially in term of local democracy that is reflected in the dynamic of local executive election in border area.

PROBLEM OF COMPLEXITIES IN BORDER AREA'S POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

Studies on Election in the border area can be one of the ways to get the best solution over various problems above. This study is important because Election will produce regional leaders who will formulate the best policy for his/her region. Related to the implementation of democracy and election, there some aspects that can be extracted from the political dynamics of the border area; First, Elections are the cornerstone of representative democracy. Through elections, Governments obtain reviews their democratic mandate and are held accountable for their performance in office. Flawed elections deprive people of Reviews their voice in democratic governance and undermine sustainable development (Helgesen, 2013). Second, the elections are the culmination of a colossal political participation of citizens. Wall, et al. (2006) , stating that, an election or direct democracy poll – such as a referendum – is often one of the largest single activities that are ever organized in a country. It is a very complex administrative task, implemented in a politically charged atmosphere. By conducting this research I will show you the description of how political participation of citizens in the border region is done. Third, the elections are the means of determining those who want to engage themselves and sit in the government, so they are elected (in the process of the election) has the authority to regulate the running of the government, while the (task of government is) to develop policies in the public interest. In other words Elections are used to Ensure popular support and legitimacy for Reviews those who make-governmental decisions (Maisel & Buckley, 2005).

In this study, the author makes Pemiukada Talaud Islands as the research objects as well as the example of the dynamics of elections in the border area because; first, the existing conditions of Talaud Island. Talaud Island is eligible to be called as "frontier areas of the country." In administration point of view, this region is a part North Sulawesi province. However, before becoming an autonomous region, this area was the part of

autonomous region called Sangihe-Talaud Islands Regency. According to data from Ministry of Marine and Fisheries (2002), this area is directly adjacent to the Philippines and consists of Mianggas Island, Kawio Island, Batuwaikang Island, Kakarutan Island, Intata Island, Marote Island and Marampit Island, and some big cities such as Tahuna, Manado, Bitung, and Beo. Second, citizens interchange between Talaud Island people and The Filipinos. Since the 14th century, there has been interchange between the people of the border area in either Indonesia or the Philippines. In the past, the dynamics of trade, security, and politics in the region of Mindanao, Sulawesi Sea to Palau, including two the region of Talaud Island, indicated the intensity of contacts among the residents in the surrounding area. Even Nowadays, those mobility between these resident is continued. According to Reid (2014), people in Formosa Taiwan, South Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, and Maloco (Maluku), is situated with the same language, Austronesia, and they are derived from the same ancestor. Third, the fact of Pilkada in Talaud Island in 2013 that full of dynamic.

There are three pairs candidate participating in Pilkada Talaud Island 2013. They are (1) Constantine Ganggali and Jonkers Cornelles Franklin who got 17.578 votes; (2) Sri Wahyu Maria Manalip and Peter Simon Tuange who got 18 284 votes; and (3) Sherly Tjanggalung and Franz Charlos who got 14,610 voices. The total votes were 51.195 votes and 50.472 votes among them were the valid votes, while 724 were invalid. Thus, based on KPU North Sulawesi Decree, Talaud Election 2013 was won by candidate number two, Sri wahyu Maria Manalip and Peter Simon Tuange. Unfortunately, that election could not be separated from various dynamics that occur either at the time before the election and after the election. The first dynamic I explain here is took place in the candidate determining process. Those three pairs candidates were the result of verification process carried out by the local election Commission (KPUD). According to KPU North Sulawesi Decree, the verification process set them, and set aside the two others, Noldi Tuwoliu and Irene B Riung-because they failed to gain at least 15% of the total seats in parliament Election results 2009, as well as Eben Haiser and Alex Riung-because they failed to accomplish the individual candidate's requirements.² The second one is the result of Honorary Board of Election or DKPP which said that Talaud's Local election commission had been violating the code of conduct so that DKPP decide to fire the Chairman and Some Members of the Commission' such as Melky Buatasik, TH Pinilis, and Magdalena Anaada. DKPP then ordered the Election Commission of North Sulawesi to take over the implementation together with the remaining members of Talaud Election Commission members, Mexyn Tamaroba.

