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Cover Page Footnote

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Formation of Local Elite Power Base in Local Politics: “The Emerging” and “The Surviving”

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ABSTRAK

Banyak studi terbaru menunjukkan perkembangan elite yang semakin beragam, yang ditandai dengan munculnya elite-elite baru dan runtuhnya elite lama. Namun demikian, studi-studi tersebut kebanyakan menyimpulkan perubahan politik demokratik sebagai faktor penjelasnya. Dengan menggunakan studi kasus di Kelurahan Biringkassi di Sulawesi Selatan, artikel ini mengambil jalan berbeda untuk menjelaskan mengapa sebagian elite di level lokal runtuh, bertahan, dan munculnya pula elite baru. Secara spesifik, artikel ini menjelaskan pembentukan basis sumber daya elite dan akumulasinya dengan menekankan pada perspektif perubahan sosial. Sumber daya menjadi basis kekuasaan yang menentukan posisi elite dalam masyarakat maupun arena politik. Dalam proses pengambilan data, studi ini melakukan wawancara kepada sejumlah patron dan elite lokal yang disertai dengan pengumpulan data-data sekunder lainnya. Temuan studi ini menjelaskan bahwa faktor perubahan sosial di tingkat lokal menjadi *driving force* yang menentukan muncul dan runtuhnya elite di tingkat lokal. Perubahan struktur sosial masyarakat dari feodal dan hierarkis menuju masyarakat modern-kompetitif telah mentransformasi komposisi basis sumber daya kekuasaan elite dalam masyarakat sekaligus menentukan jatuh banggunya kekuasaan elite. Selain itu, perubahan struktur sosial tersebut tidak hanya mendorong kemunculan basis sumber daya lainnya, tapi juga membuka peluang bagi elite untuk mengakumulasinya. Terdapat tiga sumber daya penting yang menentukan posisi elite di Kelurahan Biringkassi, yaitu; sumber daya kultural, ekonomi, dan pendidikan. Ketiganya menentukan formasi dan pergeseran elite dalam masyarakat. Studi ini menegaskan bahwa meskipun perubahan politik lokal terjadi dalam kerangka formal-demokratik, masyarakat lokal masih terikat pada basis kekuasaan yang hidup dan bekerja di luar kerangka tersebut.

Kata kunci: Sumber Daya; Elite; Perubahan Sosial; Politik Lokal; Kelurahan

ABSTRACT

Many recent studies show the development of an increasingly diverse elite characterized by the emergence of a new elite and, on the other hand, the collapse of the old elite. However, these studies mainly infer democratic political change as an explanatory factor. By using a case study in Biringkassi Urban Village in South Sulawesi, this article takes a different standpoint to explain why some local elites collapse, survive, and emerge as new elites. Specifically, this article explains the formation of the elite resource base and its accumulation by emphasizing the perspective of social changes.

Resources become the basis of power that determines the position of the elite in society and the political arena. In the data-collecting process, this study conducted interviews with several patrons and local elites accompanied by the collection of other secondary data. The findings explain that the factor of social changes at the local level becomes the driving force that determines the emergence and collapse of the local elites. The changes in the social structure of society from feudal and hierarchical to modern-competitive society have transformed the composition of the resource base of elite power in society and determined the rise and fall of elite power. In addition, the changes in social structure not only encourage the emergence of other resource bases but also opens up opportunities for the elite to accumulate them. Three critical resources determine the elite's position in Biringkassi Urban Village, namely cultural, economic, and educational resources. These three resources determine the formation and shifts of the elite in society. The study asserts that although local political changes occur within a formal-democratic framework, local communities are still tied to a power base that persists outside that framework.

Keywords: Resources; Elites; Social Changes; Local Politics; Urban Village

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INTRODUCTION

Many recent studies explain that the Indonesia's political transformation contributes to the emergence of new elites and the collapse of old elites at the national and local levels. Even though in the new system, some of the old elites still survive, new elites emerge to become new competitors in various political, social, and economic arenas (Buehler 2007; Robison and Hadiz 2004). In Indonesia, the political transformation from the New Order authoritarian regime to the Reform Era has triggered massive political changes. The change from centralized to decentralized powers has impacted political developments at the local level. Lay (2012) argued that this political change was marked by the development of democratic institutions, political liberalization, and the dispersion of power to the local level. This situation opens opportunities for the emergence of new elites at the local level. Some studies explain that the development of Indonesian local politics is characterized by the presence of increasingly plural elites (Buehler 2007; Choi 2014). Several studies found that political changes have triggered the emergence of local oligarchs who try to overtake the democratic process (Robison and Hadiz 2004), the rise of new local bosses (bossism) (Sidel 2005), the rise of local strongmen such as local aristocrats, sultans, and local

aristocrats or *Karaeng* (Dwipayana 2004; Savirani 2004; Van Klinken 2007), as well as the emergence of a local shadow state (Hidayat 2007).

