

POLITICAL POLARIZATION AND COMMUNITY SECURITY ASSURANCE WEST JAVA POST-2019 ELECTIONS

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Abstract

The 2019 presidential election left residue that threatened the security of the people of West Java. The residue is political polarization that still occurs even though the 2019 elections already finish for a long time, and a new government has been formed. At this moment, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto are both sitting in government does not affect the polarization that occurs in society. West Java is a province with nearly 20 percent of the national vote and the highest number of voters in Indonesia and has always been an arena for open political battles in every general election. With political polarization overlaid with identity politics, the security of the people of West Java is threatened. Therefore, this article will examine how political polarization in West Java and security guarantees from the local government for its people. In analyzing this research, the author used the concept of human security Mary Kaldor (2007) with a descriptive qualitative methodology through a phenomenological approach. The research concluded that the security conditions in West Java were relatively conducive and the West Java provincial government continued to carry out development according to the community's needs. So that prosperity and independence can be realized in every individual in West Java society.

I. Introduction

The 2019 presidential election is over, but polarization in society still exists. Moreover, the contestants competing in the 2019 presidential election have reconciled and are now sitting together in government. Nevertheless, the reconciliation carried out by the contestants did not have an impact on society. Political polarization that occurs in society due to differences in political views and attitudes continues to this day.

Especially on social media, a polarized society degrades each party. The terms "cebong", "kampret", "buzzerRp" and "kadrun" are still being echoed to stigmatize netizens who have different views. The terms "cebong" and "buzzerRp" are pinned on anyone who supports

the government. While those who are against the government are labeled under the terms "kampret" and "kadrun".

According to Drone Emprit's records, from 2021 to April 2022, there were at least 92,398 retweets echoed through Twitter's social media, which were dominated by the term "kampret". Meanwhile, the term "tadpole" buzzed with 198,577 retweets. The results of an analysis of the potential for digital riots and social media in the 2024 election conducted by Media Kernels Indonesia (Drone Emprit) show that polarization on social media still occurs today, blaming each other and both feeling the most right. There was no sign of any reconciliation or attempt to bridge the polarization. Even sharp differences have the potential to continue to carry over into 2024.

Still quoting the results of the Drone Emprit survey, the total conversations with these terms from 1 July 2015 to 16 April 2020, for all calls were 14,249,458 mentions on Twitter. Total for each call: cebong 4.67 million, kadrun 4.33 million, kampret 3.94 million, buzzer Rp. 943 thousand, buzzer Rp. 352 thousand. Meanwhile, after the 2019 presidential election, the cacophony of conversations that included calling the group's name was dominated by calls to "kadrun" 54%, "karet" 17%, "buzzeRp 12% + buzzerRp 5%" 17%, then "cebong" 12%.

This digital war does not only occur in cyberspace but also spreads to the real world. This is what then in every student demonstration, there is always a narrative of "Down with Jokowi" as well as terms that degrade legitimate government. Even the persecution that befell social media activist Ade Armando, who is known to be pro-government, is strongly suspected of being supported by digital warfare in cyberspace.

According to Nagara (2022), the Ade Armando incident is the most negative excess of symptoms of political polarization which has been getting stronger lately. Ade's figure, who is very pro-government and often spreads hostility toward the opposition, has made many people hate him. The process of spreading hostility did not only come from pro-government circles but also from the opposition itself. The process of attacking each other facilitated by social media has been spiced up with hate speech and deep disinformation. So it's not surprising that many "favor" the violence against Ade Armando. They feel happy and see the beating as God's scenario in punishing Ade. Imagine if violence against what is considered an "enemy" is justified and allowed, the potential for social conflict in the future will be even greater.