Those problems, especially the former one, makes the implementation of the voting day was full of tension. In the polling station in Riung and Northern Riung, Tampan 'Amma, there were election logistics boycott from the people, intimidation to the PPK and KPPS, destruction of bridges, throwing stones to the village head's house, and non-vote behavior from the people. Moreover, the supporters of candidate-to be who did not pass the verification, raised the Philippines flag as a form of resistance to the ongoing electoral process. Philippines flag raisers were arrested and named as a suspect by Article charges of subversion against the state.³

Based on the background above, it shows that the form of the dynamics shown in Election Talaud above is a kind of the political antagonism. This study seeks to answer whether those actions are reflecting the whole dynamic of election in border area or not. The author interested to examine the political dimensions in Talaud Island and their connection to the citizen interchange between Talaud people and Pilipino by asking (1) what is the shape of the political dynamic in Talaud Election in 2013? (2) What factors lead to the political dynamic in Talaud

² Based on the Answer of Exception of KPU North Sulawesi in the Hearing Dispute Court on January 20, 2014.

³ Based on witness testimony Talaud Head of Ops Police Commissioner Drs. Chilion Diar in Court Dispute Assembly on January 21, 2014.

Election in 2013? (3) Why radicalism dynamic is used in Talaud Election in 2013? All those question will be answered by me using qualitative approach and case study method, as well as in-depth interview and documentary study as the data collection technique, the authors want to analyze and explain the forms of political radicalism Election in Talaud in 2013, the factors that caused the dynamics of political radicalism Election Talaud in 2013, and why dynamics of radicalism appear in the Election of Talaud in 2013.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON ELECTION IN BORDER CROSSING AREA

The Concept of Democracy

In his book titled *On Democracy*, Dahl (2000) formulated the institutionalization of democracy in a country as the consequences of adopting democracy. The first one is The Elected Officials, which means that there are a number of officials in the state appointed based on the results of the election by the people who has right to control the government as resides in the constitution. Secondly, free, fair, and frequent elections. Thirdly, Freedom of expression which means that there are freedom of expression for every citizen which is guaranteed by the state constitution without any fear of sanction from the authorities, including, where criticism is addressed to the officials, governments, regimes, stakeholders of socio-economic and ideology. The forth is the Access to alternative sources of information. Fifth, Associational autonomy who insists in a democratic country which enable each group to be effectively attained their associational rights include democratic political institutions, political parties and interest groups and sixth, the inclusive citizenship.

Related to election in democratic country, Dahl placed Election as an absolute prerequisite to classify a country whether sensible to democracy, semi-democracy, or not sensible democracy. Election is believed as the manifestation of the people's sovereignty in democratic country. That is why there is a renowned adage, "there is no democracy, and there is no election. Indonesia adopts the state sovereignty of the people, based on electoral event as a tool to choose the leaders not only at the central level, but also in provinces and districts / cities throughout the country. According to UU 32 Year 2004 about Regional Government, The election of Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head is a means of implementation of the people sovereignty which is held Directly, Generally, Freely, and Secretly, and honestly, and Fairly (Luber and Jurdil), within the scope of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945, conducted by the Election Commission and supervised by the Election Supervisory Body.

Political Participation

Another phenomenon that stood out in democratic country is the prominence of political participation of citizens. There are two forms of political participation. First, the conventional political participation that accommodates the legal activities of citizens contacting politician and government officials, public hearing, and consultation meeting with the executive and legislative officials. Second, and the unconventional political participation, which accommodates the activities of citizens conducted outside the framework of the legal institutional, likewise social protesting, political confrontation, action groups, boycotting, civil dissident, and other radical actions (Copeland, 2013).

Conceptually, unconventional participation is a relatively uncommon behavior that challenges or defies government or channels to the dominant culture. It is usually personally stressful for both of participants and their opponents. Unconventional participation has been successful in influencing government decisions, for example as a civil rights movement forms. Political participation is not conventional is often a tendency to citizens with

a background of three characteristics, that are, Distrusted of the political system, strong sense of political efficacy, and a highly developed sense of group consciousness (Janda, et.al, 2012).

In the development of democratization in Indonesia, the strengthening of non-conventional political participation is supported by the changes of the political and governmental structures. Since the implementation of the decentralization policy, people in the region were given adequate room of expression. Linked with the concept of political decentralization, the establishment of autonomous regions can be interpreted as the expansion of political playground in the entire territory of Indonesia either for the people or for the local elites. In view of Aspinall and Mietzner (2010), electoral Decentralization and Democratization has fundamentally changed the face of local Indonesian. In the implementation of local elections, highly fragmented political map of Affiliations and loyalties are come. Interestingly in these elections, the appeal to specific local identities and traditions is now a prerequisite for political leaders to Compete in local elections. Without being deeply rooted in a locality, Politicians stand little chance of winning. Thus, the most obvious symptom of the Local election in Indonesia is the Increasing of complexity to the identity politics of decentralized Indonesia.

