THE POTENTIAL OF SOCIAL VULNERABILITY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 2024 ELECTIONS IN YOGYAKARTA CITY

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Abstract

This article analyses the potential for social vulnerability caused by deep-rooted political conflicts involving two political parties with large mass bases in Yogyakarta. This research aims to describe the potential for social vulnerability conflicts during elections and conflict prevention strategies ahead of the 2024 elections in Yogyakarta based on a historical review of several previous elections. Mixed research methods were used through surveys and in-depth interviews. The results show that social vulnerability in implementing elections in Yogyakarta City comes from ideological differences and friction of economic interests. The election vulnerability mapping by researchers shows that the Notoprajan and Warungboto sub-districts have the highest level of vulnerability. Meanwhile, 43 other sub-districts are shown to have moderate social vulnerability. In addressing social vulnerability in the 2024 General Election, it is crucial to take a holistic and collaborative approach involving the government, election organisers, election participants, sympathizers, security apparatus and the community.

Keywords: *Social vulnerability, 2024 Elections, Yogyakarta*

Introduction

General elections are essential to democratic systems worldwide, including in Indonesia. The city of Yogyakarta, known as a city of education and culture, is a place for election events that cannot be separated from the potential for conflict that continues to overshadow the implementation of elections in Indonesia, including the 2024 elections. However, in every local and national election, social insecurities can always influence the smoothness of the democratic process and the quality of elections. Therefore, identifying and understanding the factors contributing to social vulnerability in elections in Yogyakarta is very important.

Various literature and critical notes on implementing elections in several periods in Indonesia, including Yogyakarta City, several strategic issues are still a significant problem in implementing elections, such as money politics, SARA (ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup) politicisation, social media campaigns, and ASN neutrality (Bawaslu, 2023; Kertati, 2020). The election organiser, in this case, the Election Supervisory Agency or Bawaslu, has compiled a vulnerability indicator to mitigate election problems.

The Bawaslu design is the Election Vulnerability Index (IKP), which has four dimensions: the socio-political context, election administration, contestation, and participation. The preparation of the IKP helps project and detect potential election infractions so that election prevention and supervision programmes can be prepared. As a multicultural region, DIY has a moderate IKP category and a score of 43.021. This value certainly affects the IKP value of Yogyakarta City. As the centre of Yogyakarta's government and economy, Yogyakarta City is the most influential barometer, even enhancing the potential for election vulnerability in Yogyakarta City in 2024.

High migration influences the social vulnerability of Yogyakarta City flows that increase the diversity of identities and cultures that grow in it. This situation encourages the diversity of views and political ideologies among the people of Yogyakarta. The heterogeneous characteristics of urban communities create a variety of gaps that place a community in a socially vulnerable situation so that the possibility of conflict in political contestation becomes even higher.

The most easily identified social vulnerability in the election was the friction involving various organizations PDI-P and PPP party sympathisers. The conflict initially stemmed from ideological differences between nationalist and religious groups. This friction has become a deep-rooted and historical problem. This has caused the social vulnerability map to be a red party in several relatively permanent locations such as Ngabean, Jogokariyan, or Warungboto.3 This situation of vulnerability makes people in these areas very vulnerable to various forms of electoral malpractice because they are the location of tangent points between groups.

Potential vulnerability in implementing elections can occur vertically and horizontally. To a certain degree, people's sensitivity to differences will increase in line with various electoral infractions. Election malpractice is an incident that has occurred for a long time and has not been appropriately resolved. Therefore, the potential for new conflicts is still likely to arise in the 2024 elections. Research activities on social vulnerability in the 2024 elections in Yogyakarta City are expected to increase stakeholders' understanding of the challenges faced and early mitigation steps to maintain the stability and integrity of elections and strengthen democracy in the region.

This paper aims to analyse and elaborate the mapping of potential conflicts of election vulnerability and conflict prevention strategies for the 2024 election vulnerability in Yogyakarta. The location of this research is 14 sub-districts in Yogyakarta City with the potential for election vulnerability.

The first local election in Yogyakarta City faced challenges in preparing for the first election, namely the high illiteracy rate and the low political awareness of the people. The regional election committee organised the election in stages or indirectly, even though Law No. 7/1950 and Government Regulation No. 36/1950 had made direct elections possible. Another obstacle was security issues, where the central government declared a "State of Danger" or Staat van Oorlog en Beleg (SOB) through Law No 6/1946 because of the Madiun Incident. Therefore, political parties were cautious about socialisation and campaigns during the elections.

However, the 1951 elections could run well and safely. The participation rate was relatively high at 52%, although in the shadow of a high illiteracy rate and low socialisation of parties taking part in the election. The conduciveness of the elections in DIY in 1951 was inseparable from the character of the Javanese people, who were "njawani" and gentle (Salim, 2018). This character will certainly affect subsequent elections, including the upcoming 2024 elections.

Implementing elections in Yogyakarta City in 2019 still needed to correct several problems. First, there was tension between the PDI-P and PPP parties, where conflicts between sympathisers still occurred from the campaign period to the voting. Second, there needed to be a higher voter turnout, around 600,000 of 2.7 million DIY citizens did not exercise their voting rights in the 2019 elections.

Third, fanaticism towards certain ideologies risks increasing the vulnerability of identity politics. The heterogeneous city of Yogyakarta is very vulnerable to identity politics issues that attack certain religions and races. Fourth, determining voter data in the Provisional Voter List or DPS Election defined by the KPU of Yogyakarta City has many problematic data findings. These various problems illustrate the social vulnerability in the 2019 elections in Yogyakarta City. Other forms of electoral malpractice will still colour the dynamics of the upcoming 2024 elections.

This paper uses a social mapping research design, which is a method of collecting data and information, both secondary and primary, to obtain information on geographical, sociocultural, economic, technical, and community institutional conditions and identify community characteristics in certain areas that will be used as target areas for planned programs.

The location of this research is Yogyakarta City, with a research focus on political vulnerability during the previous elections. The research output comprises social and political conflicts during the election period in Yogyakarta City, involving the voting public, election contestants, political parties, government institutions organising elections, and those related to security.