Still quoting Nagara (2022) political polarization is a global phenomenon and a bitter reality in modern democratic life. His presence coincided with the strengthening of the populist leadership

of Donald Trump in the United States, Erdogan in Turkey, and Narendra Modi in India who mobilized support through social divisions. This discourse encourages the birth of identity politics which forms a demarcation line between "us vs them". Populism itself was born as a response to a representative system that was increasingly corrupt and controlled by political elites. So the populist movement appears as a direct expression of the people towards it (Hara, 2018).

According to Wibowo (2019), Indonesia tends to show affective polarization. Affective polarization occurs due to an explosion of identity sentiment, especially socio-religious, which is completely unrelated to political ideology. This condition became the answer to why the political reconciliation carried out by Joko Widodo with Prabowo Subianto did not affect the polarization that occurred in society. On the other hand, what the Jokowi government did to opposition groups, especially political Muslims, did not reflect a democratic attitude (Mietzner, 2018) which in turn worsened polarization (in Nagara, 2022).

If we look back at the lead-up to and implementation of the 2019 Presidential Election, political polarization is felt, both in cyberspace and in the real world. The two mass lines influence each other to sharpen political polarization involving religious issues in society. Identity politics has become a very strong color in the 2019 Presidential Election. It has even happened since the 2014 Presidential Election when these two moments of people's democracy have become a bad record for the history of general elections in Indonesia.

West Java, as the province with the highest number of voters in Indonesia, reaching 33.27 million votes, has become the most strategic political battle arena. Thus, whoever the candidate will be very interested in controlling the vote in West Java in various ways and efforts, including using identity politics.

This condition certainly has an impact on the security of the people of West Java. With a total population in 2020 reaching 48.27 million people or more than 17 percent of Indonesia's total population of 270.2 million (Central Statistics, 2021), the security conditions for the people of West Java are seriously threatened. Moreover, geographically, West Java is directly adjacent to DKI Jakarta Province as the center of national government and politics.

Although in West Java there was no social conflict in the community due to political polarization, this does not mean that community security can be maintained. In fact, there has been structural violence, as experienced by Robiatul, a teacher in Bekasi, West Java, who was sacked by her institution because of different attitudes and political choices.

In other words, political polarization driven by identity politics has raised a threat to the lives of the people of West Java who have so far

been safe, peaceful, and coexist peacefully. For this reason, this article is presented to analyze the security of the people of West Java after the 2019 Presidential Election, and explore the efforts of the local government in order to ensure public safety with the theme "Political Polarization and Public Security of West Java After the 2019 Presidential Election".

Mary Kaldor's Human Security theory (2007) is used as an analytical tool, with a descriptive qualitative approach to the results of interviews with various competent informants supported by literature studies as a secondary source.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Political Polarization

The Indonesian Dictionary (2005:339) defines polarization as the division of two opposing parts (groups of people with interests and so on). In this context, political polarization can be understood as the fractions of groups based on different political views and facing each other.

According to Wilson (2015), polarization is formed due to a strong commitment to culture, ideology, or candidate, thus dividing one group from another. Polarization also gives rise to the view that its principles are the most right. Meanwhile, groups that are opposite are groups that have wrong political viewpoints and morality.

In other words, the polarization phenomenon is more dominant in developing at the mass level than at the elite level. At the elite level, different attitudes and political viewpoints are very possible to be brought together when political agreements are reached. Meanwhile, at the mass level, polarization tends to give birth to an acute attitude of intolerance towards differences in political views. Thus, it will be very difficult to reunite community groups that have been divided.

Meanwhile, Moscovici, S. and Zavalloni, M. (1969) explained that polarization is a symptom of the accumulation of group opinions on one particular point of view. Meanwhile, Myers (2012: 375) says polarization occurs when a group results in attachment to several members' tendencies, a strengthening of the average member's tendencies, not a separation within the group.

In another sense, polarization is the gathering of opinions on one particular point of view and results in attachment to several tendencies. Therefore, polarization often occurs in a political context. However, in its current development, polarization does not only occur

at the elite level but also grows and develops in society, resulting in social divisions with different political perspectives.

