

UDC 338

POWER NETWORK IN ETHNIC MUNA IN ORDER TO WIN ELECTION IN KENDARI CITY, INDONESIA

Amir Muhammad*, Husain M. Najib, Anggraini Dewi

University of Halu Oleo, Kendari, Indonesia

*Email: amir_fisipuh@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Almost all districts in Sulawesi, including Kendari City, Indonesia, shows character based regional political revival of ethnicity and kindship. In this issue, ethnic issues raised (*Reinvented*) in relation with the issue of representation. Ethnicity is a political act as a source for driving the group cohesiveness and therefore facilitate the articulation of politics, both in the form interest groups and individuals. Tolaki Ethnic a dominant force in the politics of Kendari city which have historical roots in the Kingdom of Konawe in the past. Patrimonial character and patronage politics was prominently visible when Mansyur Masie Abunawas was governing in Kendari city over the last 10 years (1997-2007). Ethnicity-based political kinship become the most important foundation openly displayed in Kendari over the last 10 years. Since that time the post of Mayor of Kendari more ethnic Tolaki and paired with the deputy mayor of ethnic Bugis (2008-2017). As for ethnic Muna which quantitatively constitute the largest percentage of the population in Kendari always regarded as political opponents and was not regarded as a native / native people. When the legislative elections in 2014, they succeeded in showing that the politicians who have a different ethnic backgrounds Muna capable of being a legislator in Kendari, it is an effort to fight for ethnic Muna to be aligned with the elite with other ethnic backgrounds, such as Tolaki and Bugis in the arena of local politics Kendari. 2017 local elections this time there is a spirit to Turning "all Muna'an" in Kendari, where 3 candidates Mayor and deputy Mayor of Kendari there are a couple where ethnic Candidate Mayor Candidate Muna and vice mayor of Ethnic Tolaki Muh Zayat Kaimoeddin is pair with Suri Syahriani Mahmud, while two other couples using classic pair that Tolaki Ethnicity and Ethnic Bugis. From this base that causes it attractive to be used as a research.

KEY WORDS

Network power, mayor election, Southeast Sulawesi, ethnics.

Kendari is an area inhabited by various tribes and cultures. Based on historical stories, Kendari included in the empire Laiwui (people / tribe Tolaki). Although Laiwui is an ethnic kingdom Tolaki, historians refer to Kendari (Kendari currently) not populated by people Tolaki. The first occupants of the ethnic immigrants Kendari namely Bugis and the Wajo, followed by an influx of Muna, Wawonii and Java. It added that until 1950 the largest urban population is Bugis, followed by Muna and Bajo tribe. While the Tolaki up to 1950 is resident outside the city of Kendari, except from those who are employees and government officials.

Since the era of independence until today, Kendari city inhabited by various tribes. Demographically, the ethnic groups can be divided into two groups, namely indigenous people of Southeast Sulawesi and the people who come from outside the Southeast. Residents were identified as outside of Southeast Sulawesi, namely: Bugis, Makasar, Java, Bali, Toraja, Sunda and the Moluccas. While the original inhabitants of the Southeast Sulawesi in 4 Parts, 10 languages, 18 dialeg, 9 sub dialeg. Thus, based on the ethnic configuration, it can be said from the colonial period to date, including the city of Kendari multiethnic.

Based on observations of the author, there are three dominant ethnic groups who inhabit the city of Kendari, namely Bugis, Muna and Tolaki. This is somewhat different from the composition of the population as a whole Southeast Sulawesi Buton where ethnic groups

are most widely in the amount of 414.530 (23.34%), Bugis 341.742 (19.24%), Tolaki 289.220 (16.28%), Muna 267.722 (15.07%), Java 124.686 (7.02%), Bali 41.886 (2.35%), Wajo 37.540 (2.11%), Makassar 33.938 (1.91%), Toraja 31.000 (1.74%), Sundanese 20.112 (1.13%). The population census based on ethnic groups that constitute the last census that would include ethnic variables, the rest after the census that year (2000) does not include ethnic groups.

