

## **POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF POSO PEOPLE IN ELECTIONS POST-SOCIAL CONFLICT IN POSO DISTRICT**

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### **Abstract**

In Poso Regency, research activities were carried out by conducting in-depth interviews with actors who indicated radicalism in the Poso Coastal area. This study, apart from conducting in-depth interviews with informants and distributing questionnaires to 50 essential actors in the spread of radicalism. It is for combining data and information to get accurate data. To test the information and data collected through in-depth interviews and distribution questionnaires, was done Focus Group Discussion (FGD) at the Natuna Hotel, Poso Regency, on July 6 2018, attended by 40 participants from various social statuses, religions and classes. Methodologically, the researcher seeks to be more neutral and independent and is not influenced by the psychology of religious and ethnic similarities. This is the researcher's endeavor because Poso is an area that has experienced a human tragedy and social conflict with religious nuances. This research report is a general illustration that the people's political behaviour towards Pancasila ideology is an alternative "fixed price" for the people of Poso in maintaining the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Pancasila values are the basis of values of high peace-loving Poso people to strengthen the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation. Values High the Poso people as local wisdom called "Sintuwu Maroso", united and strong to establish harmony and tolerance.

**Keywords:** Ideology, Pancasila, Radicalism, Political Integration

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Post-social conflict nuanced religion in Poso Regency, until now, public opinion on a local and national scale continues to roll wildly that Poso is a nest place-terrorism. Most people are radical and intolerant of non-Muslims. An opposing view became consumed by the international community that an East Indonesia Mujahidin group led by Santoso affiliated with the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) entrenched in Poso. The opinion was then increasingly organized neatly with the emergence of the Tinombala Operation, which was carried out by the Indonesian Police and involved the TNI as BKO. The Tinombala operation has so far been extended to hunt down the remains of Santoso's men who were shot dead a year ago. In this context, it is, of course, an assumption that the Poso people, in general, are anti-Pancasila ideology because Pancasila indoctrinates Indonesian citizens to increase solidarity among fellow creatures of God Almighty, increase the sense of unity and integrity of the nation, respect ethnic, religious and cultural differences (Kebhinekaan Tunggal Ika), anti-social, cultural, economic, legal and political discrimination, and upholding social justice for all Indonesian people.

Since the Malino I peace declaration in 2001 in Makassar, initiated by Muh Yusuf Kalla, whom both Muslim and Christian leaders attended, said the communal conflict had ended. Even though there were still sporadic bomb attacks during the time interval from 2002 to 2007. In mid-July 2018, Operation Tinombala was extended to hunt down the remains of Santoso's men, around seven people. This negative opinion is not entirely true because the people of Poso have interacted with each other since before the social conflict between Muslims and Christians. They are neighbors and even share the same house. Humanitarian solidarity and tolerance between Muslims and Christians are perfect; they live side by side to build a family system. These social conditions are maintained and fostered because they are bound by the values and norms of local wisdom, called "Sintuwu Maroso". Cultural values of the people in Poso Indeed know no conflict because it upholds the values of peace based on local wisdom(local wisdom) Sintuwu Maroso. Sintuwu maroso traditional values contains three primary meanings, namely: 1) Living with mutual respect (to grow tuwu mombetuwunaka); 2) Life is mutually reinforcing (tuwu mombepatuwu), and 3) Life helps each other (I grew up). Sintuwu Maroso's philosophy is that sintuwu Maroso is fellowship, unity, and simplicity. Then, Move on to the meaning powerfully. Sintuwu Maroso is a strong community of life where the community's life is colored by harmony and tolerance. Sintuwu Maroso meaning as a strong spirit of cooperation or mutual aid.

The essential values contained in local wisdom sintuwu maroso integrated into the values and Norms of the Pancasila Ideology that the people of Poso are a society that upholds a sense of unity and integrity of a peace-loving nation. Therefore, the social conflicts between 1998 and 2000 with large anarchist scales were triggered. The root of the problem was the struggle for the position of district head and the position of regional secretary between the Muslim elite and the Christian elite. The conflict of political interests between the political elite and local government has shifted to the issue of religious conflict. Pancasila ideology is an alternative to building and strengthening political consolidation and local government in Poso District. Political consolidation is indicated by respecting the results of the direct election of Poso's regent and deputy regent, who often have regents from the Christian side and Muslim parties as deputy regents during the three election periods in Poso since 2005, 2010 and 2015. The Poso people accept this political reality as a democratic process.

The people's political behavior in Poso Regency after the social conflict with religious nuances resulted in the birth of community groups with radical views (radicalism) and intolerance of a particular group. The community group is Islamic with a rigid wing (intolerance). One of them is the terrorist group led by Santoso. Until now, the Police and TNI in the Tinombala operation continue to hunt down Santoso's remaining followers. The existence of religious organizations that do not place Pancasila as basically. Furthermore, including youth groups who have experienced a narrow understanding of Islam indoctrination so, many youths in Poso Regency are trapped by radicalism and intolerance against adherents of Christianity. This community group is located in coastal Poso, which experienced past social conflict.

The population of Muslim and Christian Poso districts is relatively even. Traumatic social conflict in 2000, people are still feeling its impact. Therefore, political behaviour in this study

places Pancasila as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as a source of law and the way of life of the Indonesian people in the state, nation and society as political integration. From the perspective of Pancasila as the state ideology Republic Indonesia, citizens should obey and comply with the 1945 Constitution and Bhineka Tunggal Ika. This research also found that local wisdom Poso people called "Sintuwu Maroso", which indicates that the Poso people love peace and always maintain a sense of unity and integrity as children of the nation. Moral and cultural ties "Sintuwu Maroso", that society tolerates religious and cultural differences and social stratification. The human tragedy in the past was a social upheaval with a political dimension (a struggle for power and position) which was then overlaid by "outsiders".

Local wisdom, "Sintowu Maroso", became the moral basis for the political behavior of the Poso people in participating in the regional election process (regents and bureaucratic positions). Handling Local Wisdom Sintuwu Maroso became a moral principle in politics in celebrating the General Election of Direct Regional Heads for three periods which took place safely and peacefully. The juxtaposition of the two political figures between the Christian elite and the Islamic elite is a portrait of the representation of the Poso population, who are predominantly Christian and Muslim. This difference later becomes the implementation of Pancasila ideology in the nation, State and society. Pancasila ideology is an alternative ideology of "fixed price" for the people of Poso in the life of the nation, State and society after the social conflict 20 years ago.

Based on the description of the background above, the problems of this research are as follows:

1. How is the political behaviour of the people of the Poso Regency towards the ideology of Pancasila?
2. What is the attitude and response of the people of the Poso Regency to the ideology of Pancasila as a means of unifying the nation?

