



Filipinazion of Indonesian Politics: Politics of Family Formation in Southeast Sulawesi

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Abstract

In the post-colonial countries, a like Indonesia, a democratic political system is considered the best choice to govern. However, although Indonesia has become the third largest democracy in the world, yet still have a family politics entrenched and practiced in modern political system. In the emerging Indonesian democracies, however, family, patronage, nepotism and dynasty are also key ingredients within these politics. Some reflect generations-long traditions of political power, whilst others are generated by the opportunities presented by the democratic and electoral process itself. This paper attempts to investigate the process of the emergence of a political dynasty and how political dynasty was maintained power in Southeast Sulawesi. By using qualitative research methods, it was found that local elections as instrument for maintained and retained his power in local election, especially in Southeast Sulawesi. The victory achieved by the political families in the political contest is caused by several factors. Each political family able to maintain the loyalty of supporters, even from time to time they were able to expand the number of constituents. For a political family, they are easy to take advantage of his position with a number of manipulation and pressure. Various forms of public policy and programs manipulated as his success, intervention in selecting the electoral officer and staffs, the politicization of the bureaucracy, money politics and thuggery. The family of politicians also trying to extended their power through the assimilation process (family wedding) between politicians in a region with politicians from other regions.

Keywords: Filipinazion, election, family politics, patronage, thuggery, Southeast Sulawesi

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1. Introduction

Since the political reform of 1998, Indonesia grew into one of the world's third largest democracy after India and the United States. The downfall of Soeharto make Indonesia more inclusive is marked by the coming of political parties participating in elections the previous era is limited. At the same time, President Habibie was very responsive to demands for democratization. President Habibie was considered successfully issued a number of reformist policies have implications for political developments in the national and local level.

At the local level, decentralized administration have a positive impact on one hand, but on the other hand have a negative impact in the form of the spread of corruption in the region, political thuggery action, as well as the practice of political dynasties. Indeed this is not something new, but it can be regarded as the development of the practice of

centralized authoritarian New Order era. No wonder then many observers call decentralization bore 'little Soeharto' in the area. This opinion was almost in line with the findings of Puskapol UI and Demos in 2011 that the post-reform era in Indonesia there are symptoms demonopolization and hijacking democracy by the elite in the area. The situation is contrary to the principles of democracy that upholds justice and equality. Levistky and Way (2010) refer to this situation as "a competitive authoritarian regime" [1].

After more than a decade of rolling, democracy and decentralization face a serious threat of the emergence of a political dynasty in the various regions. The practice has been ongoing dynasty in Banten, South Sulawesi, Jambi, Lampung, West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, Riau Islands, Southeast Sulawesi is no exception. The local authorities make their power like a monarchy. Practice of dynasty thrive in local democratic regime is corrupt, full of manipulation and pressure. In order to maintain power, they

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do not hesitate to use violent means, the practice of money politics, politicization of bureaucracy, paying elections committee, abusing the state budget and make marriage between family dynasties.

The strengthening of patronage politics in Indonesia had been feared by the political scientist. Nico Harjanto (2011) argue that it is not likely in the near future politics in Indonesia would like happened in the Philippines, where bossism territorial-based political master. Country run by a small elite of a few families, clans or political dynasty strong in certain areas, and karenannya very difficult to expect an expansion of access to power and a healthy democratic process and substantial*. Indonesia's concerns such as the Philippines was first articulated by Aspinall that Indonesian politics is undergoing a process of 'filipinization' politics, where politics is controlled by wealthy businessmen, thugs and family network.[2]

In Southeast Sulawesi, political dynasty grew in almost all regions of mainland and islands. In Southeast Sulawesi, 11 of the 45 elected members of the provincial legislature in the 2014 election came from a family of local officials from his wife, son-in-law and uncle. The 'political family' controls the social, political and economic In Southeast Sulawesi, political dynasty grew in almost all regions of mainland and islands. In Southeast Sulawesi, 11 of the 45 elected members of the provincial legislature in the 2014 election came from a family of local officials from his wife, son-in-law and uncle. The 'political family' controls the social, political and economic resources in their respective electoral districts. In the City and District level, their power be stronger and stronger, legislative and executive positions filled by their relatives family. In Election 2015, three of the seven elected regional heads has a family relationship with other local politicians that South Konawe, Muna and East Kolaka. Furthermore, the elections in 2017, four of the seven districts where election participants come from 'political family' Muna West, South Buton, North Kolaka and Kendari. Three of the four regions that included political family had been won. In order to understand the process of the emergence of dynasties, then this article tries to answer the question, how political dynasties emerge and retain power in Southeast?