The reform era characterized by changes to the centralized system of decentralization, one goal is to provide economic benefits, political and administrative for local government. However, it seemed to not provide significant change in Southeast Sulawesi. In the era of decentralization, development gaps between its land and archipelago in Southeast Sulawesi increasingly conspicuous. Kendari city progress is not accompanied by progress regencies / cities, in the Southeast Sulawesi. Improved economic conditions and infrastructure are damaged, resulting in difficulty in finding livelihood population. As a solution, the islanders one Muna, which is dominated by young people, choose the city of Kendari as their destination for their livelihood. There they become merchants, laborers, rickshaw drivers, car drivers and shopkeepers.

In addition to the economic needs, migration of young people from Muna towards Kendari, driven by their need for continuing education at several universities, including the University of Haluoleo. Muna spirit to continue their education, as has been the culture and heritage of their ancestors. There is even a term developed in the community Muna, "Let the parents owe important school children, let me suffer in the land of the importance of school". The term is, at first glance just a slogan of encouragement, but in reality this slogan is a real condition that appears in the field, where a lot of people who have limited economic Muna, but their descendants managed to obtain a college degree and managed to improve their social strata. School spirit and perseverance of Muna to improve the lot ended with Muna pinnacle of success in the field of education and politics. Success in the field of education, as indicated by the election of Muna's son, Mahmud Hamundu as president of Haluoleo University for two terms (2000-2008). While in the political field proven by achieved governorship by Muna Laode Kaimuddin for two terms from 1992 to 2002.

Wander tradition and spirit possessed by Muna made them dominate the political, economic, educational and government in particular in Kendari in Southeast Sulawesi. Riwanto Tirtosudarmo mentions that:

"Buton and Muna People, as well as the Bugis and Makassar, very famous as sailors who have a tradition of sailing and wander. Tolaki people living in mainland Southeast Sulawesi generally are farmers and cultivators who lack a tradition to leave. Customs and traditions that differ between the 'land' and 'island' This seems to affect the dynamics of local politics in the Southeast. In the competition for political positions, especially at the provincial level-especially ethnic category and locality (collective identity, collective identities) become an important tool in the mobilization of political konstetasi happened. People identified with the land and the islands Tolaki identified with the people of Buton and Muna."

Mastery of politics / government and education, provide a distinct advantage for Muna in the Southeast Sulawesi. Both these areas are considered strategic position in Southeast Sulawesi, because that is where a cadre of leaders are born. Leader whose background businessman can be said is still quite rare, because the original inhabitants of Southeast Sulawesi (Tolaki, Muna, Buton) are more interested in becoming a government employee, rather than being an entrepreneur. Moreover, in the New Order era, government officials prepared to be bureaucratic and political leaders in the area. Rising Laode Kaimuddin as governor, giving advantage to those Muna, many of them entered into employees and officials in the field. However, in the political field in the reform era Muna fell slightly after the expiration of the term of office Laode Kaimuddin and rising Ali Mazi (People Buton) became governor in 2002.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

This research took place in the city of Kendari, Indonesia. The reason for selecting this location is in the city of Kendari, the capital town of the province of Southeast Sulawesi carry out the elections in 2017 in which there are ethnic Muna ethnic immigrants with the second largest population, where one of the candidates for mayor were from ethnic Muna.

This research uses an ethnographic approach with the reference of James P. Spradley (developmental research sequence). The data were collected through (1) Observation Participant, (2) In-depth Interviews, and (3) Focus Group Discussion. The informants selected are those that relate to or are directly involved and is considered to know the issues to be examined, as well as to provide information accurate about the elections in Kendari on candidates from ethnic muna namely Muhamad Zayat Kaimuddin. Determination of informants by purposive sampling (intentionally), which is determined based on the informant goals and needs of investigators with the consideration that the informant was able to provide information on the problems examined.