The specific objectives of this research are:

1. To find out the political behaviour of the people of Poso Regency towards the ideology of Pancasila, then formulate the attitude and response of the people to the ideology of Pancasila as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia, which is a unifier of the nation.
2. To do workshop socialization and political education for the community related to applying Pancasila values in the nation, State and society in strengthening the nationalism of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.
3. To form a community group that upholds the nation's pillars which will later become a coach and trainer who conducts training on defending the State based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The coaches and trainers of the Pancasila Ideology National Insight (PTWK/IP) coordinate and synchronize the work program of the Presidential Working Unit for the Development of Pancasila Ideology (UKP/PIP) in Jakarta.

The special benefits of this research are:

1. Through the Builder and Trainer, National Vision (PTWK/IP) can contain deployment understanding of radicalism and intolerance in the people of Poso Regency.
2. PTWK/IP can cooperate with religious organizations, political parties and local governments to implement Pancasila values in the nation, state and society in Poso Regency and the surrounding areas.
3. For researchers, it is expected to be a reference and reference in the subsequent relevant research and studies.

### **Urgency of Research**

Lately, there has been a phenomenon of terrorism globally and domestically overgrowing through social media. Information media have a speedy influence in changing the political attitudes and behaviour of some citizens towards the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the erosion of political behaviour towards the values of Pancasila in every citizen is very worrying.

In Poso District, mass organizations were born that have not been based in Pancasila after the social conflict. Relatively many people, including the younger generation, need to memorize Pancasila. Of course, the values of Pancasila in everyday life are not materialized. Therefore, the urgency of this research is that it is hoped that the ideological values of Pancasila can be internalized and implemented in the life of society, state and nation. Instilling Pancasila values in every citizen of our country will create a strong and sturdy nation.

In Poso District, the Tinombala operation is still ongoing to hunt down and stem the proliferation of new cell terrorism. Therefore, methodologically, the results of this research with its stages are expected to change people's political attitudes and behaviour towards Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which further enhance national nationalism.

The potential for social disintegration of the Poso people due to: First, historical trauma, the order of radicalism values, the understanding of radicalism, and the understanding of exaggerated religious values. Therefore, political education in maintaining and upholding Pancasila as the ideology of the nation and state requires a revolutionary movement in Poso Regency in our current national political condition and situation. The socialization of Pancasila values and the three pillars of nationality is an urgent priority in Poso Regency today. Therefore, with this research, society's attitudes and responses towards the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia are based on Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945. Thus, the research results will be carried out in various actions (action plans) to instill the values of the four pillars of nationality, state and society.

## **2. RESEARCH METHODS**

### **2.1 Research Objects and Locations**

In this research that becomes object the study is the political behaviour of the Poso people towards Pancasila ideology, especially Islamic groups, which are seen as radical and intolerant. The location of this research is Poso Regency. Poso District met and interviewed community leaders in Tamanjeka Village and the Poso Pesisir Utara sub-district location. In Poso Pesisir Utara, the character of the people is relatively radical. In North Coast Poso, there is the village of Tambarana, whose people are diverse in religions, ethnicities and cultures, which will become the "Pancasila Village", according to this research.

### **2.2 Research Approach**

This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach. Researcher Interviewed former Islamic figures, terrorists and communities that have experienced a social conflict that shaped their character and identity and became radical and vengeful towards Christian groups involved in the social conflicts of 1998 and 2000.

### **2.3 Method of collecting data**

This research carried out the steps in collecting data by using observation techniques, interviews, and searching for complementary materials from the document data obtained.

#### **2.3.1 Observation**

The role of the researcher is directly involved in interacting with the research object. Interpreting data naturally without any social engineering is to maintain the purity of data and facts in the field.

#### **2.3.2 Interview and Document Study**

At the research location, the researcher carried out a series of primary data collection activities:

- a. A series of in-depth, open and dynamic interviews with various sources and informants, which have previously been identified and considered criteria: providing quality and objective information, being neutral and not having the interests of the two community groups, namely the Muslim and Christian communities.
- b. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is to collect data and opinions from the public, mass organizations, political parties, religious leaders and the younger generation community. The FGD was conducted in Poso on July 6 2018 and was attended by 40 people from various religions, cultures and groups.
- c. Document tracking and historical data (documentary research) help researchers build arguments and initial concepts. Data tracking was carried out at Kesbangpol Poso. Islamic organizations have either been or have not been involved in social conflict with religion in Poso in 1998 and 2000, which led to the Malino Declaration.

### 2.3.3 Sources and Informants

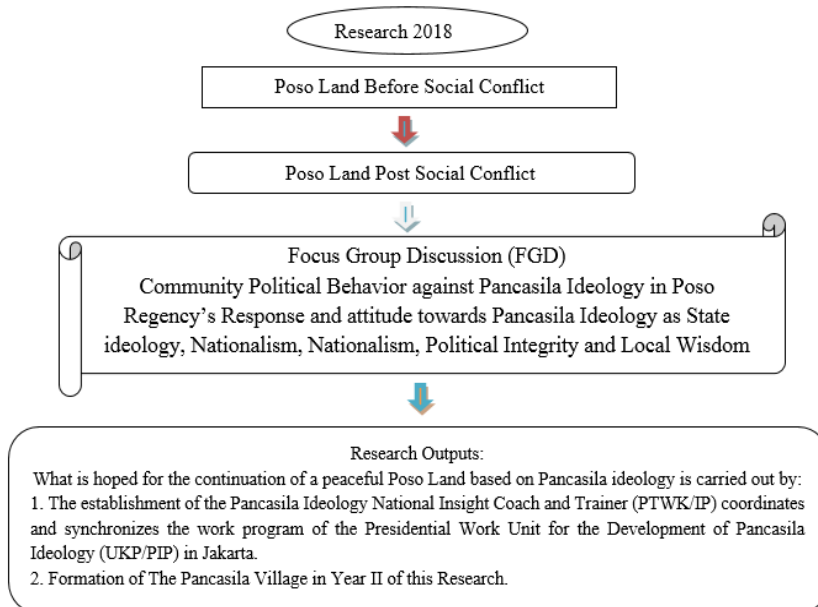
The initial step is to identify appropriate sources and informants with the capacity (representative) to provide information. Sources from government, police, military, and academics. Furthermore, the informants are members of Islamic and Christian mass organizations, categorized as radicalism, the younger generation who have possessed radicalism, Islamic religious leaders and community leaders. About 90% of informants and source people are found in Poso District.

### 2.4 Data analysis method

This research with object and research focus is the phenomenon of social conflict and post-social conflict with religious nuances since 1998 and experienced its peak in 2000. This research is qualitative research sustained with quantitative analysis by distributing questionnaires.

Researchers collect as much data as possible and then reduce and select relevant data for this study. Next, the researcher made a presentation (display) that has been collected, after which it is concluded that even data verification is carried out in the field if the data and information are doubtful of its validity. This methodological assumption is then attempted to obtain more accurate data so that this research can produce research findings that can help the central and regional governments suppress radicalism's spread in society.