The framing of political communication by a political party or candidate influences political polarization. Changes in political maps or even political culture can affect the political communication framing followed by changes in the attitude of its supporters. Druckman and Nelson (2003) in Druckman, Peterson, and Slothuus (2013) explain that the effect of framing is seen when one party describes an issue or phenomenon with an emphasis on a part that becomes a point of consideration so that it can influence the formation of individual opinions.

The framing of this model of political communication creates a tendency in society to seek information that confirms their thoughts and tends to argue and reject evidence that contradicts their wants. Therefore, the polarization that occurs in public will be more difficult to find agreements. Even at the elite level or the candidates they support have agreed and cooperated. In the online realm, political polarization causes a split in public opinion with a form of communication filled with hatred and hostility. While in the offline realm, political polarization has emerged into conflicts in the form of physical friction (Rif'an, 2018).

Politics Identity

In the study of political science, identity politics is a new concept with another name biopolitics or the politics of difference. According to Haller (1996: ix), identity politics is a political movement that focuses on differences as a response to the failure of the grand narrative. Initially, this idea of difference promised freedom, tolerance, and freedom of play. However, in its development, the politics of difference has transformed into identity politics, racism, feminism, and ethnic strife. Hence, intolerant attitudes and violent practices were born in response to differences.

In other words, identity politics is a menace to multicultural and multiethnic countries such as the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Because the big idea in identity politics is to make society homogeneous and not tolerate differences. Identity politics provides a clear line for determining who will be included and who will be excluded. Because these determination lines appear to be irreversible, the status as a non-member immediately appears to be permanent (Morowitz in Haboddin, 2012).

According to Kellas (1988: 119), the growing awareness that identifies them with a particular group or ethnic group encourages the birth of ethnic politics. This awareness gave rise to the group and national solidarity. That means identity politics is a political movement that grows and develops within certain ethnic groups to fight for their group's interests in an existing country.

In Fukuyama's view (2018:14) issues of identity have dominated politics in recent years. Many view the discussion about identity and identity politics as a diversionary strategy to disguise the issue of class interests. The identification of “the people” versus unknown enemies diverts public attention from issues of human rights violations, systematic corruption, and oligarchy.

On the other hand, an inequity felt by certain groups of people caused identity politics. Cressida Heyes (2007) calls identity politics a sign of political activity in a broader sense and theorization of the discovery of experiences of injustice experienced by members of certain social groups. Therefore, identity politics can become a medium of struggle used by a certain ethnic group to achieve certain goals that are considered political injustice (Emanuel Castells, in Lukmantoro, 2007).

Klaus Von Beyme's analysis in Hefner (2007:47-48) explains the character of the identity politics movement in the premodern period beginning with a fundamental split. Ethnic and national groups gave rise to a comprehensive socio-political movement. It occurs when ideological mobilization was carried out by their leaders to seize power and give birth to new rulers. In the modern era, the identity politics movement was born through a conditional approach, schism requires resources to be mobilized. The mobilization process is not only driven from above but also emerges from below as a form of participation. At this point, the leader's role is no longer dominant, and the end goal is power sharing. And in the postmodern era, identity politics emerges from its dynamics. Each individual can protest on various occasions, and no one group or faction is dominant. This movement model is initiated by the self-awareness that is autonomous until the goal is achieved.

Human Security

The end of the cold war changed the paradigm of security that was driven by the strengthening of non-military issues. Security is not only associated with the context of military and war but has shifted to an understanding of people's liberation from various threats and fears. Buzan (1993:93) defines security as independence from a threat and the ability of the state and society to maintain their independent identity.

In another sense, security includes broader aspects and is not limited to the military and war only. Buzan explained that the security concept is a condition of freedom from food insecurity, poverty, infectious diseases, and environmental crises. Issues that threaten the survival of a particular collective unit will be seen as existential threats (Perwita & Yani, 2006:119-122).