2. Theoretical Framework

Political families in a democratic political system have gotten the attention of serious scholars of political and social sciences in Southeast Asia. Scholars have different concepts when it defines power based on family networks. McCoy (2002) and Teenhake (2001) mentions the term family rule by political dynasties, which refers to the ability of the family to inherit and accumulate power and wealth from one generation to the next place in the entire political system model [3]. Thompson (2012) refer to a political dynasty as other types of transition of political power, directly or indirectly involving family members [4]. Others also Querbin (2011) defines a political dynasty as one or a

small number of families that dominate the distribution of power in the area of a particular region [4]. Definition others expressed by Kenawas (2015), a political dynasty refers to elected public official (governor / mayor / district / legislator) who has a family relationship with the incumbent at the same time, a lower or higher level (district or provincial) based on the relationship of husband wife, vertical descent or extension of family [4].

By definition, a family-based approach to the political history of a nation can bring significant new insights. Political dynasty refers to the ability of a family to inherit and to accumulate power and wealth from one generation to the next and frequently functions across a variety of political systems and across time [4]. Critiques authored in the 1990s [3] have led to greater emphasis on the 'family' and more nuanced understandings of power relations by historians and anthropologists of South East Asia. Nonetheless, research enhancing our understanding of the role of the family dynasty as a political institution in this region still remains under-represented. As a scholar of the politics of the Philippines, Alfred W McCoy comments as follows:

Despite the apparent influence of family upon the wider society and its politics, most historians . . . have ignored this problem and still treat Philippines politics through its formal institutional structures. Even social scientists, despite an obligatory bow in the direction of the family have generally failed to incorporate substantive analysis of its dynamics into their rendering of the country's social and political processes [4].

Studies of dynasties in the Philippines [4] suggest that these institutions are built and maintained by a variety of strategies, including wealth accumulation, political machinery, marriage, alliance, myth creation and the media. Moreover, as countries in South East Asia, including the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand examined in this volume, experienced the transition from authoritarianism to democracy over recent decades, both old and new political families and dynasties have used their political muscle and wealth to benefit from and influence this political transformation [3].

Political families also termed as families practice is too great reliance on family ties, which gave birth to the habit of putting family and kinship ties in a higher position than the other social obligations. Djati mentioned three variants families in a political dynasty [5]. The first is families (families), the political dynasty that is based purely on direct blood relations within the family (consanguinity) and marital relationship (marriage) with other clans [5].

Second, quasi-political that dynasty families is no longer in the realm of the core family, but also has branched out with other families who are not a blood descendant, but has a kinship system based artificially. In the model of quasi-families, all members of the family tried to identify themselves through certain symbols in order to get legitimacy from the other family. The identification process could be through the use of the family name, the path of marriage, as well as other family rites.

¹Nico Harjanto, <http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2015/11/14/pengamat-pergantian-nama-kih-mengakhiri-perpecahan-di-dpr>

Third, egoism - families. Context egoism can be understood in two ways, namely in terms of head and society. Egoism of regional head that replaced the head area still has an influence on the replacement either directly or indirectly, giving rise to the interpretation that there is a shadow government that carried out the outgoing regional head against his successor. From the community side, own selfishness shown by the tendency to keep the particular family still controls the reins of power.

3. Data and Results

Southeast Sulawesi is a province located on the southeast peninsula of the island of Sulawesi. Formerly (royal) area is divided into kingdoms. Southeast Sulawesi was founded in 1964 carved out of South Sulawesi province. Judging from the presence of the population based on ethnicity, Southeast Sulawesi, including a multi-ethnic province, at least 23 ethnic inhabit this region. Although the plural, but in the local political arena there are only four ethnic groups that dominate Buton, Muna, Tolaki and Bugis. This is because the four ethnic groups constitute the largest population, while other smaller tribes. While Election ethnic ties are often the unifying element.

Geographically, the Southeast Sulawesi is divided into two regions of the mainland and the islands. The land area is inhabited by many ethnic Tolaki and Bugis, while islands inhabited by ethnic Muna and Buton. This segregation Southeast Sulawesi influence people's preferences in choosing their leader (Governor and Mayor), the mainland tend to favour the mainland vice versa. Patron-client networks, kinship and ethnicity became the hallmark of the local politics of Southeast Sulawesi royal era until today [7, 8, 9] (Suaib, 2005; Aryuni 2010, Zuada, 2012; Syaf, 2013). This fact is confirmed by the findings Sutoro Eko [10]: *“Almost all districts in Sulawesi, including Kendari, shows the character of the area-based revival of politics of ethnicity and kinship that. Consanguinity between the governor, the chairman of parliament, regents / mayors and local officials is a common performance.... Ethnic Tolaki a dominant force in the politics of Kendari which have historical roots in the Kingdom Konawe in the past ... Abunawas a great dynasty Tolaki ... if Abunawas ruling, all Abunawas. If Silondae ruling, the majority of officials Silondae yes.... Kendari comes a play a very famous local politics ie Regulation (instead of local regulations but consanguinity)”*.