### 2.5 Research Flow Chart



**Figure 1: Research Road Map**

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### Pancasila Ideology "Dead Price" Post-Social Conflict Poso Society

##### 3.1 Poso Community before Social Conflict

The life of the Poso people before experiencing the social conflict was relatively peaceful and was supported by the relatively stable level of the people's economy. The social, economic and cultural life of the Poso people by upholding the principles and philosophies of their ancestors with mottos packaged in local wisdom, namely Sintuwu Maroso.

This study uses a setting with two-time brackets, namely the social and cultural conditions of the Poso Regency, before experiencing social conflict as an argumentative basis. The next one is in the time bracket for the social and cultural conditions of the Poso people in the post-social conflict time bracket between adherents of Islam and adherents of Christianity.

##### 3.1.1 General Description of Poso Land

Within the administrative area of Central Sulawesi Province, Poso Regency is the oldest region and is the same age as Donggala Regency, Buol Tolitoli Regency. (Nanang Pamuji, et al: 2008).

The Poso people can generally be categorized into several ethnic groups [1], Pomona ethnic group, The Mori Ethnic Group, Bungku Ethnic Group, the Pekurehua Ethnic Group, the Bada and Besoa, the Torau Lalaeyo Ethnic Group and the Taa Ethnic Group.

The social and cultural relations of the Poso people during the pre-Islamic period in Pamona, Tojo, Bungku, Mori, Napu Valley, Besoa Valley and Bada Valley, and Lore Valley are still well preserved.

The difference in composition demographic the religion of the Poso people in recent years has been in dynamic diversity based on Pancasila. Substance values ideology Pancasila in the nation, state and society shapes the political behaviour of society. The real thing is that post-social conflict Poso people with religious nuances are more Pancasilaist.

##### 3.1.2 Poso Community Social Tolerance

In the development of the people of Poso Regency, there are several indigenous tribes in the three major Toraja groups, namely First, West Toraja or Toraja Parigi-Kaili. Second, East Toraja or Toraja-Poso-Tojo. Third, South Toraja or also called Toraja Sa'dan.

Historically, the arrival of Islam in Poso can be categorized into three phases, namely: a) The phase carried out by Bugis Muslim traders; b) Phases influenced by the Sultanate of Ternate; and c) The phase carried out by the Arabs [3].

Darwis [4] that, in principle, the arrival of Islam in the Poso area had several motives: First, economic motive. Second, religiously driven acceptance motives; and third, development motive or driven by political motives. The reflection of inter-ethnic and religious tolerance in Poso before the human tragedy in 1998 was conducive and cool.

The people of Poso, in the process of dealing with movements of the spread of religion (Islam and Christianity), did not experience friction and conflict. The condition of Poso before the social conflict that started in 1998 and peaked in 2000 built a social system. In the last 10 years, the people of Poso have considered the ideology of Pancasila as an alternative in society, state and nation. Furthermore, Pancasila Ideology as a "fixed price".

### **3.1.3 Poso Community Political Tolerance**

The people of Poso during the New Order regime had quite high political tolerance. Islamic groups and Christian groups are intertwined in harmonization in the local government system. Political elites, both in political parties and in DPRD institutions, carry out their respective functions. The composition of the regional government structure of Poso Regency accommodates the two major religious groups. The Regional Government of Poso Regency in carrying out its duties and authorities is based on the Regional Government Law Number 5 of 1974 which gives great authority to the Central Government in regulating the composition of positions structural in the internal ranks of the Regional Government of Poso Regency. Centralized politics run by the Central Government which is controlled by power authoritarian President Soeharto for about 32 years made Poso a superior area in various fields. Poso Regency is one of the tourist destinations and an economic barn for Central Sulawesi Province.

This social and political reality, the people of Poso are not a priority, but more on the fulfillment of their welfare.

Poso residents during the New Order era, the majority of people were Christians and a minority of Muslims, but the composition of the position of regional head and the position of chairman of the Poso Regency DPRD as well as other strategic positions were occupied by Muslim political elites. Such domination resulted in "latent protests" from the Christian political elite [5]. Substance Social conflicts with religious nuances are conflicts over the struggle for political power between religious political elite. Muslim political elites control the ranks of regional leaders and position structural strategy to get a political reaction from the Christian political elite. In 1998 the local political elite conflict in Poso began to emerge with an internal reaction from the Poso District Government. The tug of war between the political interests of the political elite in the Poso regional administration was so dynamic, suddenly the name Abdul Muin Pusadan, a member of the Golkar faction of the Central Sulawesi DPRD, was appointed as a candidate for Poso regent. At that time, the conflict between the two groups of different religions was increasingly widespread, because the political elite and the Christian community felt injustice.

Political reality thereby, the Christian political elite and their supporters feel unfair and disproportionate based on the population in obtaining political positions in the local government of Poso Regency. The politics of comparison between the Islamic political elite and the ideal Christian political elite in local government in Poso. The district head came from the Muslim community, and then the Christian side held the position of Regional Secretary. However, this did not happen, so the Christians felt disappointed and unfair in distributing the cake department's political and bureaucratic positions in Poso.



The conflict between Islamic and Christian community groups lasted a long time, resulting in the emergence of prejudiced attitudes and behaviour, making social life less dynamic and harmonious. Even though the communal conflict was colossal and inhumane, the Poso people still obeyed the nation and State. The political behaviour of the Poso people shows their loyalty to the State. The ideology of Pancasila as the ideal foundation for the nation, State and society runs well. The social conflict in Poso did not touch the "replacement" of Pancasila ideology with other ideologies. Radicalism groups and terrorism are expressions of revenge for killing their relatives in the "human tragedy" in Poso.

### **3.2 Poso Community Post Social Conflict**

The people of Poso Regency, after the social conflict nuanced religion from 1998 to 2007 or the post-Malino I stage, an agreement between Muslim groups and Christian groups to make peace and end conflicts of all kinds. From the 2007 phase until now, Operation Tinombala has been ongoing to destroy the remains of seven people terrorism known to Santoso's men who were shot dead by the TNI in a silent operation last year. Today's conditions, the Poso people relatively "reverberate" in the national and international arena that the Poso people are generally seen as a society that has not created peace and intolerance and finds it difficult to accept the ideology of Pancasila as the state ideology and unifier of the Indonesian nation. It turned out, in the field, based on the Team's research, that the majority of the Poso people had learned the lessons behind the previous social conflicts. The lessons of post-social conflict are a) creating more social, economic and political consolidation towards peace; b) Pancasila ideology as an alternative in building and strengthening community unity and integrity in Poso in particular; c) political consolidation in the birth of the political leadership of the regent and deputy regent and chairman of the DPRD of Poso Regency is a political process that every citizen in Poso Regency must respect.