All these studies have come to the same conclusion that democratic political changes and decentralization are the main factors for the emergence of those local elites. On the other hand, there is still little information regarding the factors of change in social structure that explain the emergence of local elites and the collapse of the old ones. Long before, scientists such as Max Weber and Pierre Bourdieu had explained the relationship between social change and the formation of elites. For example, Weber (1978) explained that one of the power sources in modern society is social status, while Bourdieu (1984) explained that social class has an essential role in the formation of elites. In other words, the existence of the elite cannot be separated from its social basis. For this reason, this article aims to explain the formation of elite resources at the community level when changes in social structure determine the shift of elites at the local level.

In the study of power, many factors determine the emergence of elites. The authors would like to mention two schools of thought regarding elites. First is the Weberian concept, which explains that elites are those who have power and resources. Second is the Marxian concept, which defines elites as those who have a dominant position in social relations. However, despite their differences, both understand that elite positions are always connected to their power base in a socio-political relationship. According to Khan (2012), elite positions are strongly influenced by many things, such as power distribution, inequality, control, and resource ownership. From the social perspective, elites occupy high social stratification and can mobilize it. In short, the elites' position is determined by their power base. The greater the resources of an elite, the greater the potential for the power they possess.

Moreover, Winters (2011, 11–9) mentions at least five types of elite resources: official office, mobilizing power, coercive power, formal political rights, and material power. Another criterion for selecting an elite can also be found in various works such as capital (Bourdieu 1986), legitimacy (Weber 1947), power in culture (Anderson 2007), and cred-

ibility (Hidayana 2011). Another study says that land occupation is still a solid resource base for the elite (Kurniadi 2019). For example, in Kurniadi's study, the endured power of the Sultan of Kraton Yogyakarta is primarily determined by the power base marked by the ownership of palace land in many areas of Yogyakarta. This study confirms that the informal power base (land) used since the feudalism period is still essential in the democratic era. In addition, Hidayat et al. (2018) emphasized that non-material resources are more significant in maintaining elite power at the local level, such as in villages. Political scientists generally take different paths in identifying elite power bases. This is visible in the presence of both formal and informal elites in influencing the public. However, it is common for elites to take advantage of their position to control resources that benefits their interest or elite capture (Lucas 2016). From several resource bases, it is apparent that the level of value is determined by the area in which the actors compete and the actor's strategy in utilizing their power base.

METHODOLOGY

This study specifically aims to provide more in-depth perspectives of other studies on the subject of the formation an elite resource base at the local level. Specifically, this study emphasizes the social change perspective to understand the formation of elite power bases at the micro-local level. This study was conducted in Biringkassi Urban Village, Binamu District, Jeneponto Regency (South Sulawesi). In these areas, transformations in local democracy have proven to influence the emergence and collapse of local elites. Furthermore, changes in the social structure have laso contributed to changes in the composition of the source of power of the local elites. The new composition results in the emergence of a more plural local elites in the Biringkassi Urban Village. It is apparent that the long-standing power base still survives. However, changes in the social structure of society and democracy allow opportunities for other elites and even who were non-elites to seek and secure supplementary power bases. This study utilizes case studies by conducting interviews with several local elites in the Biringkassi Ur-

ban Village. Preliminary findings confirm that social structure changes determine the composition of elite resources, including economic, sociocultural, and educational resources essential in forming a plurality of local elites.

This article is divided into five sections. The first part is an introduction explaining why this study is particularly interested in local elites. The second part describes the development of local elites in Indonesia. This section specifically focuses on the explanation of the dynamics of the rise and fall of elites and what kind of resource base elites have for running in the contestation. The third part seeks to explain the context of the Bringkassi people who are Makassarese. This section explicitly highlights the Makassar cultural system that regulates the composition of elites in the society. The following section describes the formation of resource formation that influences the formation of local elites. This section depicts society's social changes contributing to the local elites' rise and fall. In addition, this section also explains the shift in elites' nature followed by changes in their power base as a result of local social and political changes. Finally, this article is closed with conclusions based on the findings of this study.