The method used in this research is mixed methods, combining two forms of research: qualitative and quantitative. Diverse research is used simultaneously to obtain more comprehensive, valid, reliable and objective data.

Qualitative data was obtained using an interview method with relevant OPDs, including Bhabinkamtibmas in Yogyakarta City, the National Unity and Political Agency of Yogyakarta City, the Election Supervisory Agency of Yogyakarta City, the General Election Commission of Yogyakarta City, and representatives of political parties contesting the 2019 elections in Yogyakarta City. Meanwhile, quantitative data sources are collected from historical data on legislative and regional election conflicts from various online media from 2004 to 2019. Secondary data sources were also collected from literature studies, books, journals, research, laws and regulations, and additional data from related parties.

The data analysis carried out in this research uses two approaches, namely qualitative and quantitative approaches. According to Miles and Hubermas, qualitative data is obtained from data reduction, display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction is selecting, focusing on simplifying, abstracting and transforming rough data that emerges from written notes in the field.

The reduction process is done continuously throughout the research before the data collection, as contained in the research framework, problem formulation and data collection stages. Data reduction is done with strict selection by summarising and parsing data and classifying it in a broader pattern. The next stage is to analyse the data and test the validity of qualitative data by triangulation, namely comparing data from one source with other sources.

Social vulnerability Approach

a. Social and Politic

Elections are a vital element and rise to social for certain groups of people. Social vulnerability is defined as a situation that can affect the capacity of a person or group to expect, solve, survive and recover from the impact of disaster or conflict. Communities are in a state of vulnerability when faced with events that have the potential to harm them, including conditions of vulnerability caused by conflict during elections.

Social vulnerability is a higher risk and is influenced by certain environmental conditions, social characteristics and demographics. This is like the social character of Yogyakarta City. As an urban area, Yogyakarta City has an environmental character with high mobility, heterogeneous community conditions, and high population density, creating conditions of vulnerability that are relatively higher than in other regions. Conflict or systems that make conditions urgent can cause social vulnerability.

The conditions of vulnerability that people face in electoral situations can influence their political decisions. So that people are limited, independent and intelligent in their choices. Inequalities in society in various ways can lead to increased vulnerability, causing divisions that are easily exploited. Such disparities can result from socio-economic, ethnic, racial or religious differences and a lack of social cohesion and political gaps. As a result, individual

participation and freedom in elections are limited or even lost.

b. Laws and Regulation

The section on considering Law No. 7/2012 on Social Conflict Management explains that feuds or clashes between community groups can lead to social conflicts that can disrupt national stability and hamper national development. Elections as a means of popular sovereignty to elect representatives or leaders of the nation have the highest potential for social vulnerability in Indonesia. Therefore, law enforcement on every election crime is a fundamental need to ensure elections with substance and integrity.

Law No. 7/2012 should safeguard democracy during elections to be sportive, orderly, and safe, to create elections with integrity and to fulfil the basic requirements of democracy. Honest and fair elections can be achieved if legal instruments regulate conducting elections and protect the parties related to elections, including organisers, candidates, voters, observers, and the voting public.

Election infractions committed by election-related parties could violate the distortion of people's sovereignty and injure the integrity of elections. Therefore, law enforcement is needed to maintain people's sovereignty and align with the status of a state of law. For law enforcement to run effectively and ideally, a legal framework and legal compliance are needed; the legal framework cannot run well without legal compliance, which is why the two instruments, both the legal framework and legal compliance, must be in harmony to run in balance to create democratic elections.

Regulations regarding elections are regulated starting from the Constitution, Bawaslu Law, KPU and DKPP as election organisers, and the Law on implementing both legislative elections, presidential elections and regional heads. Several things that have the potential to become problems in the electoral legal framework are related to the definition of the campaign, which has led to multiple interpretations of enforcement between election management institutions, election administration infractions and disputes between election participants that are not detailed, as well as certainty and compliance with written laws and regulations.

c. Public Policy

The primary function of public policy in a state society is to facilitate the realisation of general welfare, peace and security. Public policy relates to regulations made and implemented by the government, with a broad scope covering various sectors and fields, namely education, health, economy, and so on. In the structural scope, public policy can be regional, national and local.

Public policy includes government policies that aim to intervene in a problem. In a negative perspective, the government can take public policy not to be involved or willing to intervene in a problem. Thus, public policy comprises alternative activities taken, plans made, actions to be changed, goals to be achieved, whether for change or maintaining conditions, and actors or parties involved either planning, providing support, or rejecting.

Result and Discussion

Based on research using field observation methods and media analysis from 2004 to 2022, some facts show that social vulnerability has occurred over a long period, causing widespread impacts and involving actors not only from Yogyakarta City. The increasingly vital use of social media has complicated the conditions of vulnerability, causing the community to be divided due to political bias, disinformation and false news.

A. Potential Voters of 2024 Elections

In the 2024 elections, the results of upgrading the Yogyakarta City voter data stated that there were 321,645 eligible voters spread across 1,298 polling stations. This number increased

by 21,765 voters, or 7.26%, from the 2019 elections. The highest number of voters is in Kemantren Umbulharjo, which reaches 18% of all voters in Yogyakarta City, while the highest density is in Kemantren Gedongtengen, which has over 15,700 voters per km2.

B. Analysis of Socio-Political Conflict During the Election

The density of the number of voters in Yogyakarta City might increase social vulnerability, especially with the strategic location of Yogyakarta City as the centre of the economy and government, so the level of mobilisation in and out is relatively high. In addition, the condition of ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity creates its own fanaticism and ideological sentiments in the community. These differences in social identity dominate the causes of security disturbances because of conflicts between community groups of political party sympathisers.

Security is an essential aspect of realising quality elections. However, the threat of security problems continues to cover the implementation of elections in Yogyakarta City. This occurs because elections have been seen as a place for contestation of community power that impacts acts of violence. Socio-political conflicts in the Yogyakarta City area happen in the following forms of tension.

a. Social vulnerability Between Political Parties

1. Campaign Props Conflict

   Campaign props conflicts occurred long ago, before the campaign period, and became the highest trigger of tension and violence in Yogyakarta City. Flags and billboards were installed to show identity and claim an area. This triggered friction between supporters of opposition parties as destruction, forced removal, rejection, and violence.