The present phenomena and issues related to the continuation of the Tinombala Military Operation in the Poso Regency and the emergence of radicalism ideas among certain Islamic groups are pretty small in quantitative terms. Even though it is quite concerning qualitatively because it has penetrated the remote rural community of the Tamanjeka mountains. The people of Poso are generally not too worried and noisy about the issues and phenomena of leftover terrorism, a fugitive from the Police and the TNI. More Poso people behave in rational and proportional politics in responding to the phenomenon of regional head elections (direct election of regents and deputy regents) with symbols of ethnic identity which have taken place three times. The political attitudes of the Poso people, in general, highlight the weak role of the central and regional governments in improving the quality of socializing Pancasila ideology as the basis of the state and the unifying foundation of the nation (ethnicity, religion, class and culture).

Poso Regency has been split into two districts, namely Morowali Regency and Tojo Una-Una Regency. The two new countries have their inhabitants in the majority religious Islam. Before the division of the Poso district, Muslims were in the majority, while Christians were a minority, but after the division, the Muslim population of Poso became a minority. Then, Christians in Poso became the majority. Structure shifted demographics, and then a Christian

regent candidate won every direct election for the regent and deputy regent in Poso. The chairman of the Poso Regency DPRD came from Christianity. The Muslim side accepts this political reality because it went through a democratic process with the general election of regional heads and members of the DPRD of the Poso Regency.

### **3.3 Pancasila Ideology as Identity Political Integration.**

One of the main characteristics of identity politics is the use of religious issues to gain political support (Kompas, 23 November 2017). Identity politics is a person's emotional bond with ethnic and religious identities in interacting with the community. Social identity (ethnicity, religion, and culture) constitutes a symbol of natural identity that sticks during his *hajat*. Social interaction in a person's community can become social capital (social capital) in building strength based on solidarity and equality with ethnicity, religion and culture to achieve a political goal. Political goals can be achieved as a forced issue in building opinions that can be exploited by the power of political parties and social organizations as a bargaining power (power bargaining) and sell it to candidates to their political opponents.

Castells provides an illustration that is identity politics as a form of participation (individual) in the social environment where a person's cultural and psychological factors are quite decisive [6]. Identity politics, as a human form, is attached to a person to fight for his rights and obligations as a citizen. The right as a citizen can make the strength of identity a bridge to get to a seat of office.

Kristianus (2009), quoted by Sri Astuti Buchari [7], argues that identity politics is related to the struggle for political power based on ethnic and religious identities. Kristianus said that identity politics is political action to prioritize the interests of group members because they have the same identity or characteristics based either on race, ethnicity, gender or religion.

In the political context, identity groups are communities of citizens who have similarities and emotional relationships based on social characteristics (ethnicity, religion and culture) entering the political sphere to seize political power. Brown [8] describes that group identity supports social construction to promote the representation of group interests. Socio-political behaviour becomes related to group identity to be raised at a particular moment for the benefit of the group.

Identity politics is a means of struggle to gain political power, as in the election of the President of the Republic of Indonesia paired with Ir. H. Joko Widodo, who comes from ethnic Javanese and Drs. H. Jusuf Kalla, who represents East Indonesian ethnicity (non-Javanese ethnicity). Likewise, direct elections for the regional heads of Poso Regency from 2005 to 2015 were pairs of candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent of Poso with different religious bases, namely Islam and Protestant Christianity. This is a form of representation of religious identity groups fighting for local political power. Identity politics allows political balance by representing all ethnic and religious groups. Representation based on political identity embodies the 1945 Constitution that every citizen can obtain state facilities through the political process.

Poso Regency has the characteristics of its people who adhere to two major religions, Islam and Christianity. Regarding quantity, Christians are estimated to reach 60%, Muslims only reach 35%, and the rest are adherents of Hinduism and Buddhism. As an electoral consideration, such polarization of society is within the framework of building the political representation of the Christian and Islamic communities; it must be juxtaposed between figures of religious Christianity and Islam to achieve political representation of the interests of groups. By accommodating the political interests of the two community groups, a local democracy is built that reflects political sovereignty based on religious and cultural identity.

During the three direct regional head elections, the people of the Poso Regency often side by side with Islamic and Christian figures. Therefore, to win the election for Poso Regency, two figures from the Islamic and Christian communities should be in pairs [9]. Religious identity politics only takes place in the procession of direct election of regents and deputy regents. These religious identity politics reflects that the political behaviour of the people is sulking in differences to strengthen the unity and integrity of the nation and uphold the ideology of Pancasila as an anti-radicalism ideology. With the ideology of Pancasila, direct regional head elections were successful three times without any significant social upheavals. Therefore, for the people of Poso, Pancasila ideology is a fixed price that must be implemented in everyday life.

The political elite and the community coexisted in the three periods of direct regional head elections in the Poso District. During this political period, there was never any significant political turmoil. Religion-based identity politics provides political and cultural awareness for the people of the Poso Regency. Society choice (voted) based on religion is a naturally social and cultural reality in the Poso Regency that must be preserved in political consolidation and democratization based on nationalism and nationalism. Identity politics based on religion does not have to be destructive and harmful. However, identity with religious and cultural (ethnic) characteristics is an adhesive social element in increasing a sense of solidarity as a nation's children with the same political rights. The state has the right to guarantee the political rights of its citizens in building democracy and decent life in the Republic of Indonesia. This narrative became a positive understanding for the people in Poso Regency during the implementation of the direct regional head elections. For three periods, community political participation in direct regional head elections in Poso Regency has made democratic political tools in channeling their aspirations. In local politics, political participation in regional elections is the distribution of people's political aspirations in a balanced and rational manner based on social and cultural realities in their area. In disbursing proportional political aspirations, the Islamic community and the Christian community accepted the results of the regional head election as a joint political agreement to entrust Darmin A. Sigilipu and Toto Samsuri as Regent and Deputy Regent of Poso Regency for the 2015 – 2020 period.

Poso Regency experienced regional expansion twice, namely the formation of Morowali Regency in 1999 and 2003 Tojo Una-Una Regency, which was declared a New Autonomous Region in the administrative jurisdiction of Central Sulawesi Province. Political composition democratic changed significantly in determining the regional head and chairman of the DPRD

of Poso Regency. Morowali Regency and Tojo Una-Una Regency, after being separated from their parent Poso Regency, the population of Poso Regency is dominated by Christians. Muslims are a minority, so for every direct election for a regional head, the Christian political elite becomes the regent of Poso, and the Muslim becomes the deputy regent. Likewise, the chairman of the Poso DPRD is a member of the Christian religion. The Muslim political elite has always been in the position of deputy regent and deputy chairman of the Poso Regency DPRD. The Poso people accept this political reality as a democratic process.

