Transformation and interaction in elite formation between ethnics

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Abstract

The purposes of this paper are; (i) explore the transformation and interaction process of Buginese and Macassarese elites with their clients in achieving, maintaining and expanding their political and economic power. (ii) discover and understand the process of Buginese and Macassarese elites in using the symbols of culture, power, money and other socio-political culture to achieve and maintain (reproduce) their power at the micro, mezzo and macro level. The result of this study showed four phases of transformation process in the formation of Buginese and Macassarese elites; traditional, feudalism, Islamic modernism, and secularism. For the Buginese ethnic elite, using the symbols of culture and power are much more effective in reaching pinnacle of power compare to using money, while Macassarese ethnic tend to use of power and money to seize the power, than using the symbols of culture. This paper was written through the study of literature, in-depth interviews with informants, elite actors and listen to people who has been linked to this topic. In addition, personal observation as the immediate witness of transformation and interaction process in the formation of elites in Buginese and Macassarese ethnic.

Keywords: elite, ethnicity, money, cultural symbol, power, politics.

1. Introduction

Influence in the intensity of communication among social entities, and the opening of economic and political systems of the world, has impacted most of the political and social life of the world community, including Indonesian, especially Buginese and Macassarese ethnics in South Sulawesi (two of the largest ethnic groups that have political and economic influence in Indonesia). Modern social interaction which has commercial value and penetration of modern state institutions, are the key factors that helps to change the pattern of relationships between leaders and followers in the political and economic power structures. Penetration of modern institutions and the growing commercialization of the alliance has been a factor affecting the fundamental transformation of social relationships (Lynch, 2011). Social situations such as this will encourage a different pattern of social interaction between ethnic groups, which in turn will also establish a different transformation process in the formation of leaders (elite), and the relationship between a leader and followers.

Ethnicity as a symbol of political identity, culture and economics, is often used by elite as tools to seize political and economic power. Ethnicity is also used as a force for building community awareness of politics and governance based upon geopolitics, to create a new identity or reconstruct as common identity (Mandaville, 2011; Guibernau, 2011; Nagel and Clancy, 2012). Case like this in Indonesia (especially in ethnic of Buginese and Macassarese), can be seen at the general election both legislative and presidential elections and local election to elect local leaders.

In every political moment such as election, exploration of political identity, by pushing the issues of oppression and backwardness of shared identity and representation, such as race, ethnicity, religion, culture and gender (Kaufman, 1990; Iwara 2004) into the factors that determine the success of an elite to seize and maintain power. The core of politcal identity is the business of the various groups to show their existence to the larger group, primarily by politically marginalized groups in an effort to gain recognition from the dominant group (Erikson, 1968; Young, 1989; Kymlicka, 1999). Political identity has the power to dismantle the social structure. For Indonesia, particularly the province of South Sulawesi, it can interfere with social relations between different ethnic, religion, and cultural diversity. To avoid the development of a massive political identity, the ruling elite must have the ability to measure, assess and identify the groups that are politically disadvantaged. Another step to take is to develop the political concept of hybridization. According to Wang and Yeng (2005) hybridization has become a part of an ongoing trend in cultural production. Hybridization, not only just a matter of mixing, and the synthesis of the different elements that ultimately make up the whole bland culture. Hybridization often resulting in new forms of culture and create new connections with each other. Instruments such as deculturalization, acculturalization and reculturalization can be used to hybridized the cultural products.

Referring to the case of South Sulawesi (especially in Buginese and Macassarese ethnic) as the location of the study, showed that the contest among elites both in the realm of political and economic inter-ethnic dimension still related to historical past (Ricklefs,1991; Hall, 1988). However, the competition which manifest in the form of political and economic contest, showed that the competition actually fully managed and conducted by the elites among ethnics in controlling certain resources and strengthen their position spesifically their political power.

The battle of the elites between two ethnic groups (Buginese and Macassarese) in South Sulawesi to control political power and economy, tend to end in conflict, whether it's overt or covert conflict. Open conflict between ethnic of Buginese and Macassarese starting from the 17th century, precisely in 1667, when Sultan Hasanuddin (Soltan of Gowa controlled political and economic resources in most of the Sulawesi peninsula) challenged by Arung Palakka (King of Bone, who is a symbol and representation of Buginese ethnic). Arung Palakka which received strong support from the Dutch, managed to overthrow the political and economic power of Sultan Hasanuddin. Since the "defeat", Macassarese ethnic role has decreased in politics and economics on the contrary, since that era, Buginese ethnic become major controller of political and economic power in South Sulawesi (Pelras, 2006; Abidin, 1999).