UNDP (1994:23) defined human security as; “first, safety from such chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life - whether in homes, in jobs, or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development.”

Furthermore, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) emphasizes that human security has two main aspects. First, security from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression. Second, it means protection from sudden and painful disturbances in daily life, whether at home, at work, or in society. This threat can be found in all countries with different income levels and levels of development. (UNDP Report, 1994)

Furthermore, UNDP (1994) divides human security into several groups, namely:

1. Economic security, a guarantee of income to meet the minimum level of needs for everyone.
2. Food security, a guarantee of physical and economic access to basic needs.
3. Health security, a guarantee of protection from disease and unhealthy lifestyle.
4. Environmental security is a guarantee of protection to the people against natural damage and destruction of the natural environment.
5. Personal security, a guarantee of protection to the people against physical violence, whether originating from the state, non-state, individuals, or other people's atrocities.
6. Community security is protection from ethnic and sectarian violence.
7. Political security, is a guarantee for citizens to be able to live in a society that respects human rights.

Therefore, Mary Kaldor (2007) defines the concept of human security as a complement to a human development approach that focuses on reducing or possibly eliminating threats to human life in everyday life, namely the first principle, namely the Human Security Policy, which is respect for human rights in dealing with violence the focus is on individual needs.

Kaldor (2007:283-286) divides human security into 5 (five) principles, namely:

1. The Human Security Policy, which respects human rights in the face of violence, focuses on individual needs.

2. Formation of Legitimate Political Authority, where human security depends on the existence of legitimate institutions that gain the population's trust. Justice is very important in building an individual's sense of security, availability of jobs, infrastructure, and public services must be strengthened.

3. Multilateralism means a commitment to work with international institutions, not only the United Nations but also requires cooperation with other regional organizations, such as NATO in Europe.

4. The Bottom-Up perspective is human security is about empowering the poor.

5. Focus on Areas Facing Crisis, such as refugees, transnational crime networks, illegal trade, minorities, etc.

In the context of implementing community security in West Java after the 2019 Presidential Election, the first principle is the focus of attention on analyzing the extent to which the West Java Provincial Government has developed development policies to provide security guarantees for its people.

Post-2019 Presidential Election Political Polarization

The 2019 Presidential Election left residue in the form of polarization which is still strong in society and is predicted to strengthen in the 2024 Election. Not only did polarization cause rifts in people's social relations, but the 2019 Presidential Election also caused many casualties among election organizers due to the heavy workload causing fatigue that triggers various diseases to death.

Based on data from the Ministry of Health through the Health Office for each province, as of May 15, 2019, 527 election administration officials had died, and 11,239 people were sick. The highest number of fatalities occurred in West Java is 177 people, 82 people in East Java, Central Java 44 people, Banten 29 people, South Sumatra 25 people, West Kalimantan 26 people, Lampung 23 people, 18 people in DKI Jakarta, 10 in Yogyakarta. South Kalimantan 8 people, Bengkulu 7 people, Riau 7 people, NTB 7 people, Jambi 6 people, East Kalimantan 6 people, Central Kalimantan 6 people, Southeast Sulawesi 6 people, Riau Islands 4 people, Bali 2 people, North Sulawesi 2 people, Maluku 2 people, and West Sumatra one person.

West Java, with nearly 20 percent of the total voters in Indonesia, recorded the largest death toll of 177 people. This indicates that holding elections in West Java is very difficult, especially with the security situation and conditions disrupted by the polarization that occurred during the 2019 election.

The 2019 presidential election, brought Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto again, seemed to repeat the political battle in the 2014 presidential election. West Java, which Prabowo managed to dominate in the 2014 presidential election, does not want to lose support from the province with the largest number of voters in Indonesia in the 2019 presidential election. However, Prabowo is considered to represent the strength of the Muslim community. He has won (again) the support of the people of West Java. The battle between the two presidential candidates engenders sharp polarization in West Java.