Placement of the family in power is a common practice in the imperial system. In the era before independence, Southeast Sulawesi is a region of the power of the kings, no wonder then power family is so entrenched in this region [11]. The Dutch colonialism affects political constellation kingdom is the emergence of new elites outside the kingdom, they are the bureaucrats who were recruited by the colonial government. Netherlands as the country's longest colonized Indonesia (Southeast Sulawesi) seeks to strengthen its power through cooperation strategy on the one hand, and war on the other side. Cooperative efforts made by the kings who agree to work together, otherwise

they are not able to work together will get threats from the Dutch and their allies through the politics of divide. Dutch cooperation strategy is evident in Buton Sultanate and Kingdom of Bone, whereas hostility carried out in the kingdom of Gowa and Muna [12].

Familiarity Dutch and local kingdoms making powers of the local king is irreplaceable, though modernize power through bureaucratic establishment. Recruitment bureaucracy by Dutch considered local people loyal. Support kings and loyal bureaucracy makes the Dutch are very helpful. As a strategy of expansion of colonial rule, the royal family is building a good relationship and bureaucrats who served the colonial given the opportunity to acquire knowledge and education sponsored by the colonial government. This makes the royal family and the local community bureaucrats as the most advanced and educated at that time.

In the era of independence, educational excellence which is owned by the royal family and bureaucrats make them occupy most appropriate qualifications to fill important positions at the local level. The educated people have to fill the position as head of local government, legislators, and bureaucrats to teachers. Among them are Laode Manarfa, alumni of the University of Leiden, the last sultan of Buton regency and the first Regent of Southeast Sulawesi [1]. In 1959, Southeast Sulawesi regency divided into four District level II includes Buton, Muna, Kendari and Kolaka. Regent position first in four regions held by a local son, Abdul Halim Laode held Buton, Muna Laode chaired by Abdul Kudus, Kendari (currently Konawe) chaired by Abdullah Silondae, Regent Kolaka Silondae Yakob.

Silondae family in the mainland more memorably, after Silondae Yakob appointed as deputy governor accompany the Governor Laode Hadi. Twelve years later (1978) Yakob Silondae's brother, Abdullah Silondae (Regent Kendari) was appointed Governor of Southeast Sulawesi. The reform era Silondae family among the community Tolaki remain popular, this is shown by the election of Yusran Silondae (son of Yakob Silondae) as a deputy Governor of Southeast Sulawesi in 2003-2008 and as Member of Region of Representative Council (DPD) periods 2014-2019.

In addition Silondae family, family Abunawas (Regent Konawe 1969-1973) are very popular among the ethnic Tolaki. In 1996 sons of Regent Abunawas namely Mashyur Masie Abunawas, elected by the City Council as Mayor of Kendari first post into the autonomous regions. Mashyur Masie Abunawas served as Mayor for two periods and ended in 2007. Despite the ending, Mashyur family tried to retain power by encouraging family relatives Ridman Abunawas as a candidate for vice mayor. Mashyur's attempt failed after Asrun-Musaddar Mapasomba won the election directly. Although opposite, Mashyur and Asrun still have family connections. Asrun's wife is his a cousin.

Ridman failure does not necessarily end the rule Abunawas family. In Konawe, Lukman Abunawas (younger brother of Mashyur Masie Abunawas) was elected as a regent from 2003 until 2013. After not being regent, Lukman Abunawas still remains an important figure

among the ethnic Tolaki, after he managed to put the child in-law (Parinringi) as vice-regent Konawe, accompanying Kerry Saiful Konggoasa as Regent. Not long ago Abunawas Lukman was appointed by Governor Nur Alam as region secretary of Provinsi. Southeast Sulawesi in 2013. In the general election 2014, Lukman succeeded in extending his power after his wife Yati Abunawas Lukman was elected as a member of the Provincial Parliament from National Democrat Party.