Some critical remarks regarding conflict of elites between Buginese and Macassarese ethnics can be parsed by portray the characters of elite who control political and economic power. This can clearly shows how the Buginese and Macassarese elites utilize different patterns of power such as traditional, Islamic nuance and the practice of modern power or modify all of the three patterns of powers at once to tread their political and economic position (Gibson, 2005; Pelras, 2006; Polenggomang, 2004; Sewang, 2005; Ali, 1984).

From those, the types of powers, then established social systems that influence the pattern of relations between the ruling elite and his followers. On this, the most prominent concept of elite relations with the followers, in the Buginese and Macassarese ethnic is the concept and *Ajjoareng*[1] and *Joa'*[2] which is known by Buginese tradition, or *Karaeng* and *Taunna* known by the Macassarese tradition. In sociological concept, this is another name of the patron-client relationships that are generally applicable to rural communities in Indonesia. However, for the case of South Sulawesi, abidance of *joa'* or *taunna* (client) to *ajjoareng* or *Karaeng* (patron) is the embodiment of the *siri'* values on these two social entities.[3] Thus, *siri'* is not just a symbol of values that apply to certain social stratum, but as an important factor to encourage social mobilization among the stratum that exist in these two ethnic groups. This because *siri'* is an ideological and cultural symbols which apply to any social stratum.

Next on the political and economic arena, patron-client relations in the two ethnic groups can be understood as social capital that can be used by the elite to maintain political and economic power. Patron-client relationship with the nature to protect and trusting each other is one of the important social capital for the elite to maintaint of their power. Social capital based on trust is one important instrument to guarantee the continuity of elite's power to the mass. Social capital can be a useful tool in the development and progress for peace, public trust, cooperation and access to justice in a diverse socio-cultural environment. In addition, social capital can also be a mechanism to mediate and or moderate the inter-and intra-communal conflict and increase the capacity of accommodating reciprocal inter-ethnic and intra equity relationships. (Lin, 2004; Ojukwu and Onifade, 2010). In addition, social capital as a mechanism to maintain social harmony and peace should involve civil society in building political equality, solidarity, trust, tolerance, and cooperation in the social structure.

Social capital can be operated effectively when driven by social processes through dialogue involving various elements of society to take part in a discussion, not only include the facts and logic, reasoning and rational exchange of ideas, but also intensive discussions in which their normative commitment also involved . In fact, the public good in this matter, depending on the quality of the dialog to specify the values to be adopted together and become common culture for a diverse society (Etzioni, 2001; Granovetter, 1985).

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[1] *Ajjoa'raeng* is a role model and respected leader; he can be a courtier (*punggawa, aru)* or other community leader. In short he is the figure of leader who become the axis of activities for the people around him, who abidantly follow his wishes and order.

[2] *Joa'* is derived from followers of *Ajjoa'reng* came from *maradeka* class (free men) who are faithful.

[3] *Minawang* (followers) relationship is between patron and client is voluntarily in nature, thus the relation is very close. They defend and protect each other if either party have any trouble or in danger. For example, an insult to the followers of *Karaeng* (king) can be viewed also as contempt of *Karaeng* (king) himself.

The concept of shared value can be defined as policies and practices to enhance the competitiveness of the public as well as to promote the economic, political and social development in the communities in which it operates. Joint value creation focuses on identifying and expanding the relationship between social and economic progress. This concept rests on the premise that proggres in economic, political and social reforms should be solved by using the principle of value. Value creation is an idea that has long been recognized in business, where profit is the revenue earned from customers minus the costs incurred. However, it is still rarely approached through the perspective of social and economics, even obscure the relationship between economic and social problems. (Porter and Kramer 2011; Michelini and Fiorentino, 2012).

Another point that is not less interesting is the leadership of the elites (*karaeng* or *ajjoareng*) in maintain the solidarity of the masses (*joa'* or *taunna*) through charisma. Charisma is the ability of elite to maintain ideology or myth as a shared value system that allows the elite and the masses to communicate with each other and to cooperate in achieving the objectives (Pareto, Mosca, and Michels in Pelras, 2006). On this point, assumption that can be developed is the meaning of the ideology or myth which can be use as an elite's force in the context of the struggle to achieve power.

Have the knowledge (*paddisengeng*), especially esoteric knowledge (occult), and royal heirlooms or posses objects that considered as sacred to many people, play important role in achieve and maintain power. The concept of status and power generate the concept of patron-client. From development of patron-client concept, Buginese and Macassarese society widely seen as a community that has a socio-political structure which dominated by vertical relation of solidarity. Such views are unfortunately did not elaborate on the differences as variables that affect the relationship among kinship that could be the basis of social interaction.

