Cultural Reproduction in the Socio-political Context of Bone District, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

Andi Burchanuddin[1], Andi Agustang[1], Arlin Adam[2] and Andi Alim[2]

[1]Department of Sociology, University of State Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia
[2]Department of Public Health, University of Pejuang Republic Indonesia, Makassar City, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

ABSTRACT This study aims to reveal the phenomenon of cultural reproduction in local politics in Bone Regency. Cultural reproduction in question is the maintenance of traditional cultural patterns carried out by the aristocrats amid the current socio-political changes that occur. This research is descriptive using qualitative research methodology. Data collection techniques were carried out through observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and literature reviews. The data analysis technique was carried out through the stages of data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawing. The results showed that cultural reproduction in local politics was constructed from two aspects, namely: (1) the existence of a transition in the local government system, and (2) the failure of local political parties in political regeneration. Through these two social processes, cultural reproduction occurs where cultural elites (aristocrats) always exist on the stage of local power. This study concludes that cultural reproduction in the realm of local politics occurs due to historical impulses in the transition of the government system and the failure of political parties to build public awareness of the principles of open democracy.

INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of local politics in Indonesia are always changing over time (Aspinall and Fealy 2003). In the pre-independence era, local politics in the archipelago was characterized by a customary legal framework laden with feudalism and political oligarchy where only the aristocratic group from the incarnation of the King could rule (Priambodo 2018). As a result, most layers of society are only recognized as servants (not citizens) who carry out the orders of the authorities without corrective rights from existing policies. After the proclamation of independence, when the power of society began to seep into formal institutions. This situation was more or less a positive legacy of the colonial design to provide the common people with opportunities to engage in power in the context of modern political implementation. This condition places traditional elites (aristocrats) to compete with the general public who are also trying hard to gain positions in state institutions. In addition to the competition between traditional elites and the common people that surfaced after the proclamation, issues of cultural identity and ethnicity were also prominent in the framework of democratization in Indonesia (Hauser-Schäublin 2013).

Likewise, the elite to maintain their position cannot only rely on the state (government) but must be able to perform tactical calculations to gain and maintain power. In addition, it can also be stated that internal elite dynamics are taking place, where each elite competes with each other to maintain their position and role. Therefore, with the change in the political system, local political elites must be able to formulate strategies to be able to achieve and maintain their position and role (Haryanto 2009).

The social stratification of the Bugis-Makassar community has given the aristocracy a special position as a strategic elite from other community groups in the social structure (Kamaruddin 2010; Sudirman 2018), and as a top leader in a political or power structure. The stratification of the Bugis-Makassar community which is divided based on castes or groups is considered an important factor that dominates or affects the socio-economic and religious life of the people of South Sulawesi. Generally, the

[*]Address for correspondence:
Andi Burchanuddin,
Postgraduate Student, Doctoral Program,
Department of Sociology,
University of State Makassar,
Makassar City, South Sulawesi 90222, Indonesia.
Telephone: +62 852-5506-7957.
E-mail: andibur.bosowa@gmail.com

people of South Sulawesi are known as people who are very strict in maintaining these social stratification rules. Even among the people, there is an opinion that maintaining social strata is a condition for the success of a country (Mattulada 1985: 324). In connection with the placement of aristocratic positions in this social stratification, in Bugis-Makassar society, there is a very complex relationship between one individual and another. In ancient times the closest relations were those between aristocrats and their followers. In this connection, it had never happened that people from the lower layers banded together to fight against their nobility (Kartodirdjo 1974).

In a narrower relationship, namely the relationship between certain aristocrats as leaders (*ajjoareng*) and their followers (*joa*), the aristocratic obligation to help and pay attention to the welfare of their followers is even more pronounced. This obligation reflects a sense of solidarity, a sense of friendship between the leader and his followers. This obligation is also a reward for the aristocratic's right to accept the loyalty and loyalty of his followers (Walinono 1979: 93). The pattern of relations based on social classifications as above has placed aristocrats in a very respectable elite group in South Sulawesi. Although the relationship between the aristocrats and the people is very strict and feudal, the relationship between the two of them is characterized by a democratic attitude. This fact is reinforced by the binding of kings and aristocratic groups to a Governmental Contract or a government agreement with the people or society they lead (Mattulada 1985: 383).

In reality, amid an open political democracy, the general public, especially in Bone Regency, South Sulawesi Province, still gives a special position to the cultural elite from other community groups in the social structure, and even as the top leader in the political structure or power structure. This is reinforced by several research results that parse identity politics in Indonesia related to the phenomenon of Bone society, including (1) the study results of Fahmid (2012) in his book entitled 'Identity in Power'. Fahmid found ethnicity as a symbol of identity which is often used as a tool to seize political and economic power. The struggle for the elite in the political and economic realm between ethnic groups cannot be separated from the historical dimension.