Resistance Theory

Another theory used in this research is the Resistance Theory. The growth of the concept of social resistance, departing from an assumption that the dialectics of social encourages interactions of social processes that complex inter-actors and structure social in it, stimulate demand for the excess to the rulers. According to Bernal and Solorzano (2001), resistance theory demonstrates how individuals negotiate and struggle with structures and create meanings of Reviews their own from Reviews These interactions. They give four types of oppositional resistance. First, Reactionary Behavior, which consist of a social critique and a social justice motivation, as the case background in social movements. In this behavior, disruptive behavior and "acting out", are challenging authority figures "for kicks". Second, Self-Defeating Resistance. This behavior and resistance does not transform the system or the oppressive state that they are in, but their actions cause harm to others unto themselves and possibly Depending on the situation. Third, conformist Resistance. It occurs when people need for social justice but lacks a critique of the oppressive systems. This form of resistance is simply a "bandied "solution for the systemic issue to Operate within the oppressive structures instead of transforming them), Fourth, Transformative Resistance). This resistance occurs when resistance is qualified as social criticism of the system, roommates oppress structures, the motivation for social justice. Therefore, the most potential to create social change or transform the oppressive situations is the one who are exist within the system.

THE INFLUENCES OF THE PHILIPPINE AND THE FACTS OF LOCAL ELECTION IN TALAUD

The influence of the Philippines

As the consequences of Munster Treaty in 1648, the Nusa Utara (Nusra) region-a ragion consist of Talaud Island and other frontier Islands in North Sulawesi as well as some region in the Philippine as the dynamic places of people, commodities, and capital mobility in and out Nusra-became a region controlled by two foreign interests, Spain and Dutch, by the limitation and tightening conditions which controlled the government administration and the economical transaction. The most visible impact of that monopoly done by them is about the boundaries issues among these regions. The regional division based on this agreement caused the alienation of indigenous people and the territorial integrity of the state administration. In other words, the agreement caused political limitations and elimination of the traditional relationships among the indigenous people.

Since the implementation of the agreement four or five decades ago, there has been a long term changes in people social contacts in the North West Nusa, Indonesia, and people in Mindanao Island, the Philippines. Jurisdictional difference among these countries is resulting the needed of adjustments concerning in the provisions of rule of law. Nevertheless, we cannot neglect some facts that show there are a number of residents in the Mindanao islands speak in Sangil (Sangihe). In one side, it is believed that their presence is an evidence that there are many citizens of Indonesia, especially the Talaud Island people, who eventually hereditary residing in Mindanao, the Philippines. On the other hand, it also believes that there is a possibility of Filipinos who reside in Indonesia.

Another fact that I found in this research is, even though both of Indonesia and the Philippine have made some adjustment in the rule of law so that both countries can make some borders related to this relation, those borders do not eliminate some impersonal and traditional relation among people of Talaud and Mindanao. The first impersonal relation is about the illegal relationship among people in these countries. This relation is based on kinship and some activities that have been embedded. However, then, this relationship is considered as the illegal one because both countries are already have some legal framework to regulate people mobilization across nation. Second, the relationship is a kind of violation to the law. Some of activities that reflect this relationship are illegal logging, illegal fishing, terrorism, trafficking, narcotics, and arms smuggling, and so on. The last but not least is mutual influence relations through unilateral policy packages between the governments. For instance the low price policy of some goods in Manado which stimulate Filipinos to buy everything they need in Manado, The capital region of North Sulawesi, or, the low price policy of Tuna in the Philippine so that, Indonesian, especially the ones from Nusra, prefer to buy Tuna in the Philippine. Those three kinds of relation then causes some further impact in both region and one of the impacts can be seen in the dynamic of local executive election in Talaud Island.

MODEL OF THE FORM OF RADICALISM IN TALAUD ISLAND ELECTION 2013

Asymmetric political participation

Theoretically, in a process of reformation people participation can be included to the unconventional participation. The form of this participation appears more often in unconventional, override the frequency and intensity of political participation that runs in the conventional one. Political actions such as protests, mass mobilization, confrontation, political petitioning, a massive demonstration, is commonplace and we can see almost every day and coloring preaching the mass media.