   The conflict over props as the identity of political parties raises community concerns because it directly impacts the security and comfort of the community. Some communities try to prevent this condition by prohibiting all forms of installation of party identity props in their area, as the Kotagede community does.

2. Black Campaign

   A black campaign is a political practice that triggers an opponent's reputation by spreading fake news or hate speech through social media, primarily through the WhatsApp group application. This condition creates digital vulnerability because of misinformation and tension in the community.

3. Provocation

   Mass crowds during the campaign period are potentially risky because provocation easily influenced crowds such as convoys and are prone to triggering security disturbances. This is because convoys take the form of crowds involving many people who are easily ridden by particular political interests. Street convoys are also prone to acts of provocation because of the use of "blombongan" exhausts aimed at attracting public attention and even mocking other groups, often carrying sharp weapons, thus disturbing comfort and disturbing the community. Convoy actions on the road also violate traffic rules that endanger other road users.

   Other forms of provocation have occurred on polling day, as was the case in Lempuyangan and Kraton during the 2017 local elections. Physical clashes involving supporters of candidates occurred during the recapitulation in the Kemantren Kraton area, as well as supporter conflicts in the Lempuyangan area in the 2009 elections involving PPP and PDIP supporters.

4. Politics of Identity

   Street props and convoys are one of the means of building party-based identity politics, which has proven to be influential in reproducing violence and social vulnerability in Yogyakarta City. Politics is intertwined with interest groups, such as

gangs and parking management groups that are members of community organisations or political party wings.

These groups were massively organised long before the campaign period. In certain moments, such as political figures or the organisation's anniversary, they appear and take action to show their existence and provoke attacks. With a long-term process, the existence of these groups causes the emergence of the Red Party and Green Party bases scattered in Yogyakarta City.

Noor Harsya Aryo Samudro, Bawaslu Commissioner, said, "Political momentum is used to mobilise the masses to build their identity politics through convoys on the streets. The convoy action involves groups of masculine men to carry out attacks. They think that groups with different identities may be intimidated, resulting in violence and criminality."

Violence because of politics of identity seems to be a routine action that accompanies elections with shifting conflict characteristics and has impacted specific political interests, especially since the 2004 elections. Vulnerability occurs in every election. The locations of vulnerability are sporadic, with the most vulnerable locations around the Ngabean car park.

The struggle for territory influences the level of vulnerability, maintaining existence and mobility density. Besides existentialism, people's fanaticism towards a political identity also increases the number of conflicts. The practice of black campaigns covers the electoral process and provocations with narratives that lead to particular identities and make people vulnerable to polarization. The character of voters who have yet to be educated about innovative campaigns causes the public to minimally respond to positive campaign efforts.

b. Social vulnerability of Election Institutions and The State Authorities

The actions of the election organising authority and the state containing authority, caused by unilateral authority without considering wisdom and responsibility, also cause social vulnerability during elections. Infractions during elections can be committed by election institutions, namely the KPU and Bawaslu, as well as by state administrators, namely ASN, TNI and POLRI. Infractions committed by the organising authority are categorised as follows:

1. Procedural Infractions

   Procedural infractions are unseen because of difficulties in proving infractions. Political parties anticipate by tricking the rules and placing the parties in the election organising body. Election committees at the KPPS level were recruited behind closed doors, making getting evidence and taking action following the provisions difficult. *"Infractions related to KPPS recruitment are not by procedures. Officers are only offered behind closed doors."* (RA, Gondokusuman community)

2. Administrative Infractions

   Procedural infractions also occur at the lowest level of election organisers, such as the incompatibility of the KPPS recruitment process according to KPU procedures, where the KPU regulates that the recruitment of election committees is carried out openly and meets the principles of equality and justice. However, the recruitment process is carried out in a closed manner, while the administrative process of registrants is only a formality for reporting. The community considers that the infractions that occur have yet to be resolved by the election organising committee overseeing election infractions, namely Bawaslu. *"Many administrative infractions occur but can be resolved according to their respective levels such as at TPS, PPK, KPU. So far, no reports have been followed up at the Bawaslu level".* (RA, Gondokusuman community).

3. Criminal Offences

The actions of the election committee or the state that uses other people outside political actors cause the difficulty in proving reports and findings related to criminal offences to carry out their political interests. Criminal offences that have been proven to have committed infractions and imposed penalties following the KPU code are related to cases of sexual harassment in the 2019 Elections. Here, the perpetrator of the infraction received a dishonourable dismissal.

Other forms of election criminal offences are related to the neutrality of ASN and other state administrators. In terms of ASN neutrality, there were cases of criminal acts as ASN involvement in covert campaigns at an anniversary of a political party event in Mantrijeron, as well as the actions of an ASN who produced black campaigns and was not neutral in social media activities.

Meanwhile, regarding state officials, there are cases of political money and involvement as a candidate's success team by village officials or lurch. *"The vulnerability will increase in the 2024 elections because the proposed presidential candidate is an alumnus of the state university, there are lecturers with certain positions who become shadow success teams and party commissioners"*. (Noor K Aryo Samudro, Bawaslu Commissioner).

The non-neutrality of ASN and apparatus in the form of disguised campaigns creates discomfort due to the use of power in the area of their position for political interests. This can exacerbate or trigger tensions in the state process, ultimately weakening the legitimacy of the democratic system.

C. Analysis of Election Management System

Vulnerability in implementing elections happens at all stages because each dimension contributes to various conflicts and infractions. So, that vulnerability is found before, during, and after the election. Bawaslu divides potential vulnerability into five (5) sub-dimensions, that are:

a. The Right to Vote

Freedom of choice is the right of every citizen in a democracy and involvement in collectively determining policy direction. However, with many migrants, it becomes a limitation in fulfilling the right to vote. The number of residents who leave Yogyakarta City for study and work is unbalanced compared to the number of students from outside the region who come to Yogyakarta. This will undoubtedly be a significant obstacle.