(2) the research results of Halim (2014) found that local politics cannot be separated from local democracy, in which there is an element of freedom in reflecting local values and norms. (3) The research results of Djati (2013) found that the revitalization of traditional political forces grew frequently with the regional autonomy process so that elite groups had the opportunity to reaffirm their influence. Apart from the revitalization of traditional political groups, another symptom that arises in the local democratization process is the weakened function of political parties in carrying out regeneration, giving rise to political pragmatism by appointing these elite groups. (4) Haryanto's (2014) research on clan politics in South Sulawesi, which raised the Kahar Muzakkar clan as the object of research, found that the survival of the Kahar Muzakkar clan in the political arena in South Sulawesi was due to the capital factor (Bourdieu's term) they had, namely: social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and economic capital.

Based on the description of the research results above, it shows that there are symptoms of a revival of traditional politics which gives space for power to cultural elites in the era of regional autonomy. This is in line with the existence of an identity symbol which is often used as a tool to seize power in local politics. The reality in the historical record of power in local political contestation in Bone, since 1951 until now, cultural elites who are still dominant are in the circle of power as regional heads. This description is also reinforced by field data, where there are 17 Regional Heads who have been recorded as having ruled in Bone Regency through three phases of democratic transition in Indonesia, namely the old order, the new order and the reformation where the existence of the Regional Head was dominated by cultural elites (aristocrats) to date.

The political reality above is an interesting thing to explore further, why in the midst of a modern democracy that provides space for all elements of society to be able to compete in the local political sphere, it is precisely the cultural elites who always appear. Even the influence of the cultural status of the elite has a greater chance of being elected to become Regional Heads that have been constructed for 68 years in Bone Regency.

Review of Literature

Democracy in Local Politics

Local democracy is the main basis for the development of democracy at the national level. Direct regional head elections are an important breakthrough in deepening democracy, namely an effort to overcome weaknesses in substantive democratic practices, particularly in responding to the demands of local communities.

The local political culture that has developed in Indonesia is a social heritage that is formed through history. The local political culture is formed from a series of beliefs, habits, and social structures related to the political life of the community. Beliefs, habits, and social structures define patterns for people's behaviour, which should and should not be done. Boundaries in the culture can come from religion, customs or norms that apply in society. This local political culture can be seen in the behavioural tendencies seen in the political life of the local community itself. The development of local political culture in Indonesia is a reaction to the social, political and economic pressures of the supralocal community. In this case, local political culture is influenced by cultural systems and beliefs or religions (Sjamsuddin 1989). It develops in traditional communities that have positive values that should be developed and maintained in the implementation of the local bureaucratic system in the regions (Fikri and Adytyas 2018).

The paper draws on two distinctive ethnographic cases: the white Franco-Mauritian elite, and the expert elite of management consultants in a Western European context. The researchers' analysis of the two cases provides insights into how the power and status of elites are both contested and attributed by the people they interact with and relate to in concrete, yet substantially different contexts and situations. The aim is to show how the position and power of different kinds of elites are relationally negotiated and achieved. As the researchers' argue, a better understanding of the role of other social groups in the attribution, maintenance and contestation of status is relevant for understanding both more traditional economic elites and expert elites without tight networks (Salverda and Skovgaard-Smith 2018).

In the political aspect, effective governance can be seen from its ability to maintain political stability, speed in making the right decisions, ensuring legal certainty and creating consensus and social compliance. Apart from all that, the urgency of implementing the direct regional election system is theoretically closely related to efforts to realize the important goals of decentralization and regional autonomy policies, namely creating a democratic regional government and the realization of people's welfare. Culturally, democracy will develop if it is supported by the behaviour of the people who are ready to disagree, the readiness to lose in political contestation, the readiness to compete honestly, an open attitude to accept criticism and so on.

As previously explained in terms of regional autonomy, regional head elections are one of the instruments to fulfil political decentralization where the transfer of power from the centre to the regions is possible. Regional head elections are a means of selecting and replacing the top leadership of the government in a peaceful and periodic manner. Through regional head elections, the people will directly elect their leaders in the regions as well as provide legitimacy to regulate the running of government in the regions. Through direct regional head elections, the manifestation of people's sovereignty can be upheld and constitutes a set of rules and/or methods for citizens to determine the future of a legitimate government.

Political Culture and Democratization

Political culture has an important influence on the development of democracy. Democratization does not work well if it is not supported by the development of political culture by the principles of democracy. The existence of a democratic phenomenon in a political culture that develops in a society can not only be seen from the interaction between individuals and their political system, but also the interaction of individuals in the context of groups or groups with other groups. In other words, political culture can be seen as manifest in the relationships between groups and groups in that society.