STUDY ON LOCAL ELITES IN INDONESIA

Since the collapse of the New Order regime, Indonesia has entered a new chapter in politics. The decentralization policy at the beginning of the reform era massively changed the structure of the power system in Indonesia. Political power is no longer concentrated on the central government and a fragment of it has now been allocated to the local level, making local politics more open to political contestation. These political changes have triggered the emergence of new elites at the local level (Nordholt and Klinken 2008, Agustino and Yusoff 2010). Mainly, political scientists focus on how local actors mediate and respond to these institutional changes (Choi 2012) and seek to understand the characters and roles of regional elites in various arenas such as bureaucracy, economics, and identity politics (Nordholt and Klinken 2008).

Several studies have shown that there is already a plurality of elites at the local level following the political liberalization. The application of a variety of concepts such as local oligarchs (Robison and Hadiz 2004), local strongmen, like Sultans, *Jawara*, *Karaeng*, local aristocrats (Dwipayana 2004; Savirani 2004; Van Klinken 2007; Haboddin 2009), local bosses (Sidel 2005), and state elites (Buehler 2014), is a clear evidence of such variety. As a result, changes in local politics in the reform era have unlocked opportunities for the presence of new elites who affect the dynamics of Indonesian local politics, although many studies have concluded that many old elites still survive (Aspinall and Fealy 2003; Robison, and Hadiz 2004; Nordholt 2005). It is also mentioned that political changes like the presence of democratic institutions, constitutional amendments, and massive decentralization policies are the main factors for the emergence of these local elites (Diprose, McRae, and Hadiz 2019). In other words, local political changes in the reform era determine the roles and characters of elites at the local level. However, most existing studies focus on the local level, such as region or provincial level. It can be said here that elite studies at the micro level, such as urban village or village, are rarely discussed, at least by well-known scholars examining recent Indonesian politics.

According to Choi (2005), two schools of thought explain the characteristics of local Indonesian elites: studies emphasizing the durability of old elites in Indonesian democracy and studies emphasizing the process of elite diversification. The character of this elite was greatly influenced by the political change from authoritarianism to democracy in 1998. The change was followed by a massive decentralization policy that contributed to political changes at the local level. Lay has emphasized that decentralization not only represents the dispersion of power at the local level but also triggers the emergence of new elites (Lay 2012). The local context as a new political arena encourages increasingly competitive political contestation. However, most old elites survived and could reorganize their power at the local level (Hadiz 2003; Nordholt 2005), and adapt to new political situations, and consolidate their power (Mari-beth, Sulistiyanto, and Faucher 2005; Malley 2003). Even at the village

level, these old elites are still elected and in power (Aspinall and Noor 2017). According to Buehler (2007; 2014), even though the old elites still survive, local democracy has opened opportunities for the grassroots to rule. Therefore, democratic political changes have had an impact on the reconfiguration of elites at the local level.

In the context of local politics, the presence of new elites and the survival of old elites are not only determined by the opening of the political opportunity structure through the presence of democracy and decentralization policies but also by the power base possessed by the elites. The elite power base in Indonesia can be mapped into two groups: traditional and modern (Fahmid 2011). Fahmid explained that the traditional basis comprises elites who grow through traditional routes such as heredity and is cosmologically oriented. In contrast, the modern basis is based on modern routes oriented towards the state's welfare and education. In Indonesian political history, the traditional power base was seen from local aristocrats (landlords) who controlled the land, local kings, and sultans employed by the Dutch colonialists (Mysbergh 1957). These local elites were essential in bridging colonial interests with local communities in colonial times. In addition, many studies show that the traditional power base is still strong in developing contemporary democracy (Dwipayana 2004; Savirani 2004; Van Klinken 2007; Haryanto 2014). Dwipayana's (2004) study in Surakarta and Denpasar emphasizes the rise of aristocrats in the local political context, while Haryanto's (2014) unearths the survival of Kahar Muzakkar's clan politics in the local political context in South Sulawesi. Another study by van Klinken (2007) shows the rise of sultans in the local political arena that occurred in many regions in Indonesia. According to a study by Savirani (2004), this political phenomenon explains that Indonesian local politics in the reform era has seen the emergence of local strongmen who utilize traditional bases to rule.

