Buton Inheritance Values Toward Local Democracy Development

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A B S T R A C T

In multiethnic country, political culture is very influential on politics. It can be seen in study of Alexis de Tocqueville (in Ceasar, 2011) in America; Putnam & Nanetty (1993), the Rise & Feldman (1997) Inglehart (2000) in Europe; Lianjiang Li, (2002) in China; Matlosa (2003) in South Africa. Especially in Indonesia, political culture study is pioneered by Geertz, Emerson, Liddle (Marijan, 1999) and Zuhro et.al (2009). It believes that all aspects of local culture are very important in democracy study. This study problems are: 1) How Buton values rule in democracy; 2) How conformity between Buton cultural values and democracy. Qualitative research method is used to focus of Buton cultural. The reason is because still there is Palace and Sultanate of Buton archives are maintained. Primary data sources are in-depth interviews and secondary data comes from research reports and monograph. Data is analyzed by ethnographic approach. These study conclusions are: 1) Buton local values have reciprocal relationship with democracy. It none only on how local cultural affect democracy, but also how democracy development affect on local culture, 2) Local culture value have similarities with democracy in terms election process, rule of law, decentralization and substantive value. Theoretical implication shows a need of culture element identification of compatible and incompatible value with democracy. Practical implication shows a need of public policy that could bring significant changes for society development. Research suggestion are to do research on some ethnic (more than one) to perform identification of local cultural that can be maintained, a culture that can be strengthened in order to nourish the democracy growth in Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Culture importance in a political development variable has long attracted scientist’s attention, especially in multiethnic countries. Putnam & Nanetty (1993) found that culture is the root of great differences northern Italy with democratic style and Southern Italy authoritarian style. Inglehart (2000) see that countries very different in degree of emphasis of “heritage values” and “self-expression values”. Rise and Feldman (1997) found that culture of American citizens today have in common with culture of past in Europe. This second conclusion strengthen Alexis de Tocqueville (1835) which concluded that what makes the American political system works is because the suitability culture and democracy.

Not only in America and Europe the affect of cultural affect on politics, but also in other parts of Africa and Asia like at South Africa. Research by Matlosa (2003) in South Africa discovered that there is correlation between cultural politics with a democratic government. Ananth & Moore (2010) make relationship customary village councils to formal, elected local councils and to electoral democracy generally – is more synergistic and complementary than competitive. In China, efforts by local leaders to promote their careers are done by taking the lead in initiating local wisdom (Lianjiang Li, 2002). Indonesia studies had been done about Indonesia's political culture both in perspective of anthropology and politics as Geertz, Emerson and Liddle (Marijan,
1999). Research effect of cultural values on political democracy was pioneered by Zuhro et.al (2009). The paper believes that all aspects of local culture very important in study of democracy. Why and how to affect democracy political culture is depends importance role of culture in society. If it is considered important by someone, the political culture can affect his judgment and viewpoints over life aspects. The more important a person looking at a political culture in higher life, he looked at aspects of life in perspective of culture that he believes.

Significance of cultural politics as guidance and norms of conduct is happened on rules and how they may be enforced. Since rights and obligations are defined and honored in specific cultural contexts, change within a political system is possible and expected (Shahrani, 2011). Political culture refers to attitudes toward political system and its various parts, and attitudes. Political culture of a nation is particular distribution pattern of orientation toward the political objects among the members of nation. It may congruent with structures of political system or not. The authors asked weather there is such a thing as a political culture: a pattern of political attitudes that fosters democratic stability (Chen & Rulksa, 2005).

Indonesia had a legendary reputation about cultural variety with motto of unity in diversity (bhinneka tunggal ika). Society diversity is variable important to understand culture of Indonesian politics. Therefore, an academic study about culture needs to be done with focus on role of political culture that has been played in imagination of Indonesian politics.

Study about the rise of political culture was flourished since the fall of President Suharto in 1998. Authoritarian Government did not allow the various ethnic groups to show their credentials. Through that context like this research was conducted as a manifestation of cultural politics rise in Indonesia at Reformation era. Through a decentralized and an overhaul of State authoritarians, it will take an increasingly meaningful democratic process (Davidson & Henley, 2007). In this era the whole political process and institutions attempt formulated back to conform to pillars of universal democracy.