In responding to the demands for change, the possibility of two diametrically contradictory attitudes, namely support and resistance, is difficult

to avoid. As a process of change in creating a democratic political life, the realization of democratization is also confronted with two opposing poles, namely the political culture of the society that supports and hinders the process of democratization. Democratic political culture is a political culture in which participation, therefore political culture and democracy in the context of participation cannot be separated (Almond and Verba 1990: 178).

In the Indonesian context, ethnic and regional diversity will influence the nation's political culture. In the interaction between regional political cultures and ethnicities, there may be distance, not only between regional political cultures but also between national and regional political cultures. If at the national level what looks more prominent are the views and attitudes of the interacting political sub-cultures, while at the regional level that is still developing it is the political sub-culture that is stronger in a primordial sense (Zuhro 2009: 34).

Marijan (2019) in his book 'The Indonesian Political System' explains that regional autonomy is at the same time and effort to implement a political decentralization system, where there has been a change in the relationship between the central and regional governments. Previously, authority was centralized at the centre, in regional autonomy, authority was transferred to the regions and relations between the executive and legislative bodies in the regions changed. Currently, the legislative body and the Regent or Governor are in an equal position, these two institutions are known as elements of regional leadership. The rights and powers of the Regional People's Representative Council in regional autonomy are enlarged. It is in this context that the legislature is no longer a subordination of the executive or vice versa in the regions. Reform of the rights and obligations of the two institutions in the regional government system is a kind of hope for building a democratic political system. More than that, the local political system in the regions will experience changes and improvements for the better. However, with the many conditions and events in the implementation of the local political system that has been carried out so far, the question arises, whether strengthening the regional government system through wider empowerment of the executive and legislative institutions is sufficient to guarantee the implementation of a democratic local political system.

Local Politics in the Context of Regional Autonomy

Etymologically, politics comes from Greek, namely polis. Politics is often defined as a city-state. The word polis has many deviations, such as "Polities" (citizens) which in English is called citizen and "politicos" which means citizenship (civic). This genealogy of the word politics shows that it is conceptually rooted in Greek civilization. Plato and Aristotle saw politics as a human endeavour to create a good social order. Politics is positioned as a common space where each individual strives to improve his talents and life.

The definition of politics above has relevance to the concept of local politics, this relevance is none other than social interactions in a certain space. Politics is born starting from social interaction in a space, which then gives birth to political institutions. Local politics can simply be defined as all political activities that are at the local level. In this case, all matters relating to politics such as local government, regional policy formation, and regional head elections. This shows that the scope of local politics is carried over to the national level. Regional groups that are included in the management of local politics include cities, districts and villages.

At the local political level, the national government cannot fully interfere. This is because each local order has its local regulations. In this case, local regulations do not usually coincide with the government. The implementation of local politics must also be in line with national politics. Differences in regional levels do not mean that they must be separated from the national-territorial order, but local politics must still be oriented to national politics.

The political objective of regional autonomy (decentralization) is to create a fairer and more open relationship between the Center and the Regions within the framework of the Unitary State can be embedded in a decentralized political atmosphere in the administration of government by providing opportunities and flexibility for the Regions to carry out their governance. Ideals like this are not easy to work on. Indonesia itself is experienced in determining the style of decentralization with a variety of laws. Its targets and achievements are structuring relations to government and society by the characteristics of Indonesia as a nation and state.

METHODOLOGY

This research departs from a constructivist paradigm with a participatory qualitative descriptive research method approach. The research informants consisted of cultural observers, social activists and political party administrators who were determined based on certain requirements (purposive sampling). The data collection technique was carried out through the observation approach, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) and documentation. Both primary and secondary research data obtained were then analyzed by steps: reducing the data, categorizing, verifying, and drawing conclusions.

RESULTS

Transition of Government

The end of the royal system to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 influenced the government system in Bone Regency. The regional head was appointed for the first time based on the position held, namely the head of Afdeling. In its history, Afdeling Bone was formed in 1905 when Bone was conquered by the Dutch, known as the historical term *Rumpa'na* (fall) Bone. Historically Afdeling Bone is an alliance of three regions, namely: Bone, Soppeng and Wajo which is known as *Tellumpoccoe* in South Sulawesi. The Afdeling Bone is divided into 5 (five) Afdeling Parts, including North Bone Afdeling Parts, Middle Bone Afdeling Parts, South Bone Afdeling Parts, Wajo Afdeling Parts and Soppeng Afdeling Parts. Even though the royal system has ended, the influence of the aristocracy is still very large, especially in protecting and protecting its people. This post-independence social and political situation made the role of the aristocrats in the leadership structure of regional governments very important.