Some scientists are debating the impact of local cultural interaction with foreign cultures toward the social construction. For example, the influence of Islam on the legitimacy of the ruling authority, influence of the practices and concepts of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Indian influences that to the extent have colored religious and ethnic beliefs and concepts of leadership of Buginese and Macassarese ethnics. According to Errington (1989) these effects should not be underestimated. While Macknight (1975), Caldwell (1991), and Reid (1981), argued that the influence of these elements is relatively less important. It leads to differences in terms of concepts of power and other cultural concepts that exist in the region of South Sulawesi (especially in the case of the Buginese and Macassarese ethnicity).

This paper aims to; determine the process of transformation and interaction patterns between Buginese and Macassarese elites and their followers in an attempt to achieve and maintain political and economic power. Second, analyze and understand the process of Buginese and Macassarese elites in utilize the symbols of culture, power, money and other political culture to achieve and maintain (reproduce) power ranging from the micro, mezzo and macro levels.

2. Methods

To explore the process of elite formation in Buginese and Macassarese ethnicity, this paper uses the paradigm of constructivism. A paradigm that put itself as the anti-thesis of the paradigms of positivism and post positivism. Paradigm of constructivism states that reality exists in various forms of construction, based on social experience, its local and specific, and depends on the person who did it. Therefore, the observed reality by someone cannot be generalized to all people. Later this confirmed that the epistemological relationship between the observation and the object is unity, subjective and result of interactions among them.

This paradigm use observation and objectivity in finding a reality or science (Guba and Lincoln in Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Guba and Lincoln said that positivism and post positivism has failed to reveal the reality of the world.

2.1 Description of study area

According to the paradigm of constructivism, this paper classifies the locations of study into three levels: micro (village), mezzo (district) and macro (national and provincial). At the micro level, the selected two villages as locations of study represent each ethnic, Buginese and Macassarese. These two villages have a history of political sociology character that contrasts both geographically and political culture. Representing Buginese village, which has a history of power and as the birthplace of many Buginese elites, particularly in district of Bone is Ancu

village, in the sub-district of Kajuara. While the village that is not the birthplace of any elites and has no history of power in the past for Buginese Bone ethnicity is Benteng Tellue village, at sub-district of Amali. Village that representing Macassarese ethnic that is one of the birthplace of elites who held power are Manjapai village at the sub-district of Bontonompo, District of Gowa. While the Manuju village in the sub-district of Manuju selected as representing the village communities far from the center of power in Macassarese ethnicity, but it has a tradition motherland of elites of the past.

Choice of study location also consider geographical factors, namely village Ancu representing the birthplace of elites in Buginese Bone is on the coastal area. While the village of Benteng Tellue representing suburban area of Buginese Bone, located in the hinterland. Study location in Gowa regency, which represents ethnic Macassarese, is area that has a tradition as "birthplace" of elites in Macassarese Gowa, located in coastal areas, while Manuju Village describing as "peripheral" to the development of elite production is in mountainous terrain.

Study location is determined based on criteria such as: (1) representation of each of the two ethnic groups (Buginese and Macassarese). (2) Provide an overview of the dynamics of the process of elite formation in the ethnic Buginese and Macassarese, (3) an area that has a track record (history) as the establishment of centers of power in their respective ethnic groups (Buginese and Macassarese). Based on these criteria, at the micro level of the four villages was chosen, two villages in the District of Bone and two villages in District of Gowa, each of which represents the Buginese and Macassarese ethnicity.

2.2 How to Obtain Data

This paper was constructed in three stages, namely: (1) Field trips to locations that have been determined. At this stage, the materials relating to the theme of paper were collected, discussions with several informants who witnessed the process of formation of elites. (2) Conducted in-depth interviews, listened and recorded the stories told by people who are part of governing elite and non-governing elite. (3) Conducted an analysis of the findings and constructed it in accordance with the theme of this paper.