In relation to political culture, the question is whether values and norms are consistent with principles of modern democracy. The dynamics of social fabric of any society revolve principally around the culture of that society. It is worth emphasizing at most that importance of a culture to societal development, identity and destiny is a critical at that of political culture to a political system (Matlosa, 2003).

With situation political culture is equalized with principles of modern democracy to trace clearly traced weather new political formats in Indonesia is also enriched by cultural and political factors? Interconnection of them really needs to be traced due to formal changes that occur at level of political procedures that also should need to be enriched with local cultural values.

This change is interesting to be seen us major breakthrough in democratization refugees (Sulisayanto, 2004). It needs to see whether culture local as a platform for orderly political is accordance with universal democracy principles. The importance political culture for democracy is in capital social. It needs conformity between culture and democracy. Therefore, these research objectives are

- How role of values Buton in a democracy.
- How conformity between the Buton culture values and democracy.

2. Methodology:
   **Approach:**
   The relevant methodologies developed are based on the paradigm of “constructivism” as cited by Guba and Lincoln (in Denzim and Lincoln, 2010) in the context of a case study. It is a qualitative approach that recognizes the role of the subject (the researcher) when observing the facts, analyzing and interpreting the facts beyond oneself and within the subject concerned. In this context, the ethnographic, which become the strategic option of qualitative approaches from five types of design (ethnography, grounded theory, case study, phenomenology and narrative) as described by Creswell (2001), are intended to explore and find out the contemporary causes of why the democratic party atmosphere tends not to be conducive and why results are often unsatisfactory for citizens. And the ethnographic approach is used to describe the vision, perception and behavior of the local communities in accordance with their own subjectivity.

   **Source of Information:**
   Basically democracy traces search in local political culture can be seen in almost all regions in Indonesia. However, if juxtaposed with conception of values system and current local government. An interesting ethnic to research as a research locus is Buton values. Research was carried out in Buton District, location of Palace Buton.

   There are two reasons to research is in Buton District. First, Buton District has Palace Buton with old architecture. Flagpole a sultanate standing in left the mosque, the bigwigs of a sultanate, a number place of sultanate grave, inauguration place of kings and sultans Buton, a number of palace and instruments of sultanate still exists when research is done. Second,) manuscripts and supporting documents pertaining to a Buton Sultanate both speaking Arab and Malay still preserved at time of research are done. For example, empire Act
Data Collection Process:
Research is begun with preliminary research to find key informant to enter to research locations later. Preliminary research and information results at centre of place are located in Wolio Subdistrict. In palace there are a few people who serve as informants with purposive sampling method. These informants have to complete information about the culture and history of Buton.

This study collects primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from the results of in-depth interviews about the democracy modality in Buton with digging up the background history of philosophy of life of people Buton, traditions of local secondary Data. Secondary data is obtained through study of literature relating to Buton that written by foreigners such as Ligvoet (1878), Schoorl (1994), Palmer (2004), National researchers have also been researching about Buton like Susanto Zuhdi (1999), Rahim Yunus (2004), Tony Rudiantyah (1977). Among other local researchers are Mulku Zahari (1974) and La Ode Zaenu (1984).

Data Analysis:
Data is collected in form of a field record, field notes interview comments of researchers, a written document. Data is started to set, sorted, and grouped. Data analysis has been started since collecting data in field until finish then data is interpreted.

Collected data and information of the field were analyzed from several techniques of ethnographic study based on the data characteristics. Guide to do this research is come from Katorba (1998), namely interpretive ethnographic to pose the same sort of challenge to interactionist to generate the same of response. Interpretive ethnographic is the major statement to date on the new writing.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Local cultural values:
Political culture of Sulawesi as Bugis in Sulawesi Selatan (Pelras, 1999) and community at Southeast Sulawesi is not too known and understood. It differs with Java or Minangkabau culture. Therefore, little scientists pay attention to national cultures of Southeast Sulawesi. Generally, Southeast Sulawesi culture literature more written by local people. With diversity of existing tribes in Southeast Sulawesi, it has attraction to be researched, especially related to democracy culture. Local history indicates existence of democracy traces that can be traced from time of initial formation period up to modern rule of Indonesia.