According to the informant, the Head of the National Unity and Political Agency of West Java Province, Iip Hidayat, acknowledged that political polarization which led to identity politics during the 2019 Presidential Election had the potential to disrupt public security. But so far, the West Java provincial government, assisted by the police and the Indonesian National Army, has succeeded in reducing social conflicts in society. So that during the political contestation, security conditions in West Java were relatively conducive.

The same thing was conveyed by the informant of the Governor of West Java Ridwan Kamil who stated that during the 2019 Presidential Election, the West Java Provincial Government intensively communicated and coordinated with all stakeholders intensively. In addition, security cooperation continues to be carried out with vertical agencies such as the Indonesian National Army and the Police. The role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces or the police is very important to maintain security and conduciveness in West Java.

Ridwan Kamil added that intensive communication and coordination were also carried out by the regional government with Mass Organizations, NGOs, Community and Youth Organizations, community leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders, and community nodes to provide an understanding of the importance of maintaining conduciveness in Java West for the sake of sustainable development.

The informant, Major General of the Indonesian National Armed Forces, Nugroho Budi Wiryanto, the Commander of the III/Siliwangi military area regretted that there were parties who used issues that could divide unity and integrity only for the sake of momentary electoral interests. The political elite must be aware that people's sovereignty must be realized by distancing society from democratic narratives that insult and disgrace one another.

According to the informant Nugroho, the meeting between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto in Lebak Bulus after the 2019 presidential election was a strategic momentum that could reduce the potential for conflict in society. The meeting can melt the crystallized polarization so that social conflict does not occur. This condition shows how the true character of the Indonesian nation is that it is very

tolerant and respects differences. The same thing also happened in West Java. Gradually the situation and condition of the community began to be normal and conducive.

Informant Ruslan Ependi, Director of Intelligence and Security for the West Java Regional Police, stated that identity politics that is developing in society is believed to have an impact on social rifts in society. Therefore, the Polri apparatus within the jurisdiction of the West Java Regional Police, immediately took action steps, namely:

1. unravel the polarization so that it does not crystallize into conflict
2. improve Enhanced Routine Activities
3. enforce the law effect deterrents in society
4. fundraising for religious leaders, community leaders, mass organizations, and communities.

According to Ruslan (informant), the West Java Regional Police are also increasing police synergy with the National Unity and Politics Agency, civil service police units, the Indonesian National Armed Forces, and other related agencies, as well as stakeholders in the community. Collaboration in the Regional Leadership Coordination Forum, as well as conducting joint patrols, both on a small and large scale.

Meanwhile, an expert on security studies Arry Bainus explained that Indonesia, including West Java, is currently experiencing a phase of change from authoritarianism to democracy. However, most interpret democracy as freedom as freely as possible. Everyone always speaks on behalf of democracy but forgets the principles of democracy, namely the rule of law. As a result, democracy is eaten by its child, namely populism. Populism grows and develops together with identity politics.

In other words, to create security in democratic life, the rule of law must be upheld. For example law enforcement against violators who commit fraud during elections. So far, no election fraud has been legally processed. As a result, various frauds always occur in every election event. If the rule of law is upheld, fraud will not occur. The election process will also run in an orderly manner and will not pose a threat to people's lives.

Regarding political polarization, informant Bainus explained that polarization in West Java is not like in DKI Jakarta province, where identity politics and populism politics go head to head. So that the situation and conditions in West Java are relatively conducive. It shows that the people of West Java are more democratic and their people

respect each other's political differences. Although identity politics still exists, it does not have a major impact on social life.

In West Java, continued informant Arry Bainus, the people are used to accepting political differences. Disparate from Central Java, the majority is red or East Java the majority is NU (Muslim organization) that is difficult to accept leadership from a different background. Meanwhile, in West Java, there is no dominance of political color, so whomever the leader, regardless of party background, can be accepted by the community. Like the previous Governor, Danny Setiawan from the Golkar party, then his successor Ahmad Heryawan from the Prosperous Keadilan Sejahtera Party, and now Governor Ridwan Kamil has no party but can still be accepted by the people. From a political perspective, West Java is conducive regardless of its form, although in some areas identity politics still exist, such as in the East Priangan area where there is a strong tradition of Islamic boarding schools, there will be resistance to women's leadership.