In the run-up to direct elections for regional heads and legislative elections, many groups and members of the security forces are concerned about the potential for social conflicts to reoccur with religious nuances. Nevertheless, in reality, the Poso people appreciate the difference in choices as part of the community integration politics based on Pancasila ideology. The ideology of Pancasila as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia is a unifying tool for the nation amidst differences in religion, ethnicity, culture and social stratification. The unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation are based on the following characteristics [10]:

1. Born from one ancestor, so we have regional unity.
2. Having a territory where we are born, live together and look for sources of life.
3. Having a territory where we are born, live together and look for sources of life.
4. It has a historical unity. The Indonesian nation grew up under the glorious kingdoms of Sriwijaya, Majapahit, Mataram, etc.
5. Have the same fate in the fun and trouble, colonized by the Dutch, Japanese and others.
6. Having one idea, ideals, single soul or principle spirituality, and determination to live together in the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation, the Indonesian nation recognizes that the ideology of Pancasila is the basis for political behaviour towards the State and nation. The political behaviour of citizens towards the existence of the State is based on Pancasila as the state ideology in carrying out the process of democratization at the local level. Local people participating in political participation in regional head elections must adhere to Pancasila's values and political ethics. In Poso Regency, during the simultaneous direct regional head elections involving the Poso community, divided into two significant religious adherents, they voted in the 2005 Election, 2010 Election and 2015 Election. The population is around 60.91 per cent, 33.58 per cent of Muslims, 4.61 per cent of Hindus, 0.90 per cent of Catholics and 0.001 per cent of Buddhists [11]. The preference for religious identity politics in the Pilkada in Poso, the two religions were juxtaposed, namely the Christian political elite in the position of regent and Muslims as deputy regent. Likewise, in every general election legislative (DPRD) in Poso, legislative candidates (DPRD candidates) from Christianity get the most votes. Based on the MD3 Law, Christian candidates have the right to hold the chairmanship of the Poso Regency DPRD for three periods.

Meanwhile, Muslims are only in the position of vice chairman of the Poso Regency DPRD. The Poso people accept this political reality as a consequence democratic political process

based on Pancasila ideology. The community builds political agreements based on the Pancasila ideology that deliberations reach consensus and promotes unity and onenessnation. The Poso people participate in political and governmental participation, always maintain the conditions of unity, kinship and equality as a peace-loving society, and permanently resolve problems by deliberation and consensus based on local wisdom values (local wisdom) awake so far. Local wisdom in the life of the Poso people is called "I am sorry". Sintuwu Maroso's philosophical meaning is a strong kinship and brotherhood. They are building kinship and brotherhood in various activities, politics and government.

### **3.4 Pancasila Ideology and Identity Political Behavior**

Political trauma often becomes the political memory of the Poso people, and the root cause of social conflicts with religious nuances in 1998 and 2000 was conflicts over political positions. The gap in the division of political positions in the portion of the positions of the regent and regional secretary and the head of the Poso DPRD is occupied by a Muslim party. Meanwhile, no one was accommodated by the Christian elite in political positions and at the top of the regional bureaucracy. Political discrimination is felt by Christians who trigger the occurrence of social conflict. The issue of the balance of power in replacing the regional head of the Poso Regency in 1999 showed a solid identity-based political precipitate. The fact that from 1948 – 1999 it was dominated by Islamic groups became quite a hot topic in the political dynamics in Poso. The power struggle between Muslim and Christian groups took place fiercely, even for the position of District Secretary. Political nuances, especially in the 2000 conflict, are considered the most dominant [12].

The district head who had served during the founding of Poso Regency in-province Central Sulawesi based on Law Number 29 of 1959, as follows: the first district head was Rajawali Pusadan (1950 – 1952), then in succession were Abdul Latief Daeng Masiki (1952 – 1954), Alimudin Daeng Matiro (1954 – 1956), Djafar Lapasere (1956 – 1957), S. Kabo (1957 – 1959), A. Wahab (1959 – 1960), Ngitung (1960 – 1962), Drs. B.L. Sallata (1962 – 1966), Drs. Galib. Lasahido (1966 – 1973), Drs. R.P.M.H. Koeswandi (1973 – 1983), Colonel Sugiono (1983 – 1988), Arief Patanga, SH (1988 – 1998), Brigadier General Haryono (1998 – 1999), Drs. Abdul Muin Pusadan (1999 – 2004), Azikin Suyuti (2004), Drs. PietInkiriwang, M.M (2004 – 2010) and Darmin Sigilipu (2015 – 2020). Apart from Drs. PietInkiriwang and Darmin Sigilipu is a regent produced by the New Order regime based on the Law on Regional Government No. 5 of 1974. The Poso regent is determined by lobbying and bargaining with the Central Sulawesi provincial and central governments as the main determinants. The central government is the user to perpetuate its power in the Poso area and other areas. The intersection of Islamic and Christian identities in the political arena, such as in the 1955 elections, is suspected of having fostered identity-based political polarization in Poso to this day [13].

The composition of the Poso regents before and during the social conflict, only three regents were Christians, namely S. Kabo (1957 – 1959), Drs. B.L. Sallata (1960 – 1962), and Drs. another Muslim, R.P.M.H. Koeswandi (1973–1983), is dropped from the Central Government of the New Order regime. The majority of native Poso are Christians. Two regents directly elected by the people of Poso, namely Drs.PietInkiriwang, M.M (2004 – 2010) and Darmin A.

Sigilipu (2015 – 2020) come from the Christian community. The three Poso regents, who are Christian, were the natural choices of the Poso people during the three post-social conflict periods. This shows religious identity politics in the Pilkada in the Poso Regency after the social conflict occurred democratically and peacefully without significant turmoil. The so-called Poso native Poso [14] consists of three major Toraja groups: First, West Toraja or Toraja Parigi – Kaili. Second, East Toraja Toraja Poso-Tojo. Third, South Toraja or also called Toraja Sa, and. Some native people use the language Barelyas mother tongue. Poso residents in the immigrant category are Javanese, Balinese, Gorontalo, Bugis, Makassar, N.T.T., and China currently dominates trade flows in the traditional Poso market. They generally have become middle-class people with the potential to have access to politics and power in the Poso Regional Government. Several D.P.R.D. members for the 2014-2019 period come from Bugis, Javanese and Balinese ethnicities. The three ethnic groups are the presiding officers and administrators of the Political Parties in Poso, so the Makassarese and Javanese Bugis have political bargaining values in the Poso Regional Government.