The results of interviews with related parties show that students' low understanding of voting procedures, mainly carrying out moving voters, causes the everyday use of voting rights by students with KTPs from outside Yogyakarta City. Some districts in Yogyakarta City, known as areas where students from outside the region live, will need help with the low use of voting rights, such as Gondokusuman and Umbulharjo.

Highly complicated procedures trigger the vulnerability of student voting rights for students without-of-region ID cards. The KPU and Bawaslu have attempted to increase voter participation among students but are constrained by the student voters not continuing the administrative process to the Yogyakarta KPU. In the 2019 elections, the KPU took anticipatory steps by organising A5 Corner activities with BEM and student dormitories on 20 campuses. The KPU claims to have facilitated more than 10,000 moving requests.

Another obstacle to increasing student participation is the involvement of universities and schools in facilitating the implementation of unique polling stations in the educational environment. There were only seven (7) proposals that were realised, namely two polling stations on the AKPRIND campus and one polling station each on the LPP Perkebunan campus, UKDW, Ponpes Nurul Ummah and Madrasah Mualimin Muhammadiyah.

Besides student participation, obstacles to the right to vote are related to updating the Permanent Voters List or DPT. Cases include voters who have passed away but are still listed in the DPT in the 2017 regional elections and voters moving domiciles who are still listed in the DPT for the 2019 presidential election.

b. The Campaign Stages

Physical clashes, security disturbances and infractions of the installation of campaign props often characterised the campaigns leading up to. Over the past few years, the campaign period has always been synonymous with motorised convoys with blaring exhausts. The blaring exhaust also provokes groups of sympathisers from opposing political parties. The provocation then led to physical clashes. Physical clashes that are identical to acts of violence and destruction will ultimately cause losses to the surrounding community, both morally and materially. The community does not welcome the election period with joy but is overwhelmed with anxiety about physical conflicts that may occur during the campaign period.

To expect implementing the 2024 General Election campaign, the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia has compiled the latest regulations as General Election Commission Regulation No. 15/2023, which regulates the General Election Campaign. The regulation, especially in Chapter I Article 5, explains that "Election campaigns are public political education carried out responsibly and intended to increase voter participation in elections".

This means that if the election campaign carried out by a political party is contrary to the principle of education, causing security disturbances and making people more reluctant to take part in elections, then such forms of campaign must be avoided.

The campaign methods suggested by the KPU, as stated in CHAPTER IV Article 26, are through methods: limited meetings; face-to-face meetings; distribution of election campaign materials to the public; installation of election campaign props in public places; social media; advertisements in printed mass media, electronic mass media, and online media; public meetings; candidate pair debates on candidate pair election campaign materials; and other activities that do not violate the prohibition of election campaigns and laws and regulations.

Regarding the installation of campaign props, people in several places in Yogyakarta City refused to have their areas fitted with political party banners and flags. This was due to fear, anxiety and trauma from the riots that had occurred during the previous elections. In addition, the rejection results from a resident's agreement to maintain the security of the village order and prevent conflicts between residents. They hope the hot election situation on social media will not spread to the real world.

In the 2004 General Election, several political parties in Yogyakarta filed protests against the Panwaslu because people in several places in Yogyakarta refused to have their areas fitted with political party banners and flags. Some areas in question were Ngampilan, Serangan, and Gayam. The residents refused because the 1999 legislative elections traumatised them. In that year's election, there were riots in several places, and the incident traumatised residents. The rejection was done by installing a banner in RW 1 Serangan that read, "The agreement of Serangan residents in our area is free from political party attributes".

During the 2019 Election campaign, APK installation was rejected in Patehan Village, Kemantren Kraton. There is a banner that reads 'Appeal RW 03 Kel. RW 03 Patehan Village residents signed Patehan Free from Party Attributes. The appeal had been made in the 2014 legislative elections, but it needed to be written as a banner. The aim was to maintain the security of village order and prevent conflicts between residents.

Although the installation of political party attributes is prohibited, abstention is also banned in the village. Residents are encouraged to vote according to their conscience. This shows that the spirit of community participation in Yogyakarta City during the election period is quite good; they want to be united by the

political interests of certain groups that do not directly impact their lives.

In response to the APK installation conflict above, the KPU needs to facilitate the decision on the APK installation location. KPU facilitation related to the determination of the APK installation location has been regulated by KPU Regulation No. 15/2023 CHAPTER IV Article 36, which states that the installation location of the Election APK must be installed in a location that is not prohibited by this Commission Regulation and related laws and regulations.

After the regulation on the determination of APK installation locations, it is also necessary to take action against firm infractions and without favouritism from the relevant authorities so as not to cause other problems in the future. In 2023, a draft Mayor's Regulation of Yogyakarta City is being formulated to regulate the control and installation of APKs in Yogyakarta. This regulation is expected to reduce the potential for conflict in the community and provide space for campaigns by installing APKs.

Campaigns are the most conflict-prone stages of elections. As a crucial stage and the primary momentum to gain the most significant support, it is natural that political contestation and friction reach the highest escalation point. The relatively short open campaign period amid intense competition for seats and the need for parties to maintain their existence. Naturally, the campaign period often triggers conflicts over the mass of voters. Both candidates and parties use various methods to gain sympathy and support, even though these methods should violate the rules, commit malpractice, and manipulate the rules and campaign process. The forms of infractions found during the campaign period are:

1. Props Infractions

    The installation of props is still the dominant infraction during the campaign in Yogyakarta City. The dominance of props influences this as campaign media by almost all political parties and candidates. During the 2019 election campaign, up to 15,000 infractions were recorded, mainly as flags and banners. The existence of these props violated Perwal No. 55/2018 concerning the Installation of Campaign Props and the Distribution of 2019 General Election Campaign Materials.

    Infractions during this stage are that political parties participating in the election do not have permission or exceed the installation time limit. Ahead of the 2024 General Election, where candidates still need to be determined, political parties and candidates install attributes in advertisements that violate campaign regulations. Bawaslu considers that the absence of a legal umbrella as KPU Regulations governing the installation of attributes makes this action not yet an infraction. Meanwhile, the KPU considers installing characteristics as socialisation to increase public political participation. So, the supervising and enforcement attributes can only be carried out by Satpol PP based on local billboard regulations.