Konggoasa (acting Regent Konawe 1973) and Yokoyama Sinapoy (former Sekdaprov / DPD from Southeast Sulawesi) is also listed as a family that managed to form his descendants as a political leader. Bachrun Konggoasa (son of Konggoasa) over periods was selected as a parliament member representing the Golkar party Kendari. Bachrun's brother, Kerry Saiful Konggoasa become Chairman of Parliament representing National Mandate Party (PAN), then in 2013 he was elected as regent Konawe replacing Lukman Abunawas.

Furthermore, Oheo Sinapoy and Nur Sinapoy noted as a successful family Sinapoy. Oheo is a former Member of Parliament who is also a child of Yokoyama Sinapoy. Nur Sinapoy (cousin of Sinapoy Oheo, who is also the brother of Normadia Masyhur Masie Abunawas, in 2015 appointed as acting Regent Konawe Islands. Success of Silondae, Abunawas, Konggoasa, Sinapoy families and other Tolaki clan is inseparable from their educational factors and supported by big names of their family.

4. The emergence of political dynasty in the era of decentralization

In the era of decentralization, the political elite in Southeast Sulawesi tried to control local politics by building a political dynasty. The legislative election (Table 1), the executive (Table 2), and political parties into an arena that is used to expand the powers of their dynasty. In the inland areas and large clans Tolaki ever become an elite government old order and the new order remain, along with they get the new elite competition from fellow ethnic beyond their family. This new elite is the new generation of bureaucrats and businessmen. A similar situation took place also in the archipelago Muna and Buton. The Regents in the Islands started their career as a bureaucrat in the New Order era. The Many of them identified as Lord or Royal marked with the name prefix in front Laode. The royal family is also noted to have a lot of money, with their background as an entrepreneur. Bureaucrats, aristocrats and businessmen is a figure respected by the island communities.

In the mainland, the new elite is on the figure of Nur Alam (Governor) and Asrun (Mayor of Kendari). Nur Alam is not part of a clan Tolaki, he began his career as entrepreneurs, legislators, former Chairman of DPW PAN and was elected governor in 2007 and 2013. In Southeast Sulawesi Nur Alam was a success, during his leadership, the PAN won 10 of the 12 elections in Southeast Sulawesi. In the 2014 election he successfully led his wife Asnawati Hasan was elected as a Member of Parliament from Sultra

after outperform Laode Ida. Many observers called the victory Tina (greeting Asnawati) is inseparable from the role her husband was in control of the bureaucracy, the election organizers, heads of regional and money politics [13]. In the 2015 elections, he supported his brother as a candidate for Regent at the locality South Konawe, but his brother failed to be elected [14]. In addition to the South Konawe, support Nur Alam also suffered defeat in Muna, Konawe Islands, North and North Buton Konawe.

The failure of his brother and the prospective head region support Nur Alam slowly dims his family name, moreover, the 2015 on PAN National Conference his candidate for chairperson, Hatta Rajasa defeated by Zulkifli Hasan. A source said that Hatta Rajasa's loss due to the defection of a number of DPD Sultra. DPD defection is driven by Asrun (Chairman of the Council of Kendari PAN) and a number of DPD is not in line with the leadership of Nur Alam. Nur Alam influence in Southeast Sulawesi continued to decline after he was elected again as Chairman DPW PAN Sultra. Local conference PAN that was chaotic because ununited formation. Finally, Zulkifli Hasan Umar appointed Samiun (Chairman of the Council Buton PAN) and Adriatma Dwi Putra (son of Asrun) as secretary.

After not lead on PAN, Nur Alam choose take arrest themselves in political parties, the only remaining his wives (members of Parliament representing PAN) and his son, Nur Alam Radhan active as Chairman of the Youth Party Sultra Perindo. Nur Alam's authority wane after he was declared a suspect by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) for allegedly gratification as mine has been published by Tempo newspaper. Not long ago the head of DPW PAN, Umar Samiun are known to be quite close to Nur Alam is also named as a suspect by the KPK on the bribery case of former judge of the Constitutional Court, Akil Mochtar. Internal conflicts and determination several cadres to make the party failed to win Buton cadres in the South, Central and North Kolaka Buton. PAN cadres only superior in Bombana, Kendari and Muna West. Conditions experienced by the PAN by local observers mention that, 'PAN in Southeast Sulawesi is no longer the hot sun during the day, but has been shifted to the late afternoon'.