The people's political behaviour towards the political process carried out by the State participates in political participation to determine the future of the Poso Regency. The simultaneous direct election of regional heads in the Poso Regency is a national celebration based on a constitutional mandate based on Pancasila ideology. Religious and ethnic differences in Poso are part of the process of identity politics in ethnic diversity to increase the sense of nationalism of every citizen to maintain the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The composition of the political polarization of religious identity in the direct election of Poso's regent and deputy regent in the formulation of candidate pairs of different religions. Christian political elites are often positioned as regents and Muslim political elites as deputy regents (see tables: 01, 02 and 03): The composition of the direct election for regent and deputy regent (Pilkada) shows that the Pilkada in Poso in 2005 was followed by five pairs of candidates for regent and deputy regent of Poso, namely:

**Table 1: 2005 Poso Election Vote Results**

Serial number	Candidate	Acquisition of Legitimate Votes	
		Total	Percentage
1.	Dede K. Atmawijaya dan Dra. Lies Sigilipu Saino, M.Si	10.416	10,34
2.	Drs. Piet Inkiriwang, M.M dan Abd. Muthalib Rimi, SH, M.H	42.718	42,39
3.	Drs.H. Muin Pusadan dan Drs.Osbert Yusran Walenta	13.013	12, 91
4.	Frans Wangulemba Sowolino, SE, M.Si dan Ir.Abd. Kahar Latjare, M.Si	20.993	20,84
5.	Drs.F.E. Bungkundapu, M.Si dan Awad Alamri,S.H.	13.623	13,52
	Total Vote Acquisition	100.765	100

Source: Lukman Najamuddin & Darwis, et al, 2017.

**Table 2: 2010 Poso Election Vote Results**

Serial number	Candidate	Acquisition of Legitimate Votes	
		Total	Percentage
1.	Hendrik Gary Lyanto dan Abd. Muthalib Rimi, SH, M.H	18.992	16,32
2.	Sonny Tandra,S.T dan H. Muljadi	30.712	26,38
3.	Frans Wangulemba,SE, M.Si dan Burhanuddin Andi Masse, S.Kom	21.579	18, 54
4.	Drs. Piet Inkiriwang, M.M dan Ir. Samsuri, M.Si	45.119	38,76
	Total Vote Acquisition	116.402	100

Source: Lukman Najamuddin & Darwis, dkk, 2017.

The two direct elections for the regent and deputy regent of the Poso Regency have shown that comparing Muslim and Christian figures is based on the number of residents who adhere to that religion. Candidates from Christianity are placed in the position of regent because there are more Christians in Poso than Muslims. The Muslim candidate is placed in the position of deputy regent. The pair of candidates for regent and deputy regent argued that Muslim and Christian figures had to be paired to win the simultaneous regional head elections in 2005 and 2010. Meanwhile, pairs of same-religion candidates find winning the political battle in Poso challenging to win the regional election. This is based on the behaviour of voters in Poso based on religious identity. Psychological and sociological relationships are highly correlated with the people's choice of regional head and deputy's head candidates in Poso [15].

This local political reality shows that Drs. Piet Inkiriwang, M.M and Abd. Muthalib Rimi, S.H., M.H., in the 2005 regional head elections, won 42,718 votes (42.39%) compared to other candidate pairs (see Table 01). Then, in the 2010 local elections, Piet Inkiriwan again fought as the incumbent paired with Ir. Samsuri, M.Sc. Piet Inkiriwan and Samsuri, in the 2010 local elections, won the local democracy event in Poso with 45,119 votes (38.76%). During the two periods of Piet Inkiriwan's leadership as Poso regent, the political behaviour of the Poso people showed a relatively rational and democratic attitude. Poso people accept political reality as a process of democracy based on religious identity and political preferences. The people of Poso have built an atmosphere of tranquillity and calm conditions so that state and national politics often becomes a reference reality for Pancasila values. Pancasila values guarantee political interaction in differences, but one nation and one homeland, namely Indonesia. However, upheaval terrorism often provides a sociological symbol that Poso is a potential threat to social and political disintegration. This phenomenon is not the reality of the Poso community in general. The Poso people uphold differences and become a shared strength, with cultural symbols (local wisdom) that Sintuwu Maroso. Sintuwu Maroso is in line with the values of Pancasila as the nation's ideology which unites the nation's children in upholding the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Sintuwu Maroso means upholding the unity and integrity

of the nation and establishing friendly relations among the nation's children without any differences in religion, ethnicity and natives and immigrants.

**Table 3: Vote Results for the 2015 Poso election**

Serial Number	Candidate	Acquisition of Legitimate Votes	
		Total	Percentage
1.	Drs. Amdjad Lawasa, MM dan Maxnover Kaiya, S.Sos	18.890	16,05
2.	Frany Djaruu, SSI, M.Kes dan H.Abd.GaniT.Israil,S.Ag	30.957	26,31
3.	Ir. Wirabumi Kaluti dan Yohanis Krisnajaya Syaiban, S.IP	28.349	24,09
4.	Darmin A. Sigilipu dan Ir. Samsuri, M.Si	39484	33,55
	Total Perolehan Suara		

Source: Lukman Najamuddin & Darwis, dkk, 2017.

Combination of regent and deputy regent candidate pairs in the election head directly implemented in Poso Regency after the social conflict reflected that the Poso people implemented the values of the Pancasila ideology as the basis of the State, as the foundation of society and the foundation of the nation. This is evidenced by the fact that in the last 15 years, the people of Poso, after recovering their morality, culture, and economy, have realized political consolidation. Political consolidation, namely, the people of Poso often declare regional head elections peacefully and maintain national integrity. Social and cultural consolidation is manifested in "Maklumat Together" between the Islamic community and the Christian community presented by the Muslim and Christian Youth Brotherhood Movement for Poso, which was held in Palu on April 23, 2004, which was signed by the Head of Youth AlKhairat Central Sulawesi, Husain Idrus Al-Habsyi, SE and Chair of the GKST Crisis Center Alliance, Noldy Tacoh. The critical point in the joint information is number 8, which states, "as an integral part of NKRI Tana Poso is open for all Indonesians to live and stay in Poso. And for that reason, as part of NKRI, all Indonesian citizens living in Tana Poso have the same position before the law and must maintain security, peace and comfort in Tana Poso based on the laws in force in Indonesia" [16].

The joint commitment to build Poso Land as a safe and peaceful area has been going on for a long time. However, there are groups of terrorists from East Indonesia Mujahidin whose members consist of local people. They experience and see the human tragedy their family has experienced, so their goal is to take revenge on Christian groups. Santoso and several of his men in the MIT Poso group received "doctrinal" from Laskar Jihad from Ambon, then moved to Poso to assist Islamic fighters in carrying out "revenge" movements. This condition is the embryo of the formation of local Laskar Jihad.

Even though the condition of Tanah Poso was relatively safe and political integrity was built culturally by the people of the two major religions who have been at war, they continue to strengthen the nation's sense of unity and integrity under the auspices of the ideology of Pancasila. Pancasila is an ideological alternative for them in uniting ethnic groups and religious



differences in Tanah Poso after the social conflict. Pancasila can protect various ethnic, religious and cultural differences in Poso Land. Society can be protected by Pancasila ideology in political interaction through political institutions, such as political parties, local government, and the Poso DPRD.