2. Money Politic

    The practice of money politics has been found, but proving the offence is challenging. Kesbangpol said that the findings of money politics cases had been reported in the 2019 elections. Still, Bawaslu assessed this as not a campaign infraction because the perpetrators were identified as not political actors.

    Proving money politics is relatively tricky, although the parties' sources taking part in the election confirmed this. Political parties or candidates use networks or communities of female voters so that it runs smoothly in the voting community. This is done to avoid reports of election infractions that could damage the image of the party or candidate concerned.

3. Open Campaigns

    The open campaign is a stage that is very vulnerable to election security. Frequent infractions of campaign rules include vehicle convoys that disrupt road users and trigger chaos in the community through mass actions.

The subsequent risk of vulnerability during the open campaign period is the use of alcohol, which leads to aggressive behaviour and party fanaticism. Another open campaign problem is that there are still minors who take part in campaign activities; the involvement of children in open campaign activities adds to the precarious conflict in implementing honest campaigns.

4. The limited (close-door) meetings

The limited (close-door) meeting is another strategy for political parties to steal the start of the campaign. The practice is an infraction because it involves black campaigns and contains provocations such as image politics and the use of religious issues or identity politics. For political parties, limited meetings are part of regenerating voters and increasing internal party resilience through closed and confidential meetings.

c. The Stage of Collecting Vote

There was relatively no precariousity at the voting stage, before, during or after voting. Allegations of money politics or dawn attacks during the calm period are difficult to prove, so they can be charged with criminal articles because the perpetrators are not election subjects with minimal evidence.

Mutual suspicion is a standard colour of vulnerability in the vote-counting process, so witnesses from political parties are often dissatisfied and protest the results of vote counting. Bhabinkamtibmas Ngampilan Police said, *"Many witnesses feel dissatisfied, so they look for tactics (profitable)."* This caused the counting process to be longer and more energy-intensive.

d. Adjudication and Objections

Social vulnerability as adjudication often occurs in elections, caused by claims of dissatisfaction with the results of vote counting. Objections from witnesses of election participants colour the attitude of adjudication so that they are not willing to sign the election results.

Adjudication and objections always occur in every election and at all levels of calculation, including TPS, PPS, and PPK. The most fierce election dispute happened in the regional election in the mayoral election in 2017, where the dispute resolution took place up to the Constitutional Court level; Frenky Argitawan Mahendra, KPU Yogyakarta City, conveyed this.

e. The Surveillance of Election Conflict

The vulnerability in the supervision of elections in Yogyakarta City is related to the administrative procedures for implementing elections and tensions between political groups. Changes in election rules from time to time, causing officers and voters to continue to adjust, especially with the number of contestants who are always many with valid votes that change, become a source of difficulty in organising elections and create new vulnerability.

The limitation of human resources for supervision is a further problem amidst the growing complexity of election vulnerability. The use of digital technology is proper as a monitoring tool and a potential vulnerability with the use of gadgets to produce hate speech, black campaigns and identity politics; for political elites who have power, digital media and social media make it easier to build a self-image while bringing down political opponents by utilising buzzers and other powerful elements.

As for political parties, supervision in the digital era is getting weaker because political interests are easier to control and control. The election management body, which should be neutral and impartial, can cause the principle of fairness in elections to fail. In terms of community involvement, the complicated reporting process makes it difficult for people to take part actively in the election monitoring process.

f. Root Causes of Electoral Vulnerability

The problem of conflict and electoral vulnerability in the city of Yogyakarta is unique and permanent. The tension that arises stems from the long-standing conflict between the

red and green bases, which persists in every election. During the New Order, thugs in Yogyakarta collaborated and worked together with political forces. Political forces that employ thugs are known for their ability to use violence to suppress political opponents and to garner votes during elections. PPP and PDI use their party troops to secure and deal with the violence they face, which originates from wild youth organizations that existed after the Petrus incident, namely Joxzin and Qizruh (Ibrahim, 2024). This conflict, a legacy of the New Order, has become latent and difficult to resolve. Consciously, pro-violence masculine groups continue to reproduce this conflict through the cadreship of new children to produce a narrative of identity politics that culminates in red versus green hostility.

The main root of the problem stems from ideological differences and friction over economic interests, especially control of parking lots, terminals and others. These informal communities and groups are affiliated and sheltered under political parties to get an umbrella of protection to guarantee the existence of economic activities. Therefore, they are militant in providing defence, especially during the election period, with the interest of controlling territory and excessive fanaticism during the election (*Sumaryanto, Wirobrajan Police, July 31, 2023*).

Party elites have made efforts to resolve vulnerability because of friction between sympathisers. They coordinate each laskar to be disciplined with the party organisations (*PDIP-P and PPP elites, August 2, 2023*). Conflict resolution is generally achieved through peaceful means and communication between elites. However, this method is unable to reduce and eliminate conflicts. Conflicts of friction between sympathisers will continue to recur due to hidden grudges.

Over the conflict, election organisers have a different view. Bawaslu considers the need to include the conflict as a criminal offence with punitive consequences, not just mediation (*N.H.A. Samudro, Bawaslu Commissioner, July 23, 2023*). On the other hand, the KPU believes in the positive impact of fanaticism that leads to sympathiser strife, a form of expression that can increase voter participation and attention. Conflict is considered a competition that can encourage voters to exercise their right to vote (*F.A. Mahendra, KPU Commissioner of Yogyakarta City, July 31, 2023*).

D. Analysis of Election Contestation

Vulnerability in the contestation dimension relates to the right of candidates to be elected and campaign, which involves vertical and horizontal competition. Although known as a region that has diverse backgrounds and social identities, with potential communities, groups and community organisations, this has yet to become a lever for conflict during elections. Voters are relatively open to differences in gender, ethnicity, tribe, religion or race. The people of Yogyakarta City are mid-minded, making candidate performance a benchmark for choice in election contestation.