This situation shows that cultural reproduction in local politics occurs in Bone Regency along with the transition phase of the government system from the kingdom to the Republic of Indonesia. (AN interview 2019)

The transitional period of government-led local elites to regional leadership after the Dutch appointed the first Regent of Bone to come from local traditional leaders, as quoted from the informant's statement.

When the royal system was merged into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, at that time the Head of Bone Afdeling was made the first Regent of Bone. (ANa 2019).

The regent of the local aristocracy has placed the role of the local aristocrats increasingly strong in the social life order of the Bone community because it is not only the head of government but also the role of the customary head. There is an effective union between cultural power and political power.

Thus the influence of the aristocrats is getting bigger, especially in protecting and protecting the people. This post-independence social and political situation made the role of the aristocrats in the leadership structure of regional governments very important.

This situation shows that cultural reproduction in local politics occurs in Bone district along with the transition phase of the government system from the kingdom to the Republic of Indonesia. (ANu 2019)

The transition of the government system to the Republic of Indonesia requires strong leadership resources to be able to manage the new government system effectively. This was the reason that explained the choice of local aristocrats to lead because at that time only local aristocrats had the potential and capabilities in the government and politics.

During the Old Order period in the era of Soekarno's leadership, the kings of the archipelago agreed to unite in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The values of nobility are still strong in Bone society. The term *puang* gives its meaning to those who bear it. The people of Bone are known to be very thick with their culture. In the aspect of leadership, they used to be known as the *ajjoareng* (patron) - *joa* (client) system who lives and grows in the community until now. A patron-client relationship is a relationship between two people, mostly involving instrumental friendship that is rooted in the kinship environment of the Bugis people.

The results of exploration related to aristocrats were chosen as leaders in Bone during several periods of government because people still expected protection from the aristocracy. For this reason, the Dutch political system applies the Afdeling system by appointing aristocratic groups to rule.
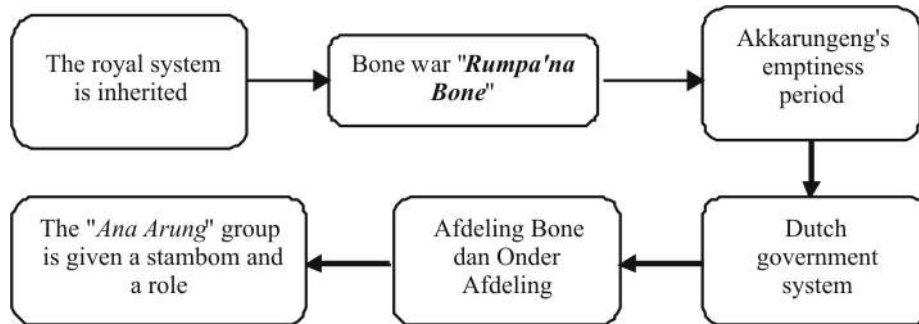
Fig. 1. The process of cultural elite reproduction in the era of the Kingdom's transition era in Bone
Source: Primary data after being processed

The collapse of the kingdom of Bone at that time made the nobility of Bone not have a significant role in the government system established by the Dutch. Some of them were recruited by the Dutch and given important positions. They are also sent to several schools. To differentiate them from other aristocrats, they were given the title *Andi* as an identity (Mattulada 1998).

The following describes the process of the transition of the royal government in Bone Regency where the nobility was given special privileges by the Dutch in the post-*rumpa'na* (Fall) Bone, as shown in Figure 1.

In an era where there was an agreement between the kings in South Sulawesi to join the Republic of Indonesia, there was a change in the state administration system in Indonesia from a monarchy system to a guided democracy. Likewise, the Bone district can be seen from the leadership of the regional head of Bone regency since 1951 until now in 2020, having gone through a transitional phase of government, namely the old order, the new order and reformation, it is seen that they are still dominated by the aristocracy as regional heads.

Table 1 describes the transitional period of government from the kingdom to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which was better known during the Old Order era. The aristocratic leadership still maintains the stage of power even though governance has changed. This situation can be concluded that the role of aristocrats in the context of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia at that time was very much taken into account to gain power even though it was no longer like in the kingdom era.

Entering the period of the New Order government, the face of Indonesian politics changed from the previous government period which was full of political struggle turmoil. During the New Order government era, military-political power was the dominant force, military power was not only useful as security and defence. But it is also used in practical politics (Dwifungsi Armed Forces Republic of Indonesia). Also, the dual function of the Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces continued to develop during the New Order era.