Data analysis will be performed using an interactive model (Miles & Huberman, in Sutopo, 2002: 186). In this analysis model is the logic of the analysis consists of three components analysis: data reduction, data presentation, or Verification Conclusions Withdrawal.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Kendari Mayor Election Year 2017: Efforts to Raise ethnic Muna. In Kendari, ethnic Muna as described earlier can be said to be the demographic majority, but the minority politically and economically. This is what gives confidence to people to support the mayor Muna ethnically Muna. Moreover Laode Kaimuddin (Muna) is considered to have a history of successful leadership in the Southeast Sulawesi. Moreover, Muna known also has the persistence and brightness, many of them occupy important positions in government institutions, political parties, youth and social organizations.

Muna domination in Southeast Sulawesi is different from what happened in Kendari, which since its establishment as an autonomous region, Kendari City led by Mayor and Deputy Mayor and Bugis and Tolaki ethnic. First elected mayor was Mashur Masie Abunawas representatives of Tolaki ethnic and Andi Musakir representatives of ethnic Bugis. Tolaki-Bugis ethnic couples who led Kendari continued until today, while Muna as one of the only major ethnic echelon positions. Muna attempts to seize the leadership in Kendari conducted at municipal elections in 2007 and 2012, but these efforts have failed after much of Muna ethnic running for Mayor and Deputy Mayor. Muna defeat in two, it makes the election a lesson for them. Ahead of the election of Mayor in 2017, figures Muna conduct deliberations in one of the hotels in Kendari. The substance of the meeting was an attempt solidarity and Muna's quest for a person nominated as Mayor of Kendari.

Follow-up of the meeting, the team will be established consisting of nine government officials, community leaders, political parties and academia. The task of the nine teams are looking for the person to be nominated as Mayor Muna Kendari.

"Nine team members were chosen by muna and how there are people pointing muna then held a meeting at the hotel. At the time, invited more than 100 people from both the campus and outside campus are invited (society figures). The purpose of the meeting is to give birth mayoral candidate version of the muna."

In the work journey of a team of nine found one figure Muna to be nominated as Mayor of Kendari, the figure is Muhamad Zayat Kaimuddin (son of the former Governor of South East Sulawesi Laode Kaimuddin). Derik election process (greeting Zayat) is told by one member of the team.

"At that time the first screening we chose 32 people both from Kendari, Muna and Jakarta and kriteriannya on saait that the first is the willingness especially those billboard inside, judging there billboard within the meaning he wants to list.second The is her political

party officials because the door is a political party and we hope that he is a political party official hopefully at party door politics was not given to the other. The third lot of money because when a lot of money can buy political party (can buy door) term, the latter is a bureaucrat. Of the 32 names, after that we share and direct invitation to fill in the form but in the end I do not how much data is there, but finally selected Derik. The political party leaders when he met with them no longer Derik forward (shrink guts). Derik's because they think they can not compete because he is more experienced in the bureaucracy then his father in carrying out development in Southeast Sulawesi is going well."

Telling about the election process as a candidate for mayor of Derik version Muna expressed also by Laode Mohammed Bariun, one of the candidates competing to grab Derik support Muna leaders as candidates for mayor.

"Because there is history, that Muna is always more than one (many Muna who ran for mayor and vice mayor) to what select Muna more than one, then the team that led the pack Saleh Lasata (Vice-Governor) do the crawl, originally of 20 names later to 3, pack Saidin, I (LM Bariun) and Mr. Zayat. Pak Zaidin not given permission by a pack of Governors because it is still on the staff, then I do not want to go forward because I do not want to embarrass people Muna Saleh pack actually wanted me and I resigned during Zayat pack like. Finally be one, then one's name spoken by muna community, Gunung Jati, Labibia, and Abeli then agreed, finally pack Zayat socialized, and finally get a response, then we evaluate it turns out there are 70% who support Derik."