With the development of social media, the potential for contestation vulnerability is increasing. Friction and conflict between voters become more vulnerable with the uptake of information on campaign materials that disrupt order and with the highest level of social media vulnerability compared to other periods of security and even violate campaign regulations. The election period is the period with the highest level of social media vulnerability compared to periods other than the election period. The ease of production and freedom in disseminating campaign materials has made the practice of black campaigns, hoaxes and identity politics easier to find as attack against political opponents.

When the election is over, the elites are not responsible for building reconciliation at the grassroots, so the election conflict continues until the election is over. Meanwhile, official party accounts registered with the KPU and candidates are passive in making wise campaigns. As a result, manipulating campaign materials as misinformation, hoaxes, and hate speech becomes an unbroken cycle.

An example of the vulnerability of contestation through social media is the hoax news in the 2019 elections about non-ID card

voters of Yogyakarta City who were allowed to vote without moving voters. This led to the decision to re-vote in 4 kemantren and five polling stations (Karim, 2019).

In responding to social media vulnerability, law enforcement officials have made various conflict mitigation efforts because conflicts that originate from social media continue to occur repeatedly. The protection of perpetrators by political elites makes efforts to break the conflict even more difficult. Public awareness and understanding are the keywords so that people are not easily provoked and are more selective in receiving provocative information. In areas prone to conflict and friction, a ban on the installation of props is compelling enough to prevent disputes because of differences in identity and ideology (Hadi, 2019).

E. Analysis of Electoral Participation

Public participation is the most critical part of democracy. Without exception, every citizen, including vulnerable groups who have met the requirements, may participate freely and relatively in elections. Despite high vulnerability in several dimensions, voter turnout remained the same. In the 2019 elections, the turnout rate reached 81-83%, higher than the target of 77%. This figure places Yogyakarta City as the region with the highest participation rate in DIY.

The KPU and Bawaslu assessed that this was inseparable from efforts to strengthen the electoral capacity of vulnerable groups through active socialisation as face-to-face and social media. KPU Regulation No. 9/2019 on Voter Participation defines vulnerable groups into 8 (eight) groups: beginner voters, young voters, women voters, voters with disabilities, marginalised groups, communities, religious groups, internet citizens or netizens.

In implementing the 2019 elections, the DIY disability participation rate reached 53% of 1,600 voters with disabilities. People with physical disabilities became the disability group with the highest participation, reaching 20%. The organising committee tried to use various methods to increase voter participation.

Regarding socialisation to voters, Bawaslu formed a democratic disability community to assist and facilitate people with disabilities, especially hearing disabilities, to be more actively involved in elections. Election organisers at polling stations also provide ball pick-up facilities, assistants, and special queues to help people with disabilities exercise their voting rights comfortably and reasonably.

However, disability participation has not been maximised due to limited access to information and disability-friendly facilities. Election organisers have not provided sign language explanations for people who are hard of hearing, let alone details in the form of audio for the visually impaired, nor has the dissemination of information through social media been massive. So, the participation rate of blind and visually impaired people is the lowest disability compared to other disabilities, which is 10%.

Women's participation and representation are other aspects of participation vulnerability that affect the quality of democracy in every election. The election records show that each electoral district reaches 30-60% regarding women's representation. KPU seeks to increase women's attention and understanding of elections with the Democracy Volunteer programmes. Another breakthrough is the KPU's effort to socialise elections for female sex workers routinely.

Another marginal group that has to be a concern to election committees is voters restricted in their mobility in hospitals or detention centres. Under these conditions, the organisers try to provide unique polling stations to accommodate the use of voting rights for residents of Wirogunan Prison and various hospitals in Yogyakarta City.

F. Social Conflict in the 2004-2022 Elections

a. Inventory of Election Vulnerability in the Media

Social vulnerability during elections, whether legislative, presidential or regional, is also

recorded through mass media coverage that is openly accessible to the public. The results of mass media documentation of conflicts in the 2004 elections show two incidents in March 2004 or one month before the voting stage. Both conflicts showed the same pattern. Red or green sympathisers carried out the disputes after mass gathering activities or open campaigns. They caused people who were not involved in available campaigns to become victims of violence.

Vulnerability in the 2006 elections was caused by the devastating earthquake of 26 May 2006 that devastated Yogyakarta, forcing both organisers and contestants to postpone the local elections. In the 2009 elections, the vulnerability recorded by the mass media was related to the control and destruction of props involving party sympathisers and money politics by candidates. These conflicts occurred from 2008 to 2009. In August 2008, conflicts occurred during the curbing of campaign props by Satpol PP, which party sympathisers resisted.

The vulnerability in the 2014 elections was many and varied. There were conflicts caused by infractions of the campaign schedule and vote counting. In terms of campaign schedule infractions, there was an infraction of the campaign schedule and money politics by a candidate from the Hanura party, Yudi Irawanto, who distributed instant noodle packages along with the candidate's identity at a gymnastics event. The activity was outside the Hanura campaign schedule set by the KPU.

A new form of conflict in the 2014 elections occurred during the vote count where party witnesses found differences in the number of DPT, valid and invalid votes by 118 votes, as well as differences in the calculation results on the C1 form, C1 plano and DA-1 dorm at polling stations in Rejowinangun. Meanwhile, at several polling stations in Umbulharjo, one was unwilling to open and display the C1-Plano, thus violating the KPU Regulation No. 27/2013 provisions and limiting the opportunity to correct the C1-Plano.

Social vulnerability in the 2017 regional elections differed from conflicts in other

legislative, presidential, and regional elections. The internal strife of the PPP party that broke out at the central leadership level, which affected the provincial leadership caused the conflict, including Yogyakarta City (Kamil, 2017).

Conflicts in the 2019 elections were more coloured by violent conflicts or clashes of sympathisers between one party, sympathisers of one party with other parties, and party sympathisers with the community and the authorities. Besides sympathiser violence, conflicts over election administration became more prominent. In the 2019 elections, the Yogyakarta City Panwaslu found 1,251 DPS or temporary voter data determined by the KPU to be problematic, thus asking the KPU to make improvements (Ratna, 2018). Double voter data became the most challenging, up to 1,019 or 81%. Other complex data include 103 deceased voters (8%), 65 ineligible voters (5%), and 49 unidentified voters (3%).