The Goal of the expression of unconventional political participation are accountability, transparency, and control on the course of the operation of government. In addition taking an object to influence the decisions of the authorities, while the expression of participation may also target the behaviors at the level of central authorities and the more so in the area. This is the frame of the political climate (political atmosphere) which is conducive to the realization of the segmented desire and collective groups of local political identity in the era of reform is growing and developing in the political constellation in Indonesia to date.

Political Reificative deprivations

Although there was flag rising of other country as people compensation of disappointment in the election, it cannot be define automatically as political rebellion such as an action to set up a new country or we call it as separatism. However, something that had been done there is a kind of reification of people disappointment due to the failure of their candidate-to be in the verification process. In the context of this reification of disappointment there are three scopes

that can be defined. First, reactionary behavior. Movement of defiance shown by hordes of the candidate to-be's supporters that were not passed by the Election Commission of North Sulawesi, is a resistance movement consists of a social critique and a social justice motivation. Movement is taking by an action to against bad behavior (as disruptive behavior), an outlet for anger (" acting out "), or resistance to authority holders (challenging authority figures "for kicks ") which claimed do not fit the definition of justice believed.

Second, non-revolutionary action. What had been committed by the supporters of candidates that were not passed the verification process by KPU North Sulawesi are not intended to overthrow the political regime, change the existing order or the current system, but merely aims only to express the disappointment of the failure of candidate they support. The movement is not a movement with results that are revolutionarily or giving revolutionary outcomes.

Third , since it is not revolutionarily action, what Noldi and Irene supporters have done in Talaud Local Election in 2013 is simply define as burst revolt, rebellion, something contrast to the revolution. The basic difference between "rebellion" and "revolution" is on their purpose. In rebellion, the aim of country's enemies usually is no more than a reification of particular disappointment, or force personnel changes state or state policy. However in a revolution the motivation of the country's enemies is an ideology which describes the existing institutions as being defective or malicious fundamental and therefore need total replacement or deconstruct the existing order. However, the causes of rebellion and revolutions are sometimes similar, namely a weak state, divisions within the political elites, and the mobilization of the people, while the impact of the revolutionary ideology is in order to promote the objectives and make revolution radically different.

Civil disobedience

A Civil disobedience initiated by Thoreau was a civilian resistance against the ruler, which was considered as unfair action in its treatments to its citizens, or it can be a symbol of citizens' disobedience to the state/government. While, Ramlan Surbakti states that civil disobedience is a conflict between local communities and the state. In this conflict, then he argues, there is similar interest which is wanted to be grabbed by a number of different group. So, in a case of civil disobedience, either society or government is working hard to obtain or maintain the same resources and always towards consensus.

Thus, is the action done by the supporters of candidates for regional head and deputy regional head in the General Election in Talaud in 2013 in the category of civil disobedience? It can be answered from the evidence as follows. First, they were disappointed with the KPUD South Sulawesi's decision to not pass the candidates promoted. Second, their disappointments are manifested in their action in blocking the road which is done twice during the group police chief heading to Riung and North Riung village, breaking the bridge leading to the two villages, destroying local village chief's house, and boycotting the people access to either vote in the voting day or re-vote in the day scheduled. Even they were boycotting the distribution of ballot boxes and electoral equipments. On December 6, 2013, they also did a night intimidation to the PPK⁴ to not holding the election and to not setting up the polling stations (TPS) in the these two villages.

Subversive

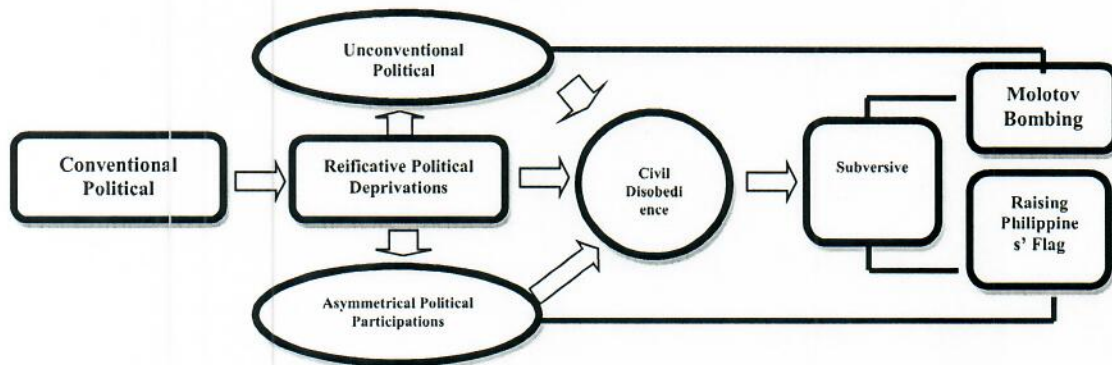
Subversive action refers to do rebellion against the legitimate structure of state power, either done openly (actual) and or clandestinely (latency). Subversive action also refers to the action of common or widespread incitement from one group to another group to take an object or