Buton itself has few general histories of Indonesia that also used it to free from VOC pressure by more powerful Indonesian kingdom. Buton is a cluster of small islands at southeastern Sulawesi (Taylor, 2003: 198). Sultanate of current institutions have dismissed and replaced with Republic Indonesia government. However palace still persists in memory society. Charisma of palace and kingdom can give a source of legitimacy for a state modern. Other palace character still authentic to make customary institution become source of unity that are important (Galvan, 2000).

Buton kingdom was established in 15th century and the sixth kingdom was converted to Islam in 1540 or 1542, and then became a sultan. Under his reign, the whole kingdom, including the islands of Muna, Kabaena, Tukang Besi, and Buton, formally converted to Islam, and were ruled from Baubau, the capital on Buton Island (Jhonson, 2003). Society and culture history of Buton Sultanate is a fascinating case from an archipelago island that for centuries becomes independent Kingdom. Later it became part of Netherlands. Until recently the sultanate still shows its role in Buton society in events that are essential such as birth, death, engagement, and marriage.

One major democracy trace that most perceptible in Buton is governance structure existence of Buton Sultanate, practice of deliberation, popularity of candidates, rule of law principle and democracy values. Buton government system has adhered to a modern method namely application of region autonomy. Buton history has three government levels namely sarana wolio (central government), sara barata (regional governments) and sara kadie (governments village) (Rahman, 2005). Sarana wolio manages sara kadie. Sara barata is kind of a state or kingdom with autonomous subordinate.

Sarana wolio located in centre of Kingdom with complete government in term of legislative, executive and judicial. Executive term is reflected in starting position of terrace (sutan, sapati, keneputu, lakina, capit lau) and office of state (kapita sabandara). Legislative office oversight functions are reflected in siolimbona. Religious institutions were created to care lakina agama (religion things).
Sara barata is located at each barata. Sultanate of Buton has 4 barata namely Barata Kaledupa, Barata Muna, Barata Kolensusu, BarataTiworo. Sara barata through its king that lakina has right to take care his own. Barata has a governance structure with same offices but not as complete as with structure of central government. Barata has autonomous rights to set its own laws with own his rule also have obligations in security defenses that have to fight an enemy who came to attack its territory with all its capabilities. Barata can ask for assistance to central government if the number of enemy weapons and better and more. Barata is considered a very important link that makes the country strong and well-balanced country will be able to perform duties and functions properly.

Buton sultanate has 72 sarana kadie with certain autonomy and its own government system. These institutions can different from one place to another place in accordance with difference in community formation, local customs as well as special functions with different association with sultanate as a whole.

One interesting of royal government structure is Buton society already know local autonomy. Sarana wolio become central government but lower structure government discharge affairs according their authority. In other words, there is autonomy region on small kingdoms. This government structure by Pelras (1999) is call as “democracy aristocratic”.

Deliberation practice is seen when a sultan vacant. Removal process of sultan uses three steps: nomination, determination and inauguration. At nomination stage, siolimbona search sultan candidates from three clan in kaomu categories. Candidates then submitted to second bonto ogena. In addition of three candidates, bonto ogena also asked for an opinion from officials other sara, who know they have a candidate. Before official deliberation is held, siolimbona members hold secret meeting to track down recorded candidates. The members of siolimbona observe and select people from kaomu who deserve to put forward as candidates for the sultan (Yunus, 1994). After determining the three or four name as sultan, then the candidates will be held a ritual called afalia (Rahman, 2005).

Process afalia held for grope/foretoken. Confirmed candidates is traced to know whether he good or not. To know it then one day siolimbona gathered sultanate great mosque. One among them performs circumcision pray and other opens al Qur’an who attended by siolimbona members to count letters “kh” (khairigood) found on right side then compute letter “sh” (sharr/bad) on left side. When “kh” letter is more, it means good, and his government would be going well. Conversely, if more letters “sh” then the kingdom be less well.

After afalia process, the result is given to bantogeneous and then does conference in Baruga leaded by bantomarupa and helped by two kapitalau. Bantomarumpa then say in whisper to those kapitalau, and then kapitalau back up. One of the kapitalau faces to west and one face to east. Kapitalau who face to east say: “listen carefully for all attendants that as Sultan is…. (call name). For anyone who does not agree to this decision, please come here and I am going to cut her/his body”. While, kapitalau who faces to west just say: “hore-hore for 3 times. Both kapitalau appear sharpened sword.