When a team of nine was decide Derik as a candidate for mayor of version Muna, they've become a competitor Derik no disappointments. Instead, many of them provide full support for both the mind and the material to Derik. Looks among them there was nothing to break the agreement early is menyolidkan Muna ethnic force, is indicated by the absence of Muna besides Derik who ran for mayor.

Determination Derik as a candidate for mayor paired with Suri Sharia Mahmud (Tolaki) accentuate the ethnic identity in the election of Mayor of Kendari Year 2017. Two competitors Derik identified as Tolaki and Bugis ethnic representation, while Derik presenting any representation jargon 'all categories' in Kendari. This is because the election jargon, both parents and in-laws Derik multi-ethnic ancestry. Derik father, Laode Kaimuddin ethnic Derik's mother Muna and ethnic Bugis. While Derik's wife is a fusion of ethnic Bugis and Tolaki. Jargon 'all classes' gave a message to the leader of the town kendari satire previously assessed prefers his ethnic group regardless of the diversity of the City of Kendari. Although presenting any jargon 'all classes' but support Muna looked very dominant ethnicity in the labor movement and the winning team Derik. Districts in areas where the population Kendari city inhabited by ethnic majority Muna-Kendari, Kendari Barat, Poasia, Kambu, Wua-Wua-support for Derik very dominant, except in District Abeli. The composition of the majority of the winning team also filled by young people and ethnic leaders Muna.

To strengthen teamwork and loyalty of voters from ethnic Muna to Derik, do local wisdom ethnic Muna approach known as *KASEISEHA* (unity). This was revealed during an interview with Bariun.

Initially we did persuasive, but the past, we've given the threat, if there is betraying this KASEISEHA then do not blame us give social sanction, because you already betray what we have built. There was even a village chief who tried to bring rice to the people, I say if you want to embarrass people Muna find another tribe just there, lest ye damned on Muna tribal unity. I love ko 50rb or 100K approximately ko can live up to five years, do ko Think of today, do not think yourself but think of the generation. It speaks of self-esteem, we have already kompina-pina, never nda Muna agency heads there is no, then a new election diaksih so close ravine, but if completed no choice anymore, so we just used.

This fits the reality in which one month before election day, Mayor Asrun make the turn ravine in Kendari and from 64 ravine there are 38 who come from ethnic Muna. According Bahtiar (Dean of the Faculty of Social UHO), also from Muna.

“That is one of the strategies of Mayor Asrun to test the fidelity of lurah derived from Muna, whether to remain loyal to the ethnic Muna to support Derik or remain loyal to the leadership with the support of ADP.”

After the turn of the ravine, we then have an election of the headman of the RT. On the field, not election RT, but direct appointment by the headman. It is found in some locations where the public is invited to the election, but when you get to the meeting place was already a name that has been in SK by headman concerned one of them in Sub Wowawunggu RW 003 / RT 010 causes people upset and assess the heads of the RT is not people's choice but the choice of Pa Lurah as a form of movement of the machine bureaucracy follow orders from superiors to appoint people who can support ADP-Sul victory. Another way is done by a team of ADP-Sul is conducting a census conducted by the MCC as the movement carried out by the party machine to visit the voters to know anyone who would be chosen so that it will find out the areas which need to be treated treatment more specifically to provide money for the day ofH.