⁴ Sub-district Election Committee

target of the existence of the state institutions which are recognized as lawful. In short, subversive is a crime against the state or the state government. The background of this subversion are related to the political forces, foreign forces and others are not needed, because the need to be concluded here is the elements offense subversion of real acts of the defendants.

On December 8, 2013, some people who are expected as Noldi Tuwoliu and Irene B's Supporter were flagging the Philippines Flag in Riung and North Riung Village. The next day, on 9 December 2013, when it was about to hold voting and counting, there was a group of people with red head bonded around the polling station and, around them, there were a coffins were covered by a black fabric written "KPU". In addition, there was also Philippine's flag rising. Whereas on December 11, 2013, three people suspected as the suspect of this subversive action were arrested. They carried illegal exploder. They were charged under Article 106 of the Criminal Code concerning acts "Makar" with a maximum penalty of imprisonment for life or for 20 years. Thus, the entire context in the act of subversive as described above, must be interpreted alleged offense of subversive.

Figure 1. Model of form of Political Dynamic in Talaud Island Election 2013



MODEL OF FACTORS OF RADICALISM IN TALAUD ISLAND ELECTION 2013

Relative Autonomy

Marxian states that a person will commit to do subversive action due to the economy structure background. In other words, the concept of relative autonomy stems from the exceptional circumstances that took place vaguely through the influence of a silly action but applies firmly of the perpetrators because they felt themselves as "junk" in a political environment that freed from the influence of materiality. This relative autonomy is a part of the unconscious possessed the perpetrators. Based on the logic above, associated with dissent by supporters of candidates in Talaud Election 2013 who were not passed by the Commission in Sulawesi, it is actually caused by the experiences of the actors who do not believe in the law so that it encourages them to take the fight against social reality. In addition, it is also a result of a self-conscious control of the perpetrators, which is a deeply unconscious implication of the process and the social consequences that occur in the political environment surrounding them.

In view of the perpetrators, the Commission is expected to help them to fight for the interests of the people in the two villages where the dynamics of the election process is going on, irrespective true or not true according to the rule of law in the election. The perpetrators are expecting the presence of the reliable officials. However, if they can no longer be trusted, then an action that should be done is an action called moral indignation which will stimulate the changing attitude of political actors.

The atmosphere Politics in Democratization Post-Authoritarianism

The disobedience committed by actors in the Talaud Election already should be put in the frame of democratization that is growing in Indonesia. Since the reform movement successfully forced President Suharto resigned on May 21, 1998, there were some changes in political and governmental structures. Furthest effect of these changes is strengthen the political functioning of civil society and placing position moderating force in the other country, with the dynamics of the tides, attraction, and full of suspense. Meanwhile, the closest effect of the changes in the political and the government structure is pushing the political upheavals in the region. Both effects, either the farthest or closest, is undesirable political consequences but gained announcement in the eyes of the political actors, as seems to be the norm in democracy and democratization. In a general understanding, the outcome of each process that occurs, is believed to lead to the formation of a new equilibrium patterns in the latest Indonesian political constellation, which sometimes it is marred by political contention and political noise due to power interplay and the reflection anomalous judgmental in the politics. The action done by the perpetrators of in Talaud, is unlikely to happen in the New Order political environment. As is known, the political repression during the Soeharto era makes it possible for every citizen who did disobedience to be sued both legally and politically. Even less flag of another country in the area of law in Indonesia.