This condition, according to informant Arry Bainus, shows that the life of the people of West Java is more democratic than in other regions, and the people can accept and respect differences. Meanwhile, those who are often 'flirty' are free riders in the name of religion and democracy.

In the view of informant Muradi, an expert on security studies explained that identity politics that occurred in West Java did not stand alone. However, it is a series of political events that began in 2016 and continued in the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election and the 2019 presidential election. This means that identity politics is maintained by the political elite so that in West Java the political parties that play on the issue will win the presidential election.

Furthermore, the informant Muradi said that 3 (three) political configurations did not change in West Java. First, former DI/TIIIs in the East Priangan region shifted to Bekasi, Bogor, and Greater Bandung. As new urban areas, Bekasi and Bogor are heavily influenced by DKI Jakarta. While Bandung Raya, East Priangan, and parts of West Priangan were endorsed by local elites. Second, regarding the sensitivity of issues, in West Java, religious and ethnic issues are very sensitive. So when these issues are raised, then whoever plays with the issue will win (in the election), so that the issue is properly utilized. Third, concerns the issue of processing China and the Indonesian communist party (PKI). This issue has become two points of contact with the issue of criminalization of clerics. These two issues continue to be maintained so that West Java's position cannot be separated. Both issues are capitalized on by the political elite to win elections.

According to the informant Muradi, this condition affected public security, but could not be used as a serious basis, because when the presidential election was over, the issue of inflation began to diminish

along with government policies, especially the issue of permits for the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) that shift to normative issues.

Based on the informants' point of view above, shows that political polarization driven by identity politics in the 2019 presidential election occurred in almost all regions in Indonesia. Especially in West Java political polarization also occurs, but not head-to-head between identity politics and populism politics. So that the polarization that occurs does not cause social conflict in society.

On the other hand, the West Java Provincial Government's efforts to build communication and coordination with all elements of society, and the Indonesian National Armed or police in maintaining security are quite effective in building a conducive atmosphere. Thus, the security of the people of West Java is quite protected. Be it before, during, or after the 2019 Presidential Election.

This condition is different from DKI Jakarta, where riots occurred at several points after the announcement of the winner of the 2019 Presidential Election which succeeded in making Joko Widodo become President of Indonesia for the second time. Following are some of the riots that occurred in DKI Jakarta after the announcement of the 2019 Presidential Election winners.

Table 1 Riots After the Announcement of 2019 Presidential Election Winners

No	Forms of Violence	Location	Victim	Source
1	<u>Crowds of supporters for the presidential-vice presidential candidate pair Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Salahudin Uno staged a demonstration in front of the Republic of Indonesia's Election Supervisory Department office</u>	<u>JL. MH. Thamrin-Central Jakarta on 21 and 22 May 2019</u>	Security forces were stoned by demonstrators	<u>https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-48345791</u> accessed on 24 Mei 2019
2	Anarchism at several points in Jakarta	<u>Tanah Abang, Gambir, Petamburan and Slipi. In Petamburan</u>	The Mobile Brigade dormitory was burnt by paid mobs	<u>https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-48345791</u> accessed on 24 Mei 2019

3	Riots on 21 and 22 May 2019	Jakarta (The masses came from West Java, Banten, and Tanah Abang thugs)	Security forces and public facilities (8 people died and 730 people were rushed to the hospital due to injuries. According to DKI Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan, 93 people were diagnosed with non-trauma victims, 79 people were seriously injured, 462 people were lightly injured and 96 people had not been diagnosed. The victims consisted of 179 people aged under 19. While 294 other people aged 20-29 years)	https://m.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190522215010-12-397601/polisi-buru-penyandang-dana-pelaku-kerusuhan-massa-21-22-mei , accessed on 24 Mei 2019 https://www.jawapos.com/nasional/hukum-kriminal/23/05/2019/8-orang-jadi-korban-jiwa-kerusuhan-21-22-mei/ , accessed on 24 Mei 2019
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Source: Olahan Peneliti, 2020