3. Results and Discussion

The results of this study indicate there are four phases of the transformation process in the formation of elite in Buginese and Macassarese ethnicity. First, the traditional phase, a phase in which the formation of elite dominated by the influence of symbolic knowledge and the signs of nature. In this phase of cultural symbol is very influential in the process of elite formation. The most prominent cultural symbol in this phase is the concept of *Tomanurung*. Second, the phase of feudalism, the commencement era of the Buginese of Bone elites and Macassarese of Gowa elites establish themselves with the capitalization of economy, and the land became reproduction tool of power. Third, phase of Islamic modernism, this phase is marked by the awakening of consciousness in Buginese of Bone and Macassarese of Gowa elites in intellectuality and morality. At this time there were resistance to international capitalism, and colonialism. Fourth, the phase of secularism, in this phase of the life of the elites in Bone and Gowa in a state of pragmatism, everything is measured in terms of rationality, efficiency, and added value and performed with the transactional approach. Stage of this transformation is similar to the theory of three stages which introduced by Comte (1838) and the transformation of power in South Sulawesi, which was written by Gibson (2005; 2007).

Table 1 portray the transformation process of political elites in Buginese and Macassarese ethnic. It's clearly visible, the dynamic process of elite formation of Buginese Bone and Macassarese Gowa in a different pattern on each phase. In the traditional phase, dynamics of elite tend to use the instrument of cultural symbol to achieve power. Second, the phase of feudalism, this phase can be classified as a phase of materialism in the dynamics of the formation of Buginese and Macassarese elites, although the phase of feudalism still utilize the cultural symbol to strengthen the elite's position of power. Third, phase of Islamic modernism, the elite in this period use the movement of intellectual and morality as the main instrument in the dynamics of elite formation. While the fourth phase is the phase of secularism, in this phase there are four regimes that come to be decisive in the formation of elites Buginese of Bone and Macassarese of Gowa; Colonial (Dutch & Japan), the Old Order (Soekarno's regime), New Order (Suharto's regime) and the Order of Reformation (regimes; Habibie, Gus Dur, Megawati and Yudhoyono). It's clear, that all regimes contributed to the growth of pragmatism and transactional pattern in the process of elite formation.

Table 2 describes how Buginese and Macassarese elites interpret ethics, money, power and symbols in establishing themselves as the elites. In establishing their network, elites of Bone have metamorphosed in the nation, while the elites of Gowa limited only in Gowa area. Elites of Bone are very flexible and adaptive with other culture also cooperative with different system. On the contrary, elites of Gowa maintain the purity of local culture and non-cooperative with different system. Due to this reason, the arena to achieve power between elites of Bone and elites of Gowa is very different. Elites of Bone has breakthrough social system outside of Bone (provincial and national level), while the elites of Gowa manage their power only in the District of Gowa and Province of South Sulawesi.

Elites of Buginese Bone and Macassarese Gowa have different ways in interpret instruments of: cultural symbols, power and money to achieve political and economic power, as well as ethics in establish their network. Elites of Bone have the ability to explore ethnic identity become an instrument in building their power meanwhile, elites of Gowa have not yet succeed in exploring ethnic identity as the instrument to build their power. Meaning of power also translated differently among elites in two ethnic groups. Elites of Bone use power as the tool to capitalize economic wealth (economic prosperity is more important than power). While, elites of Gowa see power as the tool to multiply power (value of power is more important than economic prosperity). Elites of Bone perceive money as very important element, same as in elites of Gowa. However, elites of Bone have ethics in entrepreneur tradition higher compare to elites of Gowa.

How Buginese and Macassarese ethnic use variables of cultural symbol, power and money to transform themselves as elites, starting from traditional phase to secularism, and from micro to macro level explained in table 3.

In order to achieve elite position, Buginese of Bone predominantly uses the symbol of culture and power. Meanwhile, Macassarese of Gowa ethnicity tends to use power and money to control the political power.

Elites in Buginese ethnic tend to concentrate power in the "same group" (ethnic, religion and region). While the elites of Macassarese Gowa try to balance and share the power based upon representation of region, ethnics and religion.

In achieving the pinnacle of power (at the macro level) elites of Bone used hybrid of political culture and required aristocratic heritage to occupy the power at the mezzo level. Elites of Gowa choose culture of sociological coexistence to maintain their political power and form the elites in overt manner.

Political power stage in Bone only occupy by aristocrats' family. On the contrary elites in the political stage in Gowa more varies and open, while the influence of aristocrat family have decline significantly.

4. Conclusion

The transformation process of elite formation in Buginese and Macassarese ethnics went through four phases: traditional, feudalism, Islamic modernism and secularism. In regards to these phases, traditional elites never transform in entering feudalism phase (traditional elite groups are also elites of feudalism). However, elites who based upon feudalism experienced the transformation in entering the phase of Islamic modernism (new elites emerged during Islamic modernism phase, although there are old elites). At the secularism phase, competition among elites intensify, most of the old elites replace by new elites, especially in Macassarese ethnic. While the Buginese elites has the endurance to remain in the inner circle of power, the mass in Buginese ethnic have not able to seize the stage of power.