Process to become Buton sultan shows that there is a long ritual to appoint a sultan (Berg, 1939). As a result, the appointed sultan becomes best leader of his time, which really can run as well as possible the mandate. It can be said that Buton had formed a minimalist democracy to create the ideal system of sultanate government.

Democracy practice is also incarnated by avoiding crown prince sultan. Of 19 sultans who have ruled, only twice son succeeds his father’s position in office of a sultan appointment. From 19 sultans, only two sultans are replaced by his descent. To prevent leadership recruitment with of heredity basis, customary law also regulate after inauguration, sultan prohibited to coitus with empress. It prevent power scramble of sultan son as well as to prevent the immature appointment because under age. It creates a healthy condition in course of government.

Buton sultanate has criteria to appoint leader (sultan, sapati, kenepulu, kapitaraja, bontogena) namely sidiq/honest, tabligh/benefit, and amanah/trust, fathoni/halflexible. In addition, sultan need to have charisma so has extraordinary swarms. To realize it, sultan should have character of amembali (strong), atomaeka (wibawa), aumane (brave), akoudati (law), atomasiaka (endeared); atobingkale (openness), akosabara (sabar) (zuhdi, 1996). It shows that sultan who become the leader should have adequate track record to become leader with good behavior for its citizens.

Other values affecting the democracy pattern is democratic behavior of Buton sultan. Compliance of society without coercion to sultan is inflicted by authority owned because excellence so that others obey him without coercion. The Sultan always makes deliberation with other officials before makes a decision. Deliberation is done to reach an agreement for broader interests. It basically embraced democratic leadership model, not authoritarian.

Sultan appointment at that time embraced the popularity principles. Sultan candidate should come from kaomu leader. To become sultan, candidates should have value added. For example, Dayyan Asrar ad-Din, Muhammad Aidrusan Muhammad Saliihi have popular because of deep religion even become Sufism. Aidrus popular not just on a religion, but his power can defeat pirates who attacked eastern coast of Buton island when he became the captain of sea (Zaenu, 1984). The explanation above prove that to be selected as sultan, he should
popular that requires a suitable strategy so to elicit sympathy in political competition. In other words, political communication and political imagery is already practiced in political culture in Buton.

Value or the idea of democracy that grows and is practiced in Southeast Sulawesi and former Buton Sultanate can be assessed in government act, namely martabat tujah. This act refer to science to explains source of universe and process of events include creation of earth and heavens and hell, angels, genie and men, plants and animals and every other kind of god's creation.

Martabat tujah concept is applied in Buton. There are 7 positions in Buton Sultanate. It means ahdiyah is analogy tanailandu, wahdah is analogy of kumbewaha, wahidiyah is analogy of tapi-tapi, arwah is analogy of sultan, natural is analogy of kenepulu, human is analogy of kapitalao (Yunus, 2004).

Furthermore, democracy values can also be seen from Buton philosophy. Buton kingdom has pobinci-binci philosophy. Literally, pobinci-binci kuli is defined as two persons who pinching himself, when painful for him means pain for others. This means that all human beings have same feelings and same rights. This philosophy was elaborated in four basic behaviors: 1) pomae-maeka (mutual fear between fellow members of society), 2) pomaa-maasiaka (mutual affection between community members), 3) popia-piara (mutually nurturing among fellow members of community), 4) poangka-angkataka (mutually raise the degree of community member’s fellow). Once the Buton transformed into palace, then it packed in Buton philosophy values namely bolimo arataa somanomokaro (self is more important than treasure), bolimokaro somanamolipu (country is more important than self), bolimolipu somanamosara (government is more important than country), bolimo sara somanamo agama (religion is more important government).

Compared by “common interests” concept of modern democracy, basic values of Buton philosophy have similarity. It can be seen from a sentence of bolimokaro somanamolipu (country is more important than self). It show that public interest more precedence than self-interest and always can accommodate diversity and disagreements. Any contention, differences, and conflict should be solved by always keep public interest. In that context, government work to serve public interest, not a person.

Rule of law principle also one democracy value in Buton. History of Buton show that guilty men who not meet responsibility will get punishment. It is not discriminate between sultan and common people. From its note, sultan was ever punished for the errors. Sultan Mardanali is punished gogali (death punishment) for disturbing wife of others, sultan Qai’in ad-ad-dyn is punished pasabu (fired) because constructing ramparts without coordination with legislative/sioliimbona. Sultan is not immune to law. This practice also put sovereignty in hands of people. A man become sultan because he trusted by his people, when this element lose then sultan lose his position.