Java Community Security Guarantees After the 2019 Presidential Election

West Java, the province with the largest population in Indonesia has a diversity of ethnicities and beliefs or religions. It has a fairly high level of heterogeneity that allow social conflict occurs in society if the West Java Provincial Government is unable to manage the diversity that exists.

Referring to the Setara Institute report, West Java is the province with the lowest tolerance level in Indonesia. This title has been carried by West Java for the last 11 years without interruption. It means that the people's security in West Java is quite threatened by the presence of intolerance. Moreover, when ethnic diversity and beliefs are ridden by political interests. Hence, identity politics becomes a necessity in West Java and will be repeated in the 2024 election. It is not impossible, in every election event, identity politics will resurrect if the West Java Provincial Government does not try to fix it.

To provide security guarantees to the people, the West Java Provincial Government seeks to create a conducive situation to support activities in developing their lives. The Provincial Government of West Java tries to serve the basic needs of the community through various development programs. Including providing security guarantees from

threats of health problems, and threats of dropping out of school to freedom of expression and assembly.

It was conveyed by the informant of the Governor of West Java Ridwan Kamil. According to him, an important aspect of creating security is how to run the wheels of development according to the needs of the community. So that people can meet their needs properly. The provision of health and education services that are affordable and easily accessible to the community is an ongoing effort by the West Java provincial government. Likewise in the economic field by opening up wider employment opportunities, increasing community economic empowerment, and supporting the growth and development of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises to create economic independence in society.

In the social and political fields, the Provincial Government of West Java provides the biggest possible freedom for the public to gather and express their opinions in public. But these processes must be carried out by the rules so as not to disturb security and public order.

Ridwan Kamil admitted that after the 2019 presidential election, the focus of development in West Java was more on health and social protection aspects. Meanwhile, development in other sectors did not run optimally as planned. This cannot be separated from the situation and condition of the people of West Java whose lives are threatened by the presence of the Covid-19 Pandemic that has hit the world.

The Covid-19 pandemic is a very serious health threat and threatens people's lives. Therefore, the Provincial Government of West Java, by national development policies, is refocusing the budget and focusing development policies on the health and socio-economic sectors of the community. With this effort, the community can be protected from the threat of health problems which have the potential to lead to death, as well as guarantee the fulfillment of basic needs during a pandemic for people who are affected by the policy of limiting community activities.

Setiawan Wangsaatmadja (informant) Regional Secretary of West Java Province. According to him, during the Covid-19 Pandemic, West Java province's development policies were focused on providing health facilities and infrastructure to treat infected people and control the spread of Covid-19.

On the other hand, restrictions on community activities lead to the threat of a food crisis that will hit the less fortunate groups of people. For this reason, the Provincial Government of West Java provides a sizeable portion of the budget to provide social assistance to the community in meeting their basic needs in the food sector.

Wangsaatmadja stated that during the Covid-19 Pandemic, the poverty rate in West Java increased. Therefore, social assistance, which initially only covered 15 percent of the total population of West Java, during the pandemic the distribution is 72 percent of the population of West Java.

Based on a report by the West Java Province Social Service, the poverty rate in West Java due to the Covid-19 pandemic has increased from 6.8 percent in 2019 to 9.7 percent in 2021. Apart from increasing the poverty rate in West Java, the Covid-19 Pandemic has also affected 1,476 companies. So that the wave of layoffs increases during the pandemic. On April 10, 2020, 26,330 workers in West Java were laid off, and 7,583 workers were laid off.