### **3.5. The Political Elite of the Pancasila Crisis Center**

The people's political behaviour in Poso after the social conflict has impacted, reflecting political behaviour in both the political party elite and the government. Many members of the DPR RI and regional heads and ministries stumbled on the law. Dozens of regional heads and members of the Indonesian Parliament and DPRD members have been caught red-handed by the Corruption Eradication Commission of the Republic of Indonesia. Law violations and political morality committed by political elites and the central government set a bad example for the people of Poso. The Poso people seem to have little faith in the political elite, whether sitting in a chair, legislative or executive because they do not provide role models based on Pancasila's ideological values as a way of life and the foundations of morality. The people of Poso seem to have lost a central figure who has become a role model for the state, society and nation. Political and governmental elites often put forward discriminatory political interests against religious and ethnic groups that do not reflect Pancasila citizenship. Losing Role Models at the level of political elites and internal government management the nation-state of Indonesia, the people of Poso, often resisted the security forces. The two camps, namely Islam and Christianity, often experience tension characteristic "latent". The potential for social conflict to return will likely not be repeated. However, the main problem is the political and psychological effects of the political behaviour of the political elite and government, which often get much attention from the mass media, TV and social media. Effects of the political behaviour of elites and government elites in Senayan and the Ministry can affect the quality of nationalism and nationality of the people in Poso. The Poso people's behaviour towards Pancasila's ideology after the social conflict in Poso lasted almost a week. It influenced the behaviour of the political elite and the central government. The Poso people wish there were several community leaders who are not contaminated with political interests and can protect the community. Chaplain Adnan Aarsal, a community figure with good, broad and deep religious knowledge, often becomes an influential role model in religious and moral education. The presence of a figure chaplain Adnan Aarsal became a social relationship cooler and more cultural between Muslims and Christians. Because for approximately 20 years after the social conflict in Poso, the Poso people can be categorized as a Pancasilaist society. This shows that the people of Poso have implemented Pancasila values in the life of the nation and state, as well as in society. The community views that only Pancasila ideology can dampen and overcome religious and cultural differences in Poso.

### **3.6. The Poso Community Experiencing Discrimination**

After the social conflict with religious overtones, the military operation to crush the remnants of terrorist Santoso's leadership from the East Indonesia Mujahidin group continues to obtain the "label social" that Poso is a "nest" of terrorism. Military operations (Polri and TNI) joined "Operation Tinombala" in mid-July 2018 and continued hunting down Santoso's men led by

Ali Kalora. Ali Kalora continues the struggle of the late Santoso, who was shot dead by the TNI during the Tinombala operation. According to some, the struggle of the Santoso group, which is under the auspices of the East Indonesia Mujahidin organization, causes people to struggle based on a sense of past grudges. The Reds massacred their relatives -- the struggle of the MIT group led by Santoso became even more sadistic and brutal when the security forces obstructed their mission of struggle. The struggle of the MIT group in 2004 – 2007 shifted from substance to their mission, so the people of Poso, in general, lacked sympathy and minimal empathy. The MIT group led by Santoso and Daeng Koro is even more brutal because in killing and bombing, they do not choose an honest enemy group. The MIT group guerrilla entered the forest and mountains of "Tamanjeka", and some entered Poso City and Palu City to take action in the terror bombing and killing of two members of the Poso Police. Tamanjeka Village, popularly known as the "blue mountain", became a base camp for the MIT group to perform maneuvers and attack strategies against its targets. MIT's main rival is the National Police and the TNI in the Tinombala operation. The Tinombala operation by many parties was quite effective in dampening MIT's brutal operations. MIT executioners such as Santoso and Daeng Koro died during the Tinombala operation. The Poso people, in terms of their humanitarian and socio-cultural approach, do not accept Poso's nickname "Sarang" .terrorism. The Poso people are trying to separate from the MIT group, and the MIT struggle does not represent the Poso people in general. The Poso people demand justice from the Government and the Indonesian people that Poso is part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which is based in Pancasila. The central Government seems to provide services to its people in Poso, who are experiencing discrimination. The discriminatory treatment received by the Poso community is that the Poso Region is seen as a "nest" of terrorism. Meanwhile, the Free Papua Organization in Papua has killed police and soldiers, including many village people being held hostage, but not labelled as "nest" areas of terrorism. According to Hasanuddin, the Poso people during the post-social conflict, in the view of the Indonesian people, even the world community saw that Poso was their area of advice terrorism. Meanwhile, there is the Free Papua Organization in Papua, which has killed members of the police and military as well as hostages and killing civilians does not get the nickname terrorism. The actions of the OPM group are devoid of principles because they want to separate themselves from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Today's Poso people demand justice and equity in economic development to stem social inequality (social gap). After the social conflict, the Poso people's economic conditions improved, and the growth was quite significant. However, economic growth is less accessible to rural communities. Economic growth is controlled and managed only by elite party oligarchs and regional head success teams. This condition will be a ticking time bomb, the explosion of social conflict caused by the injustice experienced by the people of Poso. By Because Therefore, the Central Government and Regional Governments should build a Pancasila populist economic system that can accommodate all groups and groups in Poso.

After the social conflict, the Poso people made Pancasila ideology an alternative "fixed price" in the State, society and nation. From the conflict until after the social conflict, the Poso people have never brought it up and made an issue of the ideology of Pancasila as the basis of the

State. Social conflicts are merely scripted by local political elites fighting for political positions and echelon II positions in the Poso Regency Regional Government bureaucracy. Poso local elite internal competition escalated, then developed into inter-religious conflict. Conflicts between Islam and Christianity in various incidents and groups never "offend" the existence of Pancasila as the basis of the State and the way of life of the Indonesian people (way of life). Therefore, the people of Poso have drawn positive lessons from the social conflict that lasted approximately four years.

### **3.7. The Ideology of Pancasila and the Radicalism of the Poso Society**

According to Fealy and Hooker (2006), the opening of faucets marks post-reformation, and democracy has become fertile ground for the growth of radical Islamic groups [17]. The phenomenon of radicalism among Muslims is often based on religious understanding, even though the originator of radicalism can originate from an axis, such as economic, political, social and so on [18]. Abu Rokhmad (2012) states that radicalism leading to terrorism is a problem for Indonesian Muslims today [19].

After the social conflict with religious nuances until now, various efforts have been made by the Poso community in various elements of society, community leaders, religious leaders, political elites, NGOs and the government to carry out peace movements with religious and cultural nuances. Peace in the political context is often inflamed during the regional head election campaign. This fact is a positive effect of people's political attitudes and behaviour on the life of the nation, society and state, which upholds the spirit of maintaining the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Then, why is there radicalism that leads to action terrorism in Poso? Does it have anything to do with the existence of the ideology of Pancasila as the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia? The two fundamental questions the researcher found were data and facts in Poso District after the social conflict until now.