PAN victories in Kendari attract the attention of many political observers. This is because the winner is a subsidiary Mayor Kendari, Asrun. Adriatma victory strengthens the position of the dynasty Asrun formed since the general election 2014 and local election 2015. Asrun, before he is becoming mayor noted as a new generation of bureaucrats who had received Master in mayoring engineering in Australia. On that, he was known as an intelligent bureaucrat, also as a politician who likes to read books. In the 2014 election, Asrun managed to deliver her two children as a legislator. Asrisal Primary (first child Asrun) seat legislator in Kendari, while his brother, Adriatma Dwi Putra elected as legislators Southeast Sulawesi Province. The second victory of the crown prince of the mayor is difficult to separate from their parent who mobilizing the bureaucracy, money politics and doing bribe

to local staff election in village [13]. The current strategy of legislative elections do well when winning Adriatma Dwi Putra as a candidate for mayor in 2017, with a politicized bureaucracy at all levels (the level of the district, village, neighbourhood) including ad hoc election organizers.

“When the day of my election along H pack headman brought money 100 million to be distributed to voters who are already our list and make sure they have right to vote. We also identify the citizens who do not support us. They did not get money from us. The money that we hold today is the remaining 50 million, and we return to the central team” [15].

Distribution of money has also been conducted during the campaign and visit homes. The citizens who attended were given rice, money and gloves [16]. Distribution of money given the time they attend a meeting / campaign at village level. Nominal money amounted to 200.000 stored in envelope with pictorial and stemp of candidate. Rice distributed to each head of a family with an amount of 50 kg, stickers included therein candidate picture. This distribution is done by the board of the neighbourhood (*Rukun Tetangga/RT*) in each village [17]. The existence of the neighbourhood used massively by Asrun as the incumbent Mayor. RT who rebellious and does not support the ADP, would accept the dismissal of the head of village [18]. Provision of rice, money and gloves are commonly known by vote buying. Purchases of voters has also been conducted in the form of pork barrel, a housing residents recalled, that the election day the residents of the housing does not need the money but want asphaltting of the road to their housing [19]. The people's will is answered by the City of Kendari three days before the election [20].

In the bureaucracy area, ahead of local election, Asrun also perform various manoeuvres such as change of officers in Echelon II, III and IV. Asrun decision to replace the head of the Office of Population and Civil Registry had caused anger ministry of the interior, thus terminating server electronic ID card [21]. by information circulating it is because of they are less solid and less work in winning the candidate. In addition to intervene, Asrun also organizers also sending his people on election organizers. Secretary of the Local Election Commission given to the full trust of the mayor, officers on Election Supervisor Committee (*Panitia Pengawas*) mostly filled by civil servants and employees of the government, while the local election officers who recruited are people they recognize.

In the local election 2015, Asrun provide moral and material support to his uncle Surunudin Dangga, which run as Regent South Konawe. One of the top elite political party in Southeast Sulawesi told that at the time of the local election, Surunuddin assisted by his niece (Asrun) as much as four billion rupiahs to succeed him in the face of local election Konawe Selatan [22]. Surunudin is a senior politician from Golkar party, who had several times run as Regent in several different areas, but failed. In the 2015 elections, Surunudin successfully elected as regent South Konawe. The election of the uncle is makes Asrun stronger position politically, moreover, wife of his uncle is a legislator in Kendari. In 2016, networking of the family

dynasty Asrun continues to grow after Asrisal Pratt married with the granddaughter of former Regent Kolaka, Andi Pangerang Umar. His brother's wedding followed by Adriatma Dwi Putra who marry the daughter of Imran (former Regent South Konawe / Chairman of the Council Gerindra Sulawesi). Sister-in-law and mother-in-law Adriatma an elected legislator in Election 2014. Thus, it can be said child marriage is politically strengthen Asrun dynasty in the mainland.

Table 1.
Officials Elected Regent and Family Network in Southeast

No	Name	Territory	Family Relations
1	Tony Herbinsyah (Regent of East Kolaka 2016-2021)	East Kolaka	Cousin of Tina Nur Alam (Wife of Governor of Sultra: Nur Alam)/ Son of ex Major of Kendari H.Andry Djufry
2	Surunuddin Dangga (Regent of Konawe Selatan 2016-2021)	South Konawe	Uncle of Asrun (Mayor Kendari 2007-2017) / Brother of Yokoyama Sinapoy and Yusran Silondae
3	L.M. Rusman Emba (Regent of Muna 2015-2020)	Muna	Nephew of Ridwan Bae (Regent Muna 2010-2015 / Member of National Parliament 2014-2019)
4	Agus Faisal Hidayat (Regent of South Buton 2017-2022)	South Buton	Sons of L.M Syafei Kahar (Regent of Buton 2002-2012)
5	Adriatma Dwi Putra (Mayor of Kendari 2017-2022)	Kendari	Son of Asrun / Grandson of Surunuddin Dangga / Brother in law of Imran