According to Wangsaatmadja, in 2022 the Covid-19 pandemic is starting to slump and is showing signs of improving. Nevertheless, the Provincial Government of West Java continues to monitor developments that are occurring and be alert to the possibility of a third wave. On the other hand, West Java Provincial Government carried out various development activities that were delayed so that services to the community could be better and optimal to catch up during the pandemic. It includes continuing to encourage and empower the community's economy to create self-sufficiency and people's welfare.

This view was shared by informant Nugroho that to ensure human safety, the main thing that the West Java Provincial Government had to do was improve people's welfare. Apart from that, regional security must also be increased by the Provincial Government of West Java. Thus, the public will have more confidence in government officials in maintaining peace, order, and public protection.

For this reason, informants hope that the West Java Provincial Government in formulating policies, in addition to the human approach, must also apply the principles of human security relating to freedom or security from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and oppression.

Informant Bainus gave a broader view, that security issues are important and the first thing the government should do to carry out development. Without security, the development will be difficult. For this reason, the policies of the West Java Provincial Government must support the realization of security in society. Starting from improving basic services for the community to the issue of freedom of expression and channeling their aspirations. This must be guaranteed by the Provincial Government of West Java to realize public security.

The problem, continued informant Arry, is that sometimes the Provincial Government of West Java also issues policies that threaten certain minority groups in society. Such as the policy of banning Ahmadiyah teachings in West Java, making this group feel

downtrodden, and discriminated against, both by the majority group and the West Java Provincial Government. It caused West Java to become the most intolerant province in Indonesia because it is considered to have castrated a group of people's freedom in carrying out their worship. Hence, it is considered systemic because it was carried out or legitimized by the West Java Provincial Government.

Thus, the Provincial Government of West Java must be able to act wisely, stand above all groups, and be able to protect minority groups. Do not because of security, peace, or orders, the government can arbitrarily issue policies that threaten certain groups' security. It means, the government must be able to manage any existing differences into a constructive development potential. One of them is through dialogue, communication, and building social agreements with all elements of society, including minority communities.

On the other hand, continued the informant Arry, the policies of the West Java Provincial Government must be oriented to the interests of the wider community. Encouraging community empowerment through the provision of various facilities that can support the community to be able to develop their potential. So that problems of food insecurity, poverty, school dropouts, and health insecurity can be addressed immediately.

The opinions of the informants above show that security issues are the most crucial thing in development. Therefore, development must be carried out through a human security approach, namely by encouraging service improvements, community empowerment, and welfare.

With a development policy that stands for all groups, society can be free from various security threats, both economically, socially, educationally, politically, and other aspects that support their lives. It will significantly increase order and peace in people's lives.

III. CONCLUSION

West Java is a province with nearly 20 percent of the national vote, which makes it an arena for open political battles. The elite and political parties have a very important interest in controlling and gaining the majority support of the people that have never been "controlled" by a single political party.

This shows that politically the political maturity level of the people of West Java is more advanced and mature than other regions which are always identified with the mass base of certain political parties. However, political maturity and the spirit of pluralism are fading with

the presence of identity politics that threatens the people's security in West Java.

Political polarization after the 2019 Presidential Election was overlaid with identity politics has become residual and is predicted to come up again in the 2024 election. In West Java itself, with its diversity of ethnicities and beliefs, identity politics is not difficult to generate if the West Java Provincial Government does not anticipate it properly, and it will return threaten public safety.

During the event until after the 2019 presidential election, the condition of West Java was relatively conducive. This is because there is no head-to-head between identity politics and populism politics. However, this does not mean that the security of the people of West Java can be guaranteed. Because the possibility of social conflict in West Java is still open and has the potential for various triggers.

Therefore, to anticipate the occurrence of social conflicts that threaten public security, the West Java Provincial Government must be able to stand above all groups to create justice. That means development policies in West Java must focus on improving people's welfare. A good level of welfare is a guarantee for the security of the people of West Java.

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