The strengthening of the traditional power base of elite is inseparable from the opening of political opportunities in the era of Indonesian democracy. However, this is not the only explanation for strengthening the traditional power base of elite. As found in this study, social

structure changes also contribute to regulating power formation at the community level. We find that changes in the social structure of society have contributed to changes in the power base and elite composition.

Indonesian society generally has a particular social stratification, which refers to the position and formation of power in a society. The creation of these formations is very close to the idea of the power that develops in society. In Javanese society, Anderson explains that power is intangible, comes from a single source, and is constant with its traditional belief system of the people, which is animism (Anderson 2007). In South Sulawesi society, the basis of power comes from traditional beliefs and values that are still strongly upheld (Pelras 2006; Putra 2014). The presence of elites is formed from lineage and reflected in the hierarchical social system of the community. In South Sulawesi's social stratification system, there are at least three social classes: *Karaeng*, *Daeng*, and *Ata*. These classes represent a position of power in South Sulawesi society, especially the Makassar-Biringkassi community. However, the position of cultural power is not the only determining factor for power in modern society. In this case, the position of the elite may not change, but the power (influence and domination) of the elite may go beyond that position of power. Modern society's increasingly diverse power bases have impacted shifts in power and elite societal positions. In other words, social changes determine the composition of elites that impacts the formation of power in the people of South Sulawesi. This phenomenon shall be further discussed in the next section.

BIRINGKASSI IN MAKASSAR CULTURE

Biringkassi is an urban village located in Binamu District, Jeneponto Regency. The majority of the Biringkassi people are Makassarese and still uphold the strong traditions that have grown and developed in their society. The tradition refers to the value of *Siri* (shame), which becomes the underlying motivation to compete. This *Siri* value is the basis for raising social status among *Karaeng*, *Daeng*, and *Ata*. Thus, the social status represents a power relation in the Biringkassi community particularly.

On the other hand, this social status is also a source of tension between social strata. According to Jenepono’s BPS data, the population of Biringkassi reached 3,847 people in 2021 with different social characters in each neighbourhood. In the urban village there were three major areas, Ujung Loe, Pattontongan, and Manyumbeng, which have diverse characteristics, as mentioned in Table 1.

Table 1. Symbolic Characteristics of People’s Occupation in Different Districts

Area	Symbolic Characteristic
Ujung Loe Timur	Trading
Ujung Loe Barat	Trading
Pattontongan	Education
Manyumbeng	Agriculture

Source: Processed by the Authors

The Ujung Loe area is famous for its commercial community, while the Pattontongan area is more of an educational community. In contrast with the other two, the Manyumbeng area is home to farming communities. The symbolic characteristics of these areas represent the types of work that the people of Biringkassi commonly do. In an interview, *Daeng Ngawin* (2021) said the following:

“Apart from being famous as a commercial community, Ujung Loe is also known as a place for congregations and their education since the 1990s. A number of well-known religious figures at that time, such as H. *Daeng Tutu*, *Daeng Sija*, and *Daeng Serre*, came from the area. After this generation passed, there was still *Daeng Tompo* in Ujung Loe Barat. Furthermore, in Pattontongan, the figures who succeeded in sending their children to school were *Karaeng Gau*, *Karaeng Je’ne*, *Tuan Makka*, *Tuan Ngusen*, *Baso Toto*, *Karaeng Bumbung*, and so on.”

In Biringkassi, there are three layers of society: *Karaeng*, *Daeng*, and *Ata*. These three layers of society are heavily influenced by lineage and belief systems that root in Bugis-Makassar customs. *Karaeng*’s position in the Biringkassi community is at the top of the social structure. The *Karaeng* are traditional elites who play essential roles in the economic,

political-governmental, and cultural sectors. As a result, the *Karaeng* got privileges in society as a group of local aristocrats. The *Karaeng* are always respected, have a noble status, and are obeyed within certain boundaries. Coupled with their status as large landowners, they appoint themselves as patrons (Mattulada 1999). In fact, from what they get from their land, the *Karaeng* redistribute their assets (Pelras 1996). The second level is *Daeng*, the middle class in Makassar society. They serve as an intermediary between the *Karaeng* class and the *Ata* classes. When referring to Daeng Ngawin's (2021) opinion in the interview, many *Karaeng* were originally from *Daeng*. They became *Karaeng* because they were appointed through a traditional ceremony. This proves the existence of elite circulation among elite classes.