Other mainland elite also attempt to build a dynasty in their own territories, but it is not as successful as do Asrun. Regent North Konawe Aswad Sulaiman in 2014 managed to deliver his wife Isyatin Syam elected as Member of Parliament Sultra. The elected Isyatin Syam as a member of local parliament is inseparable from the role of her husband, who distributed money during the campaign [23]. In government and bureaucracy, Aswad Sulaiman points two of his sons as Head of Department of Public Works and Head of Regional General Hospital in North Konawe [24]. Aswad effort to build this dynasty failed after he was defeated in the Local Election North Konawe 2015. Not long ago Aswad named as a suspect corruption by Prosecutors [25]. At the same his dynasty collapsed and remained his wife as local legislators.

In Konowe, Abunawas Lukman (former Regent Konawe) also build his dynasty with deliver Yati Lukman (his wife) as a member of the Provincial Parliament in 2014, and son in-law (Parinringi) as Vice Regent Konawe 2013. This is not inseparable the role of his father-in-law as the incumbent regent. When local election in Konawe, there are violations by regent, as bureaucratic mobilization

(agency heads to the village head), misappropriation of village funds, payments to voters (Rp. 50000-300000), the distribution of rice for the poor, providing employment (hiring daily in the scope of local government), intimidation of bureaucracy, program of rebuilding home. However, it is not proven and the Constitutional Court rejected the plaintiff's claim [26].

In North Kolaka, power based family and regionally also marked the election of the regent. Rusda and his family support his favorite bureaucrat Nur Rahman as his successor. The victory of Nur Rahman cannot be separated from the support of the bureaucracy, businessmen and family networks. Nur Rahman fully supported by Rusda and all levels of bureaucracy. Nur Rahman supported by most entrepreneurs and contractors. These contractors are family Rusda Mahmud, who is also the winner of the tender development projects in North Kolaka.

Nur Rahman also takes advantage of networking family of origin Luwu Raya (South Sulawesi) to support it. Ahead of the election, the gangster from Luwu Raya mobilized to go to the North Kolaka. Mobilization of regional thugs is done by Nur Rahman to anticipate the opponent's, Bobby Alimudin Page who is also vice Rusda Mahmud in the second period. Bobby is known as the son of a Bugis champion (Alimudin Page) from origin Tabbae Bone Kingdom (South Sulawesi). During his life, Alimudin known as the former village chief and leaders of champions who have trained thousands of people, and neatly organized under the banner of the White Horse. Above all-his champion, when elections running lots of offspring plunged into the world of politics and successfully elected as members of Parliament, including Bobby. In local election, supporters and relatives from Konawe, Bone Kingdom, Morowali and Poso Kolaka sent to the North to secure his voice and to pressure on people to winning Bobby [27].

Tabel. 2. Family Network on Legislative and Political Parties in Southeast Sulawesi Province

No	Local Members Parliament	Family relationship	Party
1	Adriatma Dwi Putra	Son of Asrun (Mayor Kendari 2007-2017)	PAN
2	Suriyani Imran	Imran's wife (former of Regent Konawe Selatan 2005-2015)	Golkar
3	Surunudin Dangga	Asrun's uncle (Mayor Kendari)	Golkar
4	Waode Farida	LM. Baharudin's wife (former regent Muna 2010-2015)	PAN
5	Murniaty M Ridwan	Ridwan Zakaria's wife (former regent Buton Utara 2010-2015)	PAN
6	Wd Sitti Nurlaila	Ridwan's wife (regent Muna 2000-2010)	Golkar
7	Nursalam Lada	Hugua's Younger brother-in-law (Regent Wakatobi 2005-2015)	PDI.P

8	WD Salmatiah	L.M Syafie Kahar's wife (Regent Buton 2002-2012)	Demokrat
9	Wahyu Ade Pratama	Son of Imran (Regent South Konawe Selatan 2005-2015)/son in law of Syafei (Regent Kolaka)	Golkar
10	Yati Lukman	Lukman Abunawas's wife (Regent Konawe 2002-2012/Sekretary of Southeast Sulawesi Province 2013-till now)	Nasdem
11	Isyatin Syam	Aswad Sulaiman's wife (Regent Konawe Utara 2010-2015)	Demokrat

In the archipelago, political dynasty is also growing. In District Muna, Ridwan Bae Family (who is an entrepreneur, Chairman of Golkar Party of Southeast Sulawesi, and Muna regent 2000-2010) managed to occupy an important position. Ridwan Bae's wife, Siti Waode Nurlaila (son of the Last King of Muna Kingdom) was elected as member of local parliament (2014-2019). Earlier, in the year 2010, brother of Waode Nurlaila (L.M. Baharuddin) was elected as regent Muna. Victory of L.M. Baharuddin was obtained after defeating strong rivals, L.M. Rusman Emba (nephew Ridwan Bae). Post-elected as regent, L.M Baharuddin served as Chairman of the Council of PAN Muna. In the 2014 election, L.M Baharudin managed to deliver his wife was elected as Member of Parliament together with Waode's sister, Siti Nurlaila (Ridwan Bae's wife).