The central government in the New Order era also confirmed their dominance over regional governments and fully controlled regional heads at all levels. The regional head was not the result of the election for the Regional People's Representative Council, therefore in the New Order period the parliament was characterized

Table 1: The district head of Bone Regency in the transition era of the kingdom's government to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia

S. No.	Regent's name	Length of service	Element	Information
1	Abdul Rachman Daeng Mangung	1951	Nobility	Afdeling's head
2	Andi Pangerang Daeng Rani	1951– 1955	Nobility	Afdeling's head
3	Ma'mun Daeng Mattiro	1955 – 1957	Nobility	Regent
4	Andi Mappanyukki	1957 – 1960	Nobility	Regent
5	Andi Suradi	1960 – 1966	Nobility	Regent

Data source: Processed from Bone Secondary Data in 2019 figures

by a one-party majority and elements of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia. These regulations are related to the interests of the central government to get governors or regents who can work together because it is appropriate or not a person to become a regional head depends entirely on the assessment of the President.

The condition of regional leadership in the New Order period was also marked by regional heads from the military element, especially in Bone Regency. In the New Order period there were 7 regional heads from military elements who served from 1966 to 2003. The regional heads of Bone Regency who were recorded from military elements from the period of the year above, can be described in the form of the Table 2.

Table 2 shows that out of 10 district heads of Bone regency during the new ode government, 7 people consisted of military elements and six of them were from the Bone aristocracy itself. The regent who came from the military element was chosen by the aristocratic group, why not from the non-aristocratic group because in the New Order era the regional head in Bone Regency was indeed dominated by the military group with status from a cultural perspective as well as

Table 2. Regional heads of Bone Regency from military elements in the era of the New Order government 1966 - 1998

S. No.	Regent's name	Length of service	Element	Information
1	Andi Suradi	1960 – 1966	Civil	Transition
2	Andi Djamuddin (PLT)	1966 – 1966	Civil	The new order
3	Andi Tjajo (PLT)	1966 – 1967	Civil	The new order
4	Andi Baso Amir	1967 – 1969	Military	The new order
5	H.Suaib	1969 – 1976	Military	The new order
6	H.P.B. Harahap	1976 – 1982	Military	The new order
7	H.Andi Made Ali (PLT)	1982 – 1983	Military	The new order
8	Andi Syamsu Alam	1983 – 1988	Military	The new order
9	H.Andi Syamsoel Alam	1988 – 1993	Military	The new order
10	H.Andi Amir	1993 – 2003	Military	New Order - Reform

Data source: Processed from Bone secondary data in 2018 figures.

a nobleman. It is constructed because it is based on the opportunity to get a better education than ordinary people.

After the fall of the New Order regime in 1998, there was a political consolidation in which new powers emerged as an inseparable part of the reform movement, known as the Reform Era. The dialectic of power in regional autonomy through a decentralized system of authority is in principle the distribution of power, political decentralization involves structures and actors, if the power system is said to be a structure then the actors or subjects controlling the structure are called actors, but the actors who play this political stage are broad, not only the central and regional actors but all the socio-political elites in the region concerned (Halim 2014).

The transition phase of governmental power in the Bone Regency has been experienced since the fall of the Bone kingdom in 1905 which was taken over by Dutch rule until 1942 when Dutch power fell to Japan. Japanese power fell in 1945 when Indonesia's independence was proclaimed. In 1945 Indonesia adopted the old order system until 1966 and then entered the New Order system until 1998. This transitional phase ended in the reform period until now as shown in Figure 2.

The Role of Political Parties as Bearers

In a modern democratic system, the role of political parties as bearers of regional head candidates has a high bargaining position, for this reason, the local leadership cannot be separated from the construction of the role of the political party itself. Therefore, political parties in Bone Regency do not recruit figures outside of the
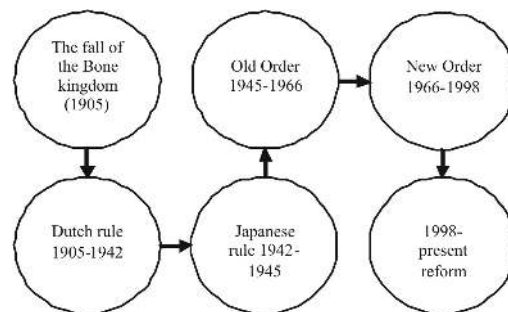
Fig. 2. Transition of governmental power in Bone District
Data source: Secondary data after processing, 2019

aristocracy because the figures that will be carried all of them are in the Bone aristocrats.

All political parties have the goal of winning, therefore in capturing Regent figures in addition to financial strength as well as cultural strength which is taken into consideration by political parties. (AI 2019)

This statement states that the main interest of a political party is to win every election contestation. Therefore, political parties tend to favour those with modalities and incidentally the criteria for that modality are owned by local aristocrats.