The Political Beatmoney politics Ethnicity: Portrait of Conduct voter Kendari. Mayor Year 2017 current political dynamics election of Mayor strongly colored by intense competition. Each team tries to rally through the establishment of a successful team with different backgrounds configuration, for example on the basis of the party, occupation and ethnicity. In Kendari in gaining the support that is by trying to improve electability to strive for mutually reinforcing between ethnic one with the other partner. For example, in competition at pilwali Kendari, successful team claims that a majority of Bugis - Makassar and some residents Tolaki Wawotobi origin, will be in the Razak-Haris. Most of the pockets of citizens and residents Tolaki early Wawotobi Buton and Muna most citizens who reside in the city of Kendari and members of Muhammadiyah, claimed as the main base of supporters of candidate Derik-Suri. Success Team ADP also claimed some residents Tolaki origin Sampara, some residents of Makassar, some residents Tolaki origin Pondidaha and Wonggeduku, mostly Turatea (Makassar, Jeneponto, Takalar and Bantaeng), most communities the central market town and market Mandonga, as well as networking movement MCC Islam in mosques, universities, councils, informal gatherings, Youth mosque, claimed to be the main support base.

The phenomenon of claim claiming voter support base in Kendari city election event was also enlivened by a range of gait successful teams of each candidate. There among the successful teams are busy writing a list of names of voters per village and per RT can be raised, there is busy meetings and handing out food, there are busy conducting a survey constituent mapping (primarily conducted by PKS parties supporting the ADP-Sul), and some are busy bringing together donors and quacks with the candidates. In addition, each political party is supporting too busy counting and regulate the movement of the party's political machine.

The findings of this study indicate that all candidates undertake *a vote buying* to voters. Goal of voters that is, both to voters loyal to his party nor disloyal. This reinforces earlier theories proposed by Stokes (2005) and Nichter (2008). Stokes (2005) considered that the vote buying better targeting floating voters targets or who do not have close relations with the party for loyal voters are traditionally share. Diaz-Cayeros et al (2012) say without any money given will remain loyal voters choose a party. Instead, Nichter (2008) states that money politics is precisely targeted to voters loyal to boost participation. That happened not *votebuying*, but *turnout buying*.

Razak-Haris pair split envelopes to voters with the amount of 100-150 thousand individual persons shall select, couples ADP-Sul distribute envelopes to voters with the amount of 250 thousand per person required to select and pair-Suri Derik that more be done by their team by giving 50,000 thousand per person obliged to choose. This is done by a team of rattlesnakes because the voters of Muna said,

“We do not see how the amount of the provision pa Derik but there we get that we do not move on to a couple other candidates, because Derik did not have the capital seingga

several teams Derik spend money itself but the number of people who given could not be compared to the numbers provided by the partner Razak, especially ADP.”

Purchase the voice in this study as the distribution of cash payments / goods from candidates to voters systematically few days ahead of the vote in the hope that the voters will vote for the giver (Aspinall and Sukmajati, 2015).

So that all pockets - pockets Razak sound can be captured by ADP with the power of money politics and bureaucratic machine that works optimally so that all the predictions and 7 survey that won Razak did not prove as fierce Money Politics.

Administration in the form of *club goods* is the candidates provide in-kind and they promised to make sure the government will allocate funds to programs that will be distributed to all the criteria of an open and transparent rather than only to supporters (Stokes, 2013) ,

One couple ADP-Sul utilize development programs mayor Asrun (ADP parent) which is funded by the state, by doing paving in Komplek housing lecturers UHO and more manifestation of creative government programs such as meeting program brotherhood civil has seldom done suddenly turned on back before the election. Similar funds are also found in other countries as the constituency development fund (Van Zyl, 2010). Madani Brotherhood Program (Tapestry) is one of the policies issued by the municipal government of Kendari period 2008-2017 in order to alleviate urban poverty issues. Based on data obtained from the

Agency for Community Empowerment (BPM), a recapitulation of households (families) are not capable of that has dipersaudarakan (paired) in the Tapestry program from 2008 until today amounts to 212 households. While the number of poor families who are prepared to be paired in the Tapestry Program numbers 1174 KK (BPM 2009). Documenting poor families continue to be done continuously, because the target Kendari municipal government in 2009 were 500 households unite poor people and in 2010, bring together 1500 households in the fabric tapestries.