Ata is the group in the lowest part of the pyramid structure of the Biringkassi community. *Ata* means servant or ordinary people, also referred to as enslaved people. The *Ata* population is numerous. They usually live by becoming followers or workers for the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* because they are landowners and economic rulers, thus becoming the masters of the *Ata*. To this day, this social layer is still blatantly present in the Biringkassi community. This hierarchical structure exhibits how the pattern of power relations works in everyday life. In this relationship, the beneficiaries are the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng*. These groups still uphold cultural domination and control two significant trades in Biringkassi.

In addition, in Makassar society like Biringkassi, social status plays an essential role in the social layering system. This is related to the cultural values generally held firmly by the people of Makassar, *Siri*. *Siri* is self-esteem and motivation that encourages a person to live a better life and be respected in society. Therefore, all social strata compete and have the same awareness to raise status and prestige through possessing wealth and high job positions (Cummings 2015). In Biringkassi, community members continuously pursue success for two reasons. First, for those who are successful, the rewards are in the form of rank, wealth, and the opportunity to marry someone with a higher social status (Cummings 2015). Second, success is an alternative way

to penetrate the hierarchical system of social stratification and try to obtain respectable status through wealth and job hierarchy. Therefore, the urge to claim a certain status is closely related to the value system (*Siri*) held dear in Makassar society (Biringkassi). However, democratic political changes from the national to local levels and social changes that have occurred in Makassar society, such as Biringkassi, have also triggered the birth of a new power base that is not only determined by the cultural basis alone. The following section explicitly discusses the social changes in the Biringkassi community, which impact the formation of elite power at the community level.

ELITE FORMATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE CHANGES IN BIRINGKASSI VILLAGE

Feudal and Hierarchical Society

The Biringkassi community is a Makassar ethnic group that is still a feudal society. This society is bound by cultural structures that have been built for a long time in society. This society has two main characteristics, namely, a layered or hierarchical society and feudalism. This first feature can be seen in the system of social stratification in Makassar society. Stratification or layered hierarchy is a tiered society that places members of society into classes based on power, privilege, or prestige. According to Ahimsa-Putra (2007, 92), the classification system in Makassar culture is a multi-layered society based on very conspicuous nobility. This layering system is much closed because it limits the possibility of someone moving from one layer to another.

Based on the system of social stratification in Makassar society in Biringkassi, the cultural power holders in Biringkassi are the *Daeng* and the *Karaeng*. These two groups have privileges, both formally and informally. To illustrate, only the *Daeng* and the *Karaeng* have the right to use the three-level model on the front part of the roof of their houses. This privilege is not for the *Ata* even though they are rich (*Daeng* Ngawin 2021). In Makassar society, the model of the front of

a house with a particular arrangement represents the owner's position. Elite formation and resources in the Biringkassi can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Elite formation and resources formation in Biringkassi

Elite Type	Resources
Traditional	Social status in the form of the title of <i>Daeng</i> and <i>Karaeng</i>
Economic	Landlords, the rich, and traders
Religious	Habib descendants with the title ' <i>tuan</i> ' (freely translated to Sir) and religious figures
Educational	<i>Karaeng</i> Bumbung, <i>Karaeng</i> Kennang

Source: Processed from various sources

The table above illustrates the categorization of elites and their resources. First is the traditional elite who rely on social status, which is innate based on heredity. *Karaeng* and *Daeng* are social statuses that have strategic significance in a hierarchical society. *Karaeng* and *Daeng* belong to the traditional social elite, who possess a dominant influence in society. Second is the economic elite who are successful in growing businesses. The economic elite in the Biringkassi are landlords, the affluent, and traders. In fishing and agricultural societies, where many people live in deprivation and poverty, the economic elite, who incidentally is a *Karaeng* or a *Daeng*, greatly benefited. The elite who controls economic resources has a significant influence on society. For this reason, the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* sometimes act as both the traditional and economic elite. Their vital societal role has formed a robust patron-client relationship in the community.