The role of political parties in carrying out figures tends to be pragmatic. If you choose the wrong figure, then the chances of losing are even more open. If you lose in the Pilkada, of course, it will greatly affect the electability of the party's vote. (AS 2019)

The pragmatism that afflicts political parties in nominating candidates is strongly suspected of being parallel to the existence of political parties in regional government. Political parties will have ample space to regulate and control the regional heads they carry so that practically they will provide separate benefits for the supporting parties.

This is where the role of political parties becomes important as a means of gathering aspirations, articulation and aggregation of interests in building public awareness in politics, where elites should be able to build an agreement that differences in political discourse should be returned to their philosophical goals where democracy is not only a concept on paper but in practice, it is interpreted as the energy that should be directed towards building public civility in the life of the state so that political chaos does not occur due to loss of direction in which democracy is uprooted from the cultural roots of its people.

In the view of Haryatmoko (2016), it is said that people expect a lot from democracy, with democracy it is hoped that the decisions that determine collective life will be based on broad public considerations, people hope that democracy will reduce injustice and make the organization of collective life more rational. Also, democracy is often thought to protect the freedom of citizens and promote economic growth. People believe so much in this political system that democracy seems to be synonymous with freedom, respect for human dignity, equality, justice, security and economic growth. Democracy is considered the organizing of life together that best reflects the general will because of the emphasis on participation, representation and accountability.

As one of the pillars of democracy, political parties are expected to be able to provide good political education to the community, but in reality, political parties have not shown their maximum work in carrying out the function of political education to the community, as a result, political parties find it difficult to get qualified cadres to be promoted to become regional heads in the community. Bone Regency. With this failure, the tendency of political parties to look to community leaders who are considered to have the potential and a clear mass base to be nominated as candidates for the regional head.

Political parties in Bone Regency are only limited to attributes with the secretariat which always looks empty and devoid of party activities. The process of recruiting and recruiting members is not as effective as the function of political parties (SU 2019).

The ideal function of political parties as institutions of intelligence for society in channelling their political aspirations does not work effectively. Again, because the motive is very pragmatic, namely winning the contest without paying attention to the capacity of the figures it carries.

The tendency of local political parties to be constrained in carrying out cadre and member recruitment is because these parties do not get seats in the legislature so that they do not receive party funding allocations from the Regional Expenditure Budget according to the seat acquisition in the Regional People's Representative Council. Meanwhile, parties that obtain seats in the Regional People's Representative Council, as well as political party assistance and contributions from members of the Regional People's Representative Council, are generally used for secretarial operational costs such as secretariat contracts, administrative staff fees, electricity costs and Regional Drinking Water Companies and consumption in internal meeting activities.

In general, the community's actions in recognizing the figures of their regent candidates in each regional head election contest in Bone Regency always seek to find out the candidates' backgrounds. Political parties provide large

space for aristocratic groups to be nominated as candidates for regional head based on cultural considerations. This implies that the people of Bone are still very thick with cultural aspects. Public curiosity towards regent candidates is very large and rooted in almost all levels of society. This indicates that the status of nobility in local political contestation in Bone has an added value that is owned by a candidate. That is why in every popularity survey of candidates for regional head held by parties, the aristocratic groups are generally more popular than non-aristocrats. This is what influences political parties so that in carrying out figures they always recruit candidates from the aristocratic class.

On the other hand, local political parties are hesitant in nominating candidates for regional heads who are not from the aristocratic class because they are constrained by the aspect of selling value to the community even though they have sufficient experience, education and capital capacity. Political parties in Bone can be said to have not been able to become the locomotive of democracy in Bone. The hope of democracy which gives space to every member of the community to be able to participate in the election of the Regent seems closed.

The process of cultural reproduction occurring in the realm of local politics in Bone Regency is shown in Figure 3.

DISCUSSION

In general, the cultural reproduction of the elite in the realm of local politics in Bone Regency occurs because of a transition in the local government system and the role of political parties that have not maximally carried out the function of regeneration and good political education in society. This is in line with the results of research by the Center for Constitutional Studies (PUSaKO 2016) which sees the existence of certain parties and even "sells" their organizations through "royal breeds" owned by certain individuals. Other parties use the power of capital as the main principle of managing the organization. Meanwhile, different parties use religion as
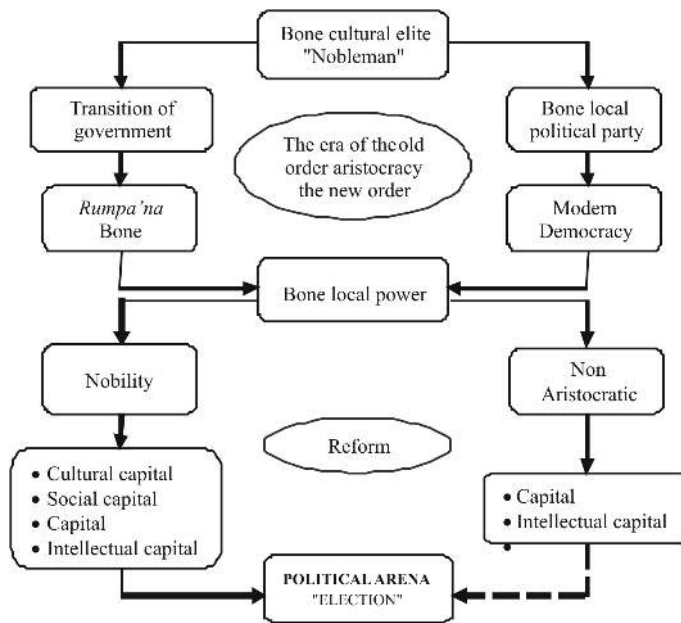
Fig. 3. Pattern of cultural reproduction occurring in the realm of local politics
Data source: Primary data after processing, 2019