No.	The Type of Elections	Year	Frequencies'
1	Legislative Elections and Presidential Elections	2004	2
2	Regional Elections	2006	2
3	Legislative Elections and Presidential Elections	2008-2009	4
4	Legislative Elections and Presidential Elections	2014	9
5	Regional Elections	2016-2017	2
6	General Elections	2018-2019	7

Recapitulation of Vulnerability Data Per Election from Mass Media

In the last election, namely the 2019 election, Bawaslu said that internal and external factors influenced conflicts during implementing the election. In terms of internal factors, the limited human resources of the Panwas are not proportional to the number of voters and the number of scheduled campaigns that are the

object of supervision, besides obstacles related to understanding the regulations of election organisers, especially TPS supervisors and Kelurahan Panwas.

The external challenge of the 2019 elections is the increasingly massive use of social media in the community, which still needs to be resolved; during the campaign period, social media was used more widely to disseminate hoaxes, but it was challenging to prosecute as a campaign infraction.

b.   Identification of IKP Dimensions

Regarding mapping IKP with socio-politics dimensions, election administration, contestation and participation compiled by Bawaslu, media analysis can identify IKP in Yogyakarta City during the 2004-2022 elections.

The results of the socio-political dimension show that clashes between sympathisers are still the most dominant form of conflict and even increase and expand, involving the community and even the authorities, resulting in injuries to community members and destruction of party facilities and community property. Destruction by sympathisers also occurred on props belonging to other candidates.

These forms of socio-political conflict place several locations in Yogyakarta City as conflict-prone areas, especially the Ngabean parking terminal intersection. Three districts with high vulnerability are Gedongtengen, Jetis, and Wirobrajan. Horizontal conflicts are conflicts triggered by fanatical voters, not rational voters. Conflicts in the electoral administration dimension include postponed regional elections due to the earthquake in 2006. Other conflicts in the administration of elections include election disputes triggered by DPT problems in the 2014 and 2019 elections, invalid votes in the 2014 and 2017 regional elections, and voting fraud that resulted in repetition of the voting and vote counting stages. In the contestation dimension, the conflict that arises is the postponement of regional elections caused by the lack of candidate pairs registering, namely, only 1 (one) pair.

Other conflicts that almost always occur in every election are infractions of props by parties and candidates, including unauthorised installation and installation that does not comply with regulations. Money politics was also a type of conflict recorded by the mass media in the 2004 and 2009 elections, although it is likely that the practices not publicised through the mass media were more covert. Another form of conflict relates to infractions of the campaign schedule, where candidates campaign in community activities before the campaign schedule begins. PPP's internal conflict also affected the dimension of contestation. Some PPP sympathisers shifted their votes to other parties, thus reducing the amount of support for the PPP. The conflict caused PPP's political wings to make different choices or be passive to the political policies of PPP's central leadership.

NO.	DIMENSIONS OF IKP	THE TYPE OF SOCIAL CONFLICT
1	Socio-political context	a. Clashes with sympathisers, the community, or even authorities b. Destructions of props c. Destruction of public facilities, communities, and other parties d. Conflict-prone areas in several regions
2	The elections implementation	a. Postponement of election due to earthquake b. DPT dispute c. Invalid vote dispute d. Re-voting or recount e. Delay or exceed the collection deadline
3	Contestation	a. local election postponement due to single candidate b. Money Politics c. Infractions of Props d. Internal party conflict lowering the vote e. Claims of support between regional election candidates f. Infractions of campaign schedule
4	Participation	-

Table Identification of IKP Election Dimensions of Yogyakarta City

G.   Conflict Mapping for the 2019 Elections

a.   Indicators of Social vulnerability Mapping

The mapping of the level of social vulnerability in the 2004-2022 Yogyakarta City Elections

refers to the data processing results of Bawaslu's IKP dimensions. Each dimension has a different weight according to its influence on the level of election vulnerability. The dimension of the socio-political context weights 40%, election administration weights 25%, contestation weights 20%, and participation weights 15%.

No.	Dimension	Weight	Score
1	Socio-political context	40%	4.8
2	The elections implementation	25%	3.0
3	Contestation	20%	2.4
4	Participation	15%	1.8

Table of Election Vulnerability Assessment Scale

b. The Mapping of Election Vulnerability

The tabulation results of the final vulnerability mapping scores for each kelurahan show that the villages with high vulnerability classifications in the 2004-2009 elections were Notoprajan and Warungboto, while the other 43 villages had moderate levels of social vulnerability. These two wards' increased vulnerability classification status was mainly because of the high frequency of clashes between sympathisers at classic points within the two wards. The Ngabean intersection, which has become a tangent point for clashes between PDIP and PPP sympathisers on every occasion of open campaigns, makes it the conflict area with the highest frequency in Yogyakarta City. This places Notoprajan as the most vulnerable urban village in Yogyakarta City, with a score of 5.7. Meanwhile, Warungboto received a high score of 5.1 through the presence of Jl Veteran as another location for classic clashes between PDIP and PPP sympathisers.

H. The Mapping of Vulnerability Based on Election Stages

Social vulnerability occurs at all stages of the election. Elections are held in 3 (three) stages: before, on voting day, and after voting. Each stage has the potential for conflict that can disrupt the democratic process. Based on the history of conflicts in the 2004-2019 elections, several conflicts coloured the election stages as follows

Pre-Voting	The Elections Day	Post-Voting
1. Open election campaign with convoy 2. Provocation 3. Identity politics 4. APK infractions 5. Anonymity and buzzers on social media 6. Dueling debates on social media 7. Black campaign 8. Procedural and administrative infractions from committee 9. Implementation of ASN neutrality 10. Money politic 11. Campaign refusal and election participants	1. The issue of moving to vote 2. Spreading of hoax information 3. Objections to vote results by witnesses 4. Intimacy of witnesses 5. "Serangan Fajar" (vote buying) 6. Lack of human resources on management and surveillance 7. The participation of marginalized group	1. Election success lawsuit 2. Vote-buying at subdistricts level 3. Street clashes over election result objections 4. Lack of woman representatives in government institutions 5. Provocations of vote results 6. Vote results error and sabotage

The Table of Social vulnerability Potential in the 2024 Election Stages

The potential vulnerability caused by electoral social conflict is most prevalent at the stage before polling day. This stage being used as a campaign period to gain constituents causes this situation. Candidates and political parties compete for the number of votes. This makes them find more ways to secure support.