Expression spatialization⁵ Due Political Decentralization Policy

Decentralization policy which is applied in Indonesia since 1999 has changed the central and local relations. Initially the relation among them is Centripetal Relation Patterns, the pattern of relations between the center and the local that focuses on the central role. Furthermore, after the implementation of decentralization, the relation among them becomes a Centrifugal relation patterns, the spread pattern of relations between the center and regions. The Impact of these changes put the autonomous region as the new playing ground in the current political dynamics in Indonesia. Consequently, since June 2005 the entire head and deputy head of the region are elected by a direct, open, and democratic procedure-following the recruitment mechanism at the national level-through Election of Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head (Pilkada). According to the provisions, the vision, mission, and the work program of the pairs of candidates (paslon) Election winner will be the reference vision, mission and programs of local government work, at least for a period of 5 (five) year period of office.

During the implementation of the decentralization policy in Indonesia, there are some positive impacts generated. Some of them are the emergence of new growth centers of the region, improvement of services of the basic needs of the people, and the emergence of local leaderships who have some great the works of creation and their best innovations-something that is difficult to be produced from the form of centralization in the New Order. However, decentralization also has negative impacts, such as the outbreak of the issues of corruption, collusion and nepotism, the strengthening of local political identity on the basis of ethno-communalism, and the seizure of natural resources in the area. As the new terrain of local political game, the negative impacts of decentralization can be caused by political tensions between the center and the regions that are still going on since the beginning of the fall of the New Order regime. Other factor that can be the factor of those negative impacts is the unmatched political dynamics between center and local which is not followed by the success of central action in instituting the politic. This latter issue is also can be a sign that during the reform, the government tends to build up to the institutions state (state institutional reform) rather than build the capacity of the state (state capacity).

⁵ Spatialization associated with the most appropriate treatment or be regarded as limitation of space and time transformations in social life

In terms of autonomous regions as a new playground for political liberalization, the phenomenon of insubordination group of citizens who demonstrated in Talaud Election In 2013 can be interpreted in the context of the explosion of political participation—a symptom which usually occurs in many countries experiencing a period of transitions to democracy. Political participation is described as one of the conditions that underlie the functioning of democracy, while the political consciousness and the truth of political systems reinforces the quality of political participation. Current issues faced and linked to the interests of the people (citizens) and political leaders into political issues now become important. Theoretically, political participation in times of reform shown by the public is the unconventional one.

MODEL OF OCCURRENCE REASON OF RADICALISM

The occurrence of a radical action tends not stand alone, but is caused by many factors or multivariate. The first factor is the absence of hope to realize the desire for many things (hopeless) or the existence of a gap between the desired expectations and the reality. The second one is the masses spirit of primordial issues. The later factor is what we can see in the dynamic of local Talaud election. Almost all the official candidates gained vote from their own origins. For instance, Paslon Sri Wahyu Maria Tuange Manalip and Peter Simon, whose parents came from the District Esang, likewise Tuange comes from the island-districts Kabaruan Kabaruan and Damau, obtain a majority vote in these district. The above figures show that, the origin of the area is still an important reference for winning a General Election in Talaud. It also means that the supporter will always do everything to win their candidates in order to keep their area/district prestige. The last but not least is about another way officially considered to be a dead end. The radicalism along Talaud Election in 2013 is started from the participation of citizens to engage in political official channels. However, when the protests through official political channels to defend the candidate promoted is not successful, unconventional Political Participation is believed will be more effective to influence the decision-making process rather than the Conventional one. The full model I constructed to explain the causes and reasons radicalism of above are provided in the graphics in the appendix.

CONCLUSION

The forms of political dynamics in the Talaud Election are Asymmetrical Political participations, Reificative Political deprivations, Civil Disobedience, and subversive action. While the factors that cause those radicalisms are relatively autonomous, the political atmosphere in post-authoritarianism, and spatialization of expression as a result of political decentralization policy undertaken in Indonesia since reform. This study also concluded that the factor and reason of the radicalism there are: (1) the absence of hope to realize the desire for many things (hopeless), (2) high primordial loyalty, and (3) deadlock caused by the official channel which could not give the best solution so that it push citizens to do some illegal actions. All in all, conceptually related to the interactions of politics intra-state and extra non-state which has two possibilities—first, the positive political allocation, the interaction resulted in political collaboration to generate changes, and second, the negative political allocation, which led to tensions political conflict, the process that occurs in Talaud is the negative one. Thus, people tended to do destructive expressions. However, by seeing the flapping of Philippines' flag in this area, we can infer that Election in the border area has political dimensions in the relations among nations. This phenomenon can be known as an averment of other countries political influence in the implementation of the Election in the border areas of the country.

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Appendix

MODEL OF FACTORS OF RADICALISM IN TALAUD ISLAND ELECTION 2013