a magical power to attract as many voters as possible. Despite being in the modern era, parties in Indonesia still run their organizations in backward ways. From the statement of the research results above, it can be seen that the existence of aristocrats on the political stage still exists in local power in various regions in Indonesia, especially in Bone Regency.

The transition of government after the *rumpa'na* (fall) Bone had changed the order of the kingdom of Bone at that time, where there was an "*akkarungeng*" vacuum so that it was under Dutch control. However, in this phase of power, the people's resistance continued to flare up even though they did not have a big influence on the ruling system of government at that time. As an effort to reduce turmoil in society, the position of aristocrats was given room to continue to rule in several *wanua* (villages). This is where the starting point for the reproduction of the power of the cultural elite was built, although in a different context during the reign of the kingdom in Bone. In a flashback of the history of government in Indonesia, which has gone through several phases of democracy during the old order, the new order and reformation, it also influences the government in Bone Regency where the existence of aristocrats still has the trust of being regional heads. One of the reasons is that these aristocrats have a socio-cultural background with nurturing, protecting, and leading characters (Halim et al. 2014).

The electability of aristocrats in every local political contestation in Bone is wide open. The values of nobility are still strong in Bone society, someone who bears them will get their meaning in their social world and have more value in the local political context. Post-reformation has opened up space for all circles of society to compete in the political sphere including the post-conflict local election, this is used by the aristocracy to regain power.

Furthermore, the privileges provided indirectly through kinship access and adequate personal abilities made the aristocratic group in Bone able to occupy strategic positions in government. Past events that placed the position of aristocrats in receiving different treatment from the community, especially by the Dutch colonialists, especially in access to education, had an impact on the colour of government that was dominated by this elite group in the past.

This is in line with the results of research by Rusnaedy and Purwaningsih (2018), which also analyzed the factors behind the formation of a political family with a political approach. According to him, factors in the formation of a political family include political oligarchy in political recruitment, political legacy, weak party institutionalization, political opportunities provided through direct regional head elections, multiparty systems and proportional electoral systems with the most votes. In this study, it can be seen that political oligarchy and weak party institutions make the existence of aristocrats in a strong position in every arena of local political contestation.

In a contextual sense, the aristocratic entity in the realm of politics and local government in Bone, in general, is in a formal strategic position both in political and government institutions. Most of them entered and were involved in the political and governmental realm because of the aristocratic descent from the social traditions of the people in Bone. Meanwhile, non-aristocratic entities entering and being involved in politics and government are their hard-working efforts with the support of adequate capital. With that success, they get a good position and equal to the position of aristocrats in general. The euphoria of democracy is felt by people in areas where the presence of old elites appear and are ready to compete in the local political context, especially the Regional Head Election. The existence of the aristocracy in the political domain of government is reflected in the many "Andi" who hold strategic positions in the government structure and get positions in political parties. Nobles, as descendants of kings during the kingdom era, played a role in filling the seats as regional heads in Bone Regency. The political arena is built by pairs of regional head candidates by mobilizing the masses by approaching the community through the values of ajjoareng or patron-clients which in the cultural context are still alive today. The relationship between the patron and the client is voluntary and only based on an unwritten contract. This relationship can end at any time and as long as the client has no debt to the patron, the client can switch to another patron at any time.

CONCLUSION

Cultural Reproduction that occurs in Bone Regency is by the principles of democracy in regional head elections. The electability of the nobility in every local political contestation in Bone Regency through the prevailing democratic process. Technically, the election of aristocrats as regents is the choice of the community based on their cultural locality which is constructed from historical phases in the transition to the local government system and the existence of weak political parties in conducting regeneration and political education for the community. The existence of cultural elites in regional leadership in all phases of the history of leadership starting from the aristocracy phase, the old order phase, the new order phase and the reform phase due to the accumulation of cultural capital, social capital, capital and intellectual capital owned and supported by local community habitus who consider leadership the cultural elite is a prosperous leadership.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The values of local political culture are a reality in the context of local political history in Bone Regency. The greater the values of the local political culture that are compatible with democracy, the greater the opportunities for the regions to realize democratization. Thus, the recommendation of this study is to encourage political parties to carry out massive political education at the grassroots level and to expect the elected cultural elites to use cultural capital as the basis for policymaking.