For Buginese elites, utilization of power and cultural symbol more effective in achieving the pinnacle of power compare to use of money, meanwhile Macassarese elites use power and money more often in achieving the pinnacle of power.

The struggles for power between Buginese and Macassarese ethnic occurring at the level of macro (Sulawesi) and Mezo (South Sulawesi province) in the period of traditional and modern Islam completely controlled by Macassarese ethnic, while. in the secularism phase, power stage was taken over by Buginese ethnic. Since the collapse of the Soeharto's regime (New Order regime), power stage re-captured by Macassarese ethnic. The fall of Suharto's regime in Indonesia, marked by the rise of the democratic system in the determination for the leader. In Indonesia especially in the province of South Sulawesi, the democratic system encourage the development of political identity. The political system has encouraged the destruction of the relationship of identity and social

harmony among the various ethnic groups, religions, and cultures in Indonesia and Sulawesi. Therefore, to maintain social integration, hybridization of political culture is required.

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Table 1. Abstraction theory of transformation process of political elite and masses in the Buginese and Macassarese ethnic.

	I TRADITIONAL	II FEUDALISM	III ISLAMIC-MODERNISM	IV SECULARISM
Comtean	Theological Phase	Positivism & Materialism Phase	Negated Cultural Tradition Phase	Pragmatism Phase
Transformation Rationality				
Weber	Supernatural Phase	Economic Rationality Phase	Anti International Capitalism Phase	Scientism
Reproduction of Power	Through Cultural Symbol and Local Ethics		- New Ideology - Modern rationality - Intellectuality - Network	Political Culture of Hybridity Money & Power
Gibson				

Table 2. Ethics and meaning of cultural symbol, power and money for Buginese of Bone and Macassarese of Gowa ethnicity.

	ELEMENT	BUGINESE	MAKASSARESE
Ethics	Attachment toward Monarchism	Metamorphosed into the nation.	Localized only in Gowa
	Network establishment method	Flexible with other culture (macro level), but rigid and covert toward same culture (mezzo and micro level).	Rigid with other culture (macro level), but very flexible toward same culture (mezzo and micro level).
Meaning	Money	Has entrepreneurial ethics culture → Materialism is the most important element.	Do not have entrepreneurial ethics culture → Materialism is an important element.
	Power	Prosperity is more important than power → Power use for capitalization of economic prosperity	Power is more important than economic prosperity → Capitalization of power use for expansion of power.
	Ethnicity symbol	Ethnic identity is the instrument to establish power.	Ethnic identity not exploit as the instrument to achieve power.

Table 3. Roles of symbol, power and money in the formation of Buginese and   Macassarese elites in every phase and level.

PHASE	ETNICITY	MACRO & MEZZO LEVEL (Variables: Cultural Symbol, Power & Money)	
Traditional	Buginese/ Bone	Macro: Only utilize cultural symbol to achieve power; Mezzo: Utilize cultural symbol and power for colonialism	
	Macassarese/ Gowa	Utilize all variable for capitalization of power through colonialism and economic (international trade).	
Feudalism	Buginese/ Bone	Utilize the cultural symbol and power for capitalization of power through lands as the tool of production of power.	
	Macassarese/ Gowa	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power through international trade.	
Islamic Modern	Buginese/ Bone	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power through economic and education.	
	Macassarese/ Gowa	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power through colonialism	
Secularism	Buginese/ Bone	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power and economic.	
	Macassarese/ Gowa	Utilize power and money for capitalization of power and economic.	
PHASE	**DISTRICT**	**VILLAGE**	**MICRO LEVEL (Variables: Cultural Symbol, Power & Money)**
Traditional	Bone	Ancu	Utilize only the cultural symbol and money.
		B. Tellue	
	Gowa	Manjapai	
		Manuju	
Feudalism	Bone	Ancu	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power through possession of lands.
		B. Tellue	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power through economic and education.
	Gowa	Manjapai	Utilize only the cultural symbol and money.
		Manuju	
Islamic Modernism	Bone	Ancu	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power through economic and education.
		B. Tellue	
	Gowa	Manjapai	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power.
		Manuju	
Secularism	Bone	Ancu	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power, economic and education.
		B. Tellue	Utilize power and money for capitalization of power, economic and education.
	Gowa	Manjapai	Utilize all variables for capitalization of power.
		Manuju	Utilize the cultural symbol and power for capitalization of power.

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