In district Buton, family dynasty is involving L.M. Syafei Kahar's family (Buton Regent 2001-2011 / bureaucrats and Golkar chairman of Buton). In local election 2011, L.M Syafei Kahar encouraged his son, Agus Syafei Kahar as his successo, but failed. At the legislative elections, L.M Syafei's wife, Waode Salmatia successfully elected as a member of the Provincial Parliament through the Democratic party. In 2017, Agus Syafei Kahar run as Regent South Buton (autonomous regions Buton) and gets the most votes. Many people call Agus victory is inseparable from the role of money and thugs.

The use of thugs in Buton became prevalent view in decentralization era, the political elites seemed more comfortable escorted by the thugs than state officials. Besides can be controlled, the thugs also alert at any time without the need for a lot of money to mobilize them. A local observer said, the election of the regent Agus as South Buton built as a precondition by Syafei Agus since 2011. In the era of Syafei's government, he has prepared Buton division into several areas. Syafei's effort is successful, Buton split into several new autonomous region. When elections in 2017, Agus Syafei run in South Buton, the area known as the mass base of Syafei.

Political dynasty in North Buton trying to constructed by Ridwan Zakaria, (regent 2010-2015). Before becoming a Regent, Ridwan Zakaria is a provincial bureaucrat Southeast Sulawesi. When North Buton currently stand, Ridwan appointed by Nur Alam as acting Regents. In local election in 2010 he was elected as regent. Type Leadership of Ridwan Zakaria always complaints by citizens due to strong intervention by his the family. Development projects undertaken by relatives who had always been known as the richest man in North Buton. At the time of legislative elections in 2014, Ridwan encourages his wife as a candidate for the provincial legislature. Ridwan Murniati's victory cannot be separated from her husband's support both in the bureaucracy, electoral administration and money politics [28].

In district Wakatobi, family dynasty implemented by Hugua family, a former NGO activist who was elected regent in 2005. Hugua who is also Chairman of DPD PDIP Sultra, in 2014 pushed his wife and in-law in the legislative election. Hugua's wife, Ratna Lada run for the House of Representatives passed PDIP, while his wife's brother, Pepper Nursalam forward as a member of the provincial legislature. Charles Lada failed to be elected, but her sister Nursalam Pepper went on to become members of parliament Southeast Sulawesi and currently serves as Vice Chairman of the Parliament.

be a hallmark of the elite in Southeast Sulawesi in expanding power base.

5. Conclusion

Dynasty politics and family rule in Southeast Sulawesi going on since the days of empire until independence. In the era of the old order, political dynasty appeared by the benefits of education they have. Many of those appointed to government officials. They generally come from noble families and bureaucrats who have studied in the colonial era. Entering the New Order era, the political family background of royal blood and bureaucrats remain and occupy important positions in the government, among them were related. Decentralization of the nobles and bureaucrats there were successful but others failed to maintain power breeds. Failure is generally experienced by those who are not able to compete with the new elite that has the power of money (the rich), more extensive network and the support of political parties. The new elite in general background of the entrepreneur, political party leaders and bureaucrats of new generation. In Southeast Sulawesi aristocrats, bureaucrats, the rich and party leaders are slowly building a family through the power of money politics, politicization of bureaucracy, acts of thuggery and marriage within a political family.