REFERENCES

Almond GA, Verba S (Eds.) 1990. *Budaya Politik, Tingkah Laku Politik, Dan Demokrasi Di Lima Negara*. Sahat Simamora. Jakarta: Penerbit Bumi Aksara.

Aspinall E, Fealy G 2003. *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralisation and Democratisation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Djati WR 2013. Revivalisme Kekuatan Familisme Dalam Demokrasi: Dinasti Politik Di Aras Lokal. *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi,* 18: 203–231. https://doi.org/10.7454/mjs.v18i2.3726.

Fahmid IM 2012. *Identitas Dalam Kekuasaan: Hibriditas Kuasa, Uang, Dan Makna Dalam Pembentukan Elite Bugis & Makassar*. Makassar: Ininnawa-ISPEI.

Fikri MS, Adytyas NO 2018. Politik Identitas Dan Dan Penguatan Demokrasi Lokal (Kekuatan Wong Kito Dalam Demokrasi Lokal). *Tamaddun: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Sasstra Islam*, 8: 172–185.

Haryanto 2014. *Klanisasi Demokrasi: Politik Klan Qahhar Mudzakkar Di Sulawesi Selatan*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Halim Abdul 2014. *Politik Lokal: Pola, Aktor & Alur Dramatikalnya: Perspektif Teori Powercube, Modal Dan Panggung*. Jakarta: Lembaga Pengkajian Pembangunan Bangsa (LP2B).

Halim H, Rahmansyah H, Roslinawati, Abdul MI 2014. Latar Belakang Individu Dan Perilaku Politik. In: *Konfrensi Nasional Sosiologi: Transformasi Demokrasi Indonesia Menuju Perubahan Yang Bermakna*. Yogyakarta: UGM Press, pp. 255–274.

Haryanto 2009. Elit Politik Lokal Dalam Perubahan Sistem Politik. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 13: 131–48.

Haryatmoko J 2016. *Etika Politik Dan Kekuasaan*. Jakarta: Kompas.

Hauser-Schäublin B 2013. *Adat and Indigeneity in Indonesia-Culture and Entitlements between Heteronomy and Self-Ascription*. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press.

Kamaruddin SA 2010. *Stratifikasi Sosial Masyarakat Nelayan: Perspektif Sosiologis*. Jakarta: Orbit Press.

Kartodirdjo Sartono 1974. Bureaucracy and aristocracy. The Indonesian experience in the XlXth Century. *Archipel,* 7: 151–168.

Marijan K 2019. *Sistem Politik Indonesia: Konsolidasi Demokrasi Pasca Orde Baru*. Jakarta: Kencana Predana Media Group.

Mattulada 1985. *Latoa: Satu Lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*. Yogyakarta: Gadjahmada University Press

Mattulada 1998. *Sejarah, Masyarakat, Dan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan*. Makassar: Hasanuddin University Press.

Priambodo BB 2018. Positioning Adat Law in the Indonesia's legal system: Historical discourse and current development on customary law. *Udayana Journal of Law and Culture,* 2: 140–164.

PUSaKO 2016. Penelitian Pembaharuan Partai Politik Di Indonesia. Pusat Studi Konstitusi (PUSaKo) Fakultas Hukum Universitas Andalas. From<https://pusako.or.id/index.php/9-hasil-penelitian/100-penelitian-pembaharuan-partai-politik-di-indonesia> (Retrieved on 3 May 2021).

Rusnaedy Z, Purwaningsih T 2018. Keluarga Politik Yasin Limpo Pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Di Kabupaten Gowa Tahun 2015. *Jurnal Politik*, 3: 301–322.

Salverda T, Skovgaard-Smith I 2018. Attribution and contestation: Relations between elites and other social groups. *Critique of Anthropology,* 38: 265–284.

Sjamsuddin N 1989. *Integrasi Politik Di Indonesia*. Jakarata: Gramedia.

Sudirman 2018. *Elit Lokal, Politik, Dan Pilkada*. Makassar: Yayasan Inteligensia Indonesia.

Walinono H 1979. *Tanate: Suatu Studi Sosiologi Politik*. Makassar, Indonesia: Universitas Hasannudin.

Zuhro RS 2009. *Demokrasi Lokal: Peran Aktor Dalam Demokratisasi*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.