Voters also do not be shy to ask in the form of money, goods and programs of the three candidates. Decentralization has spawned pragmatism of the people in choosing the Mayor of Kendari. The pragmatism shown by the use of preference dropping candidate selection based on the material obtained is not based capabilities. So that only the rich rich people who have a great chance to be head of the region in decentralization. The elections are still measured in money. If you do not have money, do not have any seidealis people. Idealism does not appeal to people who use money as a measure in choosing the head region.

The principle who have money will be powerful force in the area of research. All candidates using the pinsip in to defeat political competitors. This is supported by ownership of money and capital. The third partner in the election of regional heads, closer to the community through donations. Not only contribute to the mosque, all candidates are also diligently to come to the house under various pretexts ranging from socialization, friendship, and anjangsana. Ironically, all of them doing so appears to be the leader of awareness needed money banyak.Akibatnya, succeeded in forming people's erroneous mindset that money is more important than vision and program.

Panwaslu Kendari say difficult free from money politics and intimidation. That is because the behavior of voters more used measures of money, shirts, gloves and other items as its foundation selecting candidates instead of vision, mission or program a candidate. There is a symbiotic mutualism between the constituents and candidates. Candidates need the voice of the voters, the voters need money from candidates.

Rampant money politics in the democratic procedural implemented in a decentralized environment for the welfare and educational level of the people is still low. People have not been free to choose when the people are still alive is not prosperous. Economic dependence and economic independence to make the people do not have a choice that is free choice.

According to Michael Buehler, institutional change in the form of regional head elections (elections) directly since 2005 in Indonesia experienced a deviation from the true noble cause return power to the people. Pilkada directly forcing local elites to work harder

and regularly to the voters in order to gain access to power and maintaining power. But the implications of direct election is the rising cost of political winnings, changing patterns of accumulation of power, generate political machine, increasing political corruption and the growing role of personal networks owned by power brokers (Buehler, 2005)

CONCLUSION

The results showed that there was significant effect between *vote buying* with voting behavior. Two candidates (ADP-Sul and Razak-Haris) of money politics and was made possible because the political party that does not work optimally in playing functions. The ability of the candidate in memanfaatkanuang determined by the available resources. The more diverse and more of the resources are available, the greater the potential for *vote buying* to take advantage of it in the electoral arena. In the tradition of patronage, the candidate gives the material and non-material to voters. In his position as a recipient, voters are obliged to refund in the form of support as the cause of the failure of ethnic politics that were defeated by money politics.

REFERENCES

1. Aspinall, E., Sukmajati, M. (2015). Money in Indonesian political patronage and clientelism in legislative elections in 2014. Yogyakarta: PolGov Indonesian.
2. Aspinall, E. (2014). Parliament and Patronage. *Journal and Democracy*, 25(4), 96-110.
3. Aspinall, E. (2014). When Brokers betray: Clientalism, Social Networks, and Electoral Politics in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 46(4), 545-570.
4. Buehler, M. (2009). The Rising Importance of Personal Networks in Indonesian Local Politics: An Analysis of the District Government Head Elections in South Sulawesi in 2005. *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia*, pp. 101-124.
5. Buehler, M. (2007). The Rise of Sharia by-Laws in Indonesian Districts: An Indication for Changing Patterns of Power Accumulation and Political Corruption. *South East Asia Research Journal*, 16(2).
6. Hill, D.T. (2009). Assesing Media Impact on Local Elections in Indonesia. In M. Erb and P. Sulistiyanto, *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia?: Direct Elections for Local Leaders*, pp. 229-235.
7. Suaib, E. (2003). Etnisasi Public Policy Battle Studies Ethnic In Local Political Arena in Kendari (Dissertation). Airlangga University, Surabaya.
8. Stokes, S.C., Dunning, T., Nazareno, M., and Brusco, V. (2013). *Brokers, Voters and clientelism The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
9. Zusanne, K. (1986). *Master and Elite Group, Elite Determinants Role In Modern Society*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.