The vulnerability situation in the next stage decreases. This is because fewer activities involve many people after the campaign period. Large mass mobilisations in open spaces are prone to engage in political expression, leading to conflict. Thus, conflict handling on and after polling days is more easily conditioned.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the discussion in the previous chapter, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The potential voters of Yogyakarta City were 321,645, an increase of 7.26% from the 2019 Election, spread over 1,298 polling stations. The highest number of voters in Kemantren Umbulharjo is 18%, and the highest density of Kemantren Gedongtengen is 15,700 voters per km^2 political parties can cause.

2. In terms of the dimension of socio-political vulnerability or by state administrators.
   a. vulnerability between political parties includes conflicts over the destruction of props, acts of violence against sympathisers of other parties, black campaigns through social media, and acts of provocation leading to clashes between sympathisers and identity politics as red and green political bases.
   b. Election vulnerability by the election management authority and the state includes the placement of party resources in election management institutions such as the recruitment of KPPS, which is closed with a mere formality registration system, as well as the involvement of ASN in covert campaign actions and the production of black campaigns.

3. In terms of the dimensions of the election organiser about:
   a. Voting rights vulnerability is influenced by the use of voting rights by migrants, especially students, which is low because of complicated voter transfer provisions.
   b. Vulnerability in the campaign stage includes infractions and competition in the installation of props, money politics that are difficult to prove, convoys of vehicles leading to clashes between sympathisers during the open campaign period, as well as

the use of limited meetings to steal the start and identity politics.
   c. Vulnerability in the voting stage relates to the repetition of voting or voting counting.
   d. Adjudication and objection vulnerability related to claims of dissatisfaction with the vote count results so that party witnesses are unwilling to sign the election results.
   e. Election supervision vulnerability include the ever-changing election administration procedures that become a significant obstacle to elections and cause new vulnerability.
   f. The primary source of electoral vulnerability in Yogyakarta City comes from ideological differences and friction over economic interests, especially control of parking lots where the group is affiliated and under a political party, so the group is militant and excessive during the election.

4. Regarding electoral contestation, vulnerability in prohibitions on the installation and destruction of props, veiled provocation on religious grounds from religious leaders, and friction of campaign materials on social media. Public awareness and understanding are the keywords so that people are not easily provoked and are more selective in receiving provocative information.

5. Regarding voter participation, the turnout rate in the 2019 elections reached 81-83%, higher than the target of 77%.
   a. The participation rate of vulnerable groups is still low, such as the participation of groups with disabilities, which only reached 53%, with the lowest participation rate coming from people with visual disabilities, which only got 11%.
   b. The election organiser's efforts to increase participation with a ball pick-up policy for the physically disabled, the formation of Democracy

Volunteers to increase women's representation and unique polling stations in hospitals and Wirogunan prison.

6. Inventory of mass media election vulnerability

   a. Coloured by conflicts in the form of violence between sympathisers, which is the highest type of vulnerability, conflicts over props, money politics, conflicts over props, internal party conflicts, DPT conflicts and other election fraud.

   b. Based on the geographical distribution of conflicts, most were in Notoprajan and Rejowinangun villages, with 12 incidents, and the average number of incidents per village was 9.

7. The identification of the dimensions of IKP Kota Yogyakarta comprises the following forms:

   a. The socio-political dimension includes clashes between sympathisers and the community and authorities; destruction of props; destruction of public facilities, communities, and other parties; and conflict-prone areas in several regions.

   b. The electoral administration dimension included postponed elections because of earthquakes, DPT disputes and invalid votes, disputes over re-voting or vote counting, and voting delays or exceeding time limits.

   c. The dimension of electoral contestation includes postponing regional elections because of only one pair of candidates, infractions of props and campaign schedules, money politics, internal party conflicts to reduce votes, and claims of support between regional candidates.

8. The election vulnerability mapping shows the following data:

   a. Notoprajan and Warungboto are the two most vulnerable neighbourhoods, with scores of 5.7 and 5.1, respectively.

The high scores of Notoprajan and Warungboto are influenced by the clashes of sympathisers at the intersection of Ngabean and Jl Veteran.

   b. The other 43 neighbourhoods scored moderate levels of social vulnerability.

In overcoming social vulnerability in elections, especially in the face of the 2024 elections, a holistic and collaborative approach is needed by involving various parties, where each party has a role to play:

1. The Government of Yogyakarta City

   a. The Legal Section of the Yogyakarta City Secretariat needs to immediately issue a Mayor's Regulation on Guidelines for the Installation of Campaign Props.

   b. The National Unity and Political Affairs Agency of Yogyakarta City should intensify socialisation among the people of Yogyakarta City regarding implementing the 2024 General Election.

   c. The Satpol PP Office encourages community participation in vulnerability identification efforts through the Jaga Warga forum formed in every RW in Yogyakarta City.

2. Elections Committee

   a. KPU and Bawaslu socialise the stages of election implementation and campaigning for safe and peaceful elections on a massive scale, especially in community forums.

   b. KPU and Bawaslu routinely organise discussions involving existing political stakeholders to expect vulnerability in each election stage.

   c. KPU and Bawaslu need to increase information and complaint service channels and respond to any information and complaints submitted by the community.

3. Security Apparatus

   a. Prepare sufficient security personnel to expect social vulnerability involving security elements in the community.

   b. Conducting routine socialisation related to potential security disturbances in each stage of the elections, especially in areas identified as potentially vulnerable.

   c. Prioritise humanistic, preventive, and persuasive approaches and take a firm stance in handling social disturbances and conflicts.

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