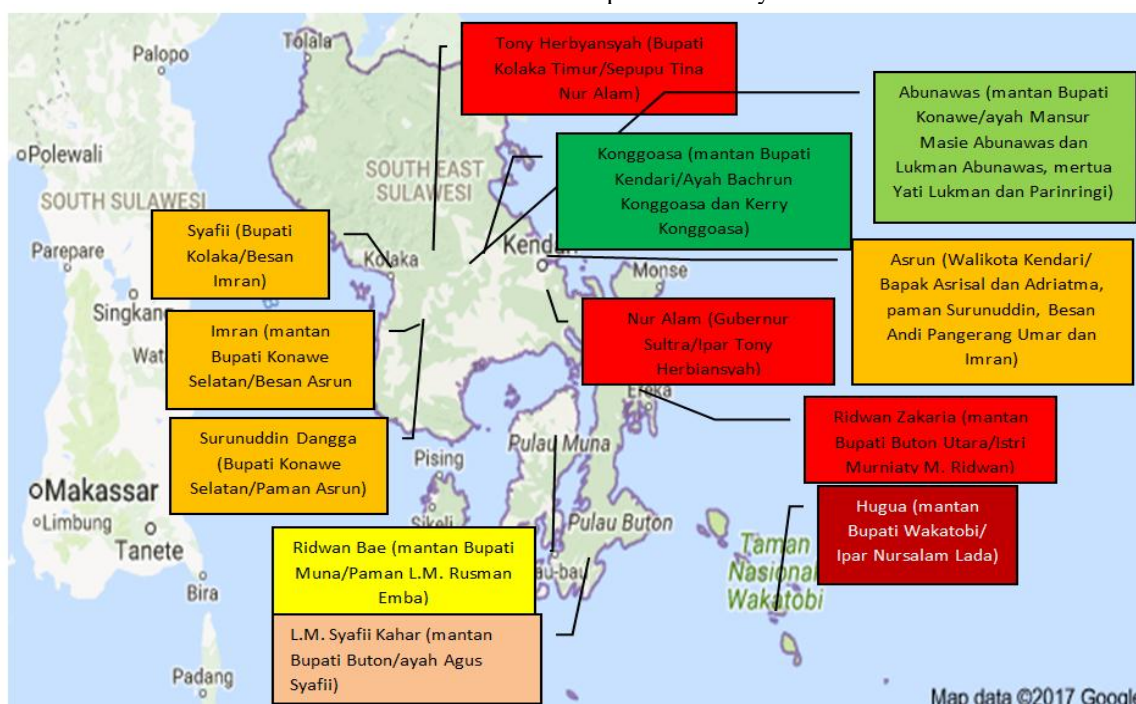


Fig. 1. The knots of Dynasty and relations kinship in Southeast Sulawesi

Based on research data mentioned above, we can analyze that the elections did not always bear democratization at the local level. Instead Election could be hijacked by the political elite by copying in whole or in part Suharto-style practices in the New Order era. The political elite in a decentralized trying to achieve, maintain and expand their power through manipulation, money politics, intimidation and marriage. This family marriage seems to

The practice of familiarizing families and relatives lies in various countries, especially developing countries, which lead to the growth of political dynasties and cause or encourage economic and political nepotism and corruption. The tendency of the political elite to rule and place relatives or families is based on political and economic objectives. Politically, it is aimed at maintaining power, while economically aiming to expand and increase economic or

wealth power. Therefore, it can be said that political dynasties utilizing kinship and kinship networks are channels, resources and tools to perpetuate the interests and status quo of the ruling elite.

This also happened in Southeast Sulawesi. Although the national political system has moved towards a more democratic system, local politics has moved in the opposite direction. Using the procedures and mechanisms of modern democratic systems, the political system in Southeast Sulawesi is implemented in traditional ways and models. This traditionalism is rooted in the existing goals and adheres to every political and family elite in Southeast Sulawesi to build a political dynasty in the region without regard to modern and rational binding norms and rules.

Family power in Southeast Sulawesi lasted from the time of the kingdom to independence. In the era of the old order the political families emerged by the educational excellence they had. Many of them were appointed as government officials. They generally came from noble families and bureaucrats who had studied in the colonial era. Entering the New Order era, the political families of noble and bureaucratic backgrounds persisted and occupied important positions in government, among them were brothers. In the era of decentralization the nobles and bureaucrats have succeeded but others have failed to defend the power-dom. Failures are generally experienced by those who are unable to compete with the new elite who have the power of money (the rich), the wider network and the support of political parties. These new elites are generally entrepreneurs, leaders of new political parties and bureaucrats. In Southeast Sulawesi the nobility, the bureaucrats, the rich and the party leaders are slowly building up family power through money politics, bureaucratic politicization, thuggery and family marriage.

The inability of the elite to apply rationally coupled with the formation of the logic of political dynasties has led to the politics in Southeast Sulawesi into a black corridor that led to the loss of moral values in politics. Wealth and influence of power are used for the interests of the powerful political elite. Duty as a leader who must serve the interests of the people has been manipulated for the benefit of family and political dynasty. Almost all the economic and political elements in Southeast Sulawesi have become part of a large family of political dynasties. As a result, as Lord Acton says, what happens in Southeast Sulawesi is the practice of power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

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