Conformity between cultural values with democracy:

Indonesia democracy had been growing since 1998 through free and fair elections, an independent and free media, civil rights, civil society strengthened, emergence of political parties. Other fundamental changes is realization of decentralization policy and regional autonomy. This policy gives important changes especially from a very centralistic system to become decentralized. Local political dynamics are also increasingly significant by giving portion of natural resources to region. Democratic values spread have changed the way many communities of Indonesia’s perspective throughout all corners. Therefore, reform affect the rise of local values. One of positive response come from Buton.

To consolidate democracy, it requires conformity between local cultural values and democracy. Description above show Buton society is compatible with democratic values (universal) and process of democratization is taking place. Attention to local culture has increased rapidly since reform era, because new order era largely restrict local culture through the screening by state through politics to be made in format of national stability (Kato, 1989).

People in researched area show cultural values that are compatible with democracy. They are similarities process of deliberation, tradition of elections, rule of law. These values remain alike despite Indonesia has democratization since 1998 who put Indonesia as one of world’s democratic countries. It can also be noted that there is also a value that incompatible with democracy value namely feudal value, violence, patronage value.

Actually there was resemblance between democracy and Buton cultural value. Although democracy has many faces, Dahl (quoted by Krouse 1982) show democracy character that might be made meaningful operationally: popular sovereignty, political equality, and majority rule. Buton values that can compatible with democracy and human rights are revealed in basic principle of pobinci-binci kuli (Schoorl, 1994). Common interests is more important than self-interest is revealed in bolimokaro somanamolipu, importance of strong government is shown in bolimolipu somanamosara principle, a need for government ethical is reflected in bolimosara somanamo principle (religion is more important than country).

Buton local culture values has embraced the sovereignty in people hand principles. It is reflected in behavior of sultan who want to act fairly and responsible to people. It makes himself and his reign will have pleasure of god because god is a representative of sultan in world (Brakel, 1975). Sultan needs to have a good personality so it has a strong moral legitimacy. No wonder, in historical record, there is the sultan of Buton...
collapsed due to these issues and political turmoil experienced in his leadership. In contrarily, there is sultan that last long in people’s hearts because having strong legitimacy.

Tradition elections has long practiced in Buton society. It can be seen from series of process of starting from fulfillment of requirements until the inauguration to become a sultan. Institutional democracy can be seen from institutions siolimbona that given mandate to recruit and to supervise sultan. Throughout a period of Sultanate Buton, this mandate was not replaced by other institutions. Therefore, practice of democracy can be seen because vacant leadership replacement was done by giving occasion of kaomu group to replace sultan position.

To become sultan, a man should satisfy certain criteria namely have surplus and accumulation of a long process, have a reputation and thus rampant chose. A leader should has atomaeka, akodati, akosabara and others. With this surplus, leaders have high level legitimation. Every sultan decision is obeyed by people because people sure leader should be respected because produce favor for people.

Decentralization has been practiced since under autonomous sultanate. He has own governance structure, carry out a number duty with respective authority. This transfer of authority or power-sharing make each region can decide the fate of his own and manage it to achieve the objectives that have been mutually agreed. It will give a chance to emergence of participation, self-reliance, and quickly overcome a variety of barriers that exist in carrying out the tasks and functions.

Rule of law principle has become an important part in Buton culture value. The indications are punishment to sultan who does not reflect leader behavior. Effort is conducted to give equal law treatment for all citizens. Law enforcement actors can perform its function in objectively and indiscriminative.

4. Conclusion:

This study conclusion are: 1) Buton local values has reciprocal relationship with democracy. It not only show how local cultural affect democracy, but also how development of democracy affect local culture 2) Buton local values have similarities with democracy value in terms election process, rule of law, decentralization, substantive value. Research implication show a need to reconstruct local culture to develop democracy and both can co-exist. Theoretical implication is political culture development is dialectic process between sustainability and change. Future research need to identify culture elements that compatible and not compatible with democracy value. Practical implication show public policy should bring significant changes for society development. Research suggestion are to do research on some ethnic (more than one) to perform identification of local cultural that can be maintained, a culture that can be strengthened in order to nourish the democracy growth in Indonesia.

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