Today, the reasoning of Muslim consciousness often clashes with various pejorative labels such as "fundamentalist", "militant", "radical", "terrorist", modernist, "liberalist", "secularist", and others [20]. Poso Regency is identified as an area of suggestions for terrorism and radicalism so that the political logic of the ruling government regime feels-worries towards the existence ideology Pancasila will be replaced with another ideology that can threaten the unity of the nation's children. Worries Thus, the central and regional governments agreed to carry out eradication measures against terrorism which are code-named "Operation Tinombala", and every term expires and continues until now. The Tinombala operation, which lasted for more than five years, has yielded results, eliminating some East Indonesia Mujahidin groups suspected of being affiliated with ISIS. The East Indonesia Mujahidin, led by the late Santoso, were very effective in building a social security logic for the people of Poso and Indonesia. This threat must be eradicated and resolved to its roots, namely the flow of radicalism. The labels of radicalism and terrorism are often narrated by the opinion of the government and society, which identify the destructive actions of Islamic groups even though the social conflict in Poso was a conflict that occurred between Islamic groups and Christian groups. Why does the predicate of radicalism and terrorism address only Islam? Why not address the Christian group that killed and massacred hundreds of Muslims led by Tibo and Fabianus?

Movements and acts of radicalism and terrorism carried out by Islamic groups in the aftermath of the social conflict were retaliatory actions based on revenge for the deaths of relatives whom Christian groups had killed. The largest Muslim group was killed and experienced humanitarian suffering for three years, which prompted a sense of solidarity among Muslims with the emergence of the Laskar Jihad group. Laskar Jihad from Java and Ambon then performed local regeneration by forming Laskar Jihad in Poso [21].

Radicalism and intolerance of some Poso people, especially Muslims who have experienced directly bitter and traumatic tragedy social conflict with religious nuances in Poso in 1998 and reached its peak in 2000 and 2001. In the following years until 2007, Muslim groups affiliated with Laskar Jihad and MIT carried out guerilla terror movements against non-Muslim communities and especially Christians around Poso, Parigi Moutong and Palu. The security police (members of Chief of Police Poso) were bombed. Therefore, some Poso people's radicalism and intolerance are based more on the dimensions of revenge, economic crisis, and social politics.

Radicalism is based on revenge, and the Poso people, especially Muslims, have directly experienced the impact of social conflict that came face to face between the Islamic community, which symbolizes the White group, and the Christian community, which symbolizes the Red group. This Muslim group then continued to carry out its mission of attacking the Christian group as revenge for slaughtering their families. Likewise, the security forces experienced resistance because they were seen as obstructing their struggle. In the struggle for the mission, Laskar Jihad assisted the Muslim group from Java and Ambon, and MIT experienced an economic crisis so that they were marginalized in the Poso community in general. The economic crisis experienced by the radicalism group led by Santoso and Daeng Koro and their supporting communities in parts of the coastal Poso District moved to the blue mountain in Tamanjeka village as a basis for their struggle. After marginalization, they were socially and culturally excluded from developing in Poso City. It is not difficult for Muslim groups to accept radicalism heterogeneity social and cultural patterns which are more dominated by ethnic colours and patterns native to Poso, namely Pamona and Mori, who are predominantly Christian.

Radicalism in Poso, in fact, for the indigenous people of Poso, does not exist in their philosophy of life because they have noble values that are Love peace of unity, which is in line with the ideology of Pancasila as the way of life of the Indonesian nation (way of Indonesian life people), which is institutionalized cultural which are called "sintuwu maroso".

The growth of Muslim radical groups among the migrant origins from Gorontalo and South Sulawesi was somewhat pushed under the surface during the Poso regent's background military reign, namely Col. RPMH Koeswandi (1973-1984) and Col. Soehion's (1984-1988). On the leadership of Koeswandi Perwira TNI/AD from Madura, Protestant Christians actively try to foster a spirit of pluralism among the religious communities in Poso. This condition is favoured by Muslim figures who want to fight for Islamic political hegemony in the City and District of Poso [22].

According to Aditjondro, Muslim groups got political opportunities during the reign of Regent Arief Patanga, which also started inter-religious and ethnic conflicts in Poso. Even before taking the district head post, Arief Patanga was already involved in trying to pit ethnic groups in the old Poso district against each other and, in 1983, continued Aditjondro In consultation by late HolyAbdu Karim, an official from Una-Una (at that time still part of Poso Regency), who wrote letters about the capabilities of several groups ethnolinguistics (tribe) in that Regency to become the Regent of Poso.

Radicalism and intolerance with religious, political and cultural dimensions are embodied in the grudges of Muslim groups after the social conflicts in Poso in 1998 and 2000. Before and after the social conflicts in Poso, radicalism and intolerance developed without a correlation with efforts to struggle to replace the ideology of Pancasila. With other ideologies in the nation, state and society in Poso Regency. In this study, the people of Poso have yet to mention the makers' efforts towards the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This shows that almost all political institutions and mass Islamic and socio-cultural organizations adhere to the Pancasila ideology. The people of Poso declared it a peaceful area and strengthened the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation with the ideology of Pancasila. This is manifested by the political behaviour of the Poso people in the regional head election process and the election of DPRD members in the Poso Regency area, which upholds the values of difference in politics. Although identity politics is the process of local leadership political contestation in village head elections, regional heads and legislative elections, the Poso people accept it as a democratic political process based on the values of diversity and diversity Single Ika. Therefore, the ideology of Pancasila as the foundation of the state, nation and society in Poso is in line with the noble values of the Poso people, namely Sintuwu Maroso, who love peace, unity and strength.

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

Post-religious social conflict (Muslim and Christian conflict) Poso District experienced a change in the constellation of local political dynamics. The politics of religious identity (Islam and Christianity) in regional head elections and general legislative elections combines two figures from Islam and Christianity. The combination of the two figures of different religions is based on the composition of the number of adherents. Christians with the majority adherents are positioned as regents, and Muslims get the position of deputy regents because the adherents are the second most after Christians. The political behaviour of the people in Poso during the pilkada and legislative elections, which is based on religious identity, reflects that the Poso people have implemented Pancasila values. The values of Pancasila uphold the existence of differences in religion, culture and class in determining its leaders through a democratic process. The political behaviour of the Poso people towards the ideology of Pancasila in the state, nation and society has become a "fixture". Post-social conflict, Poso people try to maintain religious harmony, balance bureaucratic politics, and social and economic equality. Pancasila ideology is the only ideology that all religions, cultures and social groups can accept. Even though there is an intolerance movement by the East Indonesia Mujahidin group led by Santoso towards Christian groups and the police apparatus, this is revenge for the past and

solidarity among Muslims. However, it does not correlate with the existence of Pancasila as the ideology of the nation and state. The people of Poso highly uphold the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This shows several mass organizations and youth organizations in Poso declaring to maintain and strengthen the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

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