The third is the religious elite, who have a central role in Ujung Loe and Pattontongan. In Ujung Loe, for example, the religious elite is concentrated in the extended families of *Daeng* H. Tutu, *Daeng* Sija, and *Daeng* Serre. In the Pattontongan neighbourhood, they are often from the Tuan Makka and Tuan Massiri families. They are the ones who manage the mosque in each neighbourhood and also play a role as community leaders (Daeng Ngawin 2021). Especially for this 'Sir' title are those who claim to be descendants of the prophet Muhammad. The last is the educational elite, who are small in number. In Ujung Loe, a well-known educated family is the *Karaeng* Kennang extended

family. They are known as educated *Karaeng*. Of the five brothers, all became civil servants.

Meanwhile, in Pattontongan, *Karaeng* Bumbung served as a soldier. Stories about educated aristocrats occur in some places. Graves' findings in Minangkabau (2007; viii) stated that the aristocrats received priority from the Dutch for education (Graves 2007). They were prioritized because this group openly rejected the presence of the Dutch. Education creates new elites to become formal leaders in government structures (Ricklefs 2005, 330). Interestingly, those who become the new elite from the educational path are the traditional and wealthy *Daeng*.

The second feature of feudalism can be seen in the pattern of control over land. By definition, a feudal society has two meanings: (a) matters related to the composition of society controlled by the nobility (the system of government is run by the descendants of the nobility); (b) social and economic systems characterized by significant power over landlords (Badudu 2003). The land is an essential resource for the existence of the *Daeng* and *Karaeng* factions. Their existence is primarily determined by ownership of land. Therefore, customary feudal law confirms the rights of land ownership, titles, and positions passed on to the next generation. In the Biringkassi community, land control can be seen from several *Daeng* and *Karaeng*, such as *Daeng* Ngampo, *Daeng* Sanre, *Daeng* Jalling, *Karaeng* Ke'ngang, *Karaeng* Gau, and *Daeng* Nyere. They are highly respected landlords and help many people by employing them. Their lands are cultivated by the *Ata*, who depend on them. The land produced is not automatically controlled by the owner but is distributed to those working for the landlord. As a result, land ownership became a source of legitimacy for the elite of the Biringkassi Urban Village. The unequal ownership of land allows the dependency system to work well. For example, many *Ata* work with the *Karaeng* Gau Family or the *Daeng* Sanre Family (Daeng Riu 2021). They work because the family's economic affairs are more dominant. From here, a pattern of powerful patron-client relations is established between the two parties, which leads to upholding a hierarchical system. In this pattern, there is no balance in the distribution of rights and

obligations, obligations and responsibilities of social values, and their influence among them. The following is a mapping of the power base of local elites in Biringkassi in the 1970-1980s.

Table 3. *Karaeng* and *Daeng* in the era of 1970-1980s

Name	Cultral	Economic	Educational
H. Daeng Tutu	√	√	-
H. Daeng Sara	√	√	√
Karaeng Kenning	√	√	√
Daeng Campo	√	√	-
Daeng Jalling	√	√	-
Daeng Gassing	√	√	-
Karaeng Gau	√	√	√
Karaeng Ngacang	√	√	√
Daeng Nyere	√	√	-
Daeng Nappu	√	-	√
Karaeng Jeune	√	√	√
Karaeng Bumbung	√	√	√
Daeng Sanre	√	√	-
Tuan Makka	√	-	√
Tuan Massiri	√	-	√
Daeng Lewa	√	√	-
Pammusu Daeng Beta	√	-	√
Daeng Sija	√	-	-
Daeng Sila	√	-	-

Source: Processed from various sources

Based on Table 3, there is something in common in terms of social status. They are all from the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng*. If elaborated, five *Karaeng* are present in the table, while the rest are *Daeng*. In terms of numbers, the *Daeng* faction far outnumbers the *Karaeng*. Two factors make the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* elite in the Biringkassi community, which are control over the economy and educational resources. Table 3 names H. *Daeng* Sa'ra, *Karaeng* Bumbung, *Karaeng* Je'ne, *Karaeng* Gau, *Karaeng* Ngacang, and *Karaeng* Ke'ng as cultural, economic, and educational elite as well.

Meanwhile, the rest are not members of the economic or educational elite. In other words, the elite in the Biringkassi Urban Village in the 1970s-1980s had not experienced massive diversification, and the cultural basis was still the dominant power base for the local elite. These elites can be seen in the social hierarchy. Likewise, the relationship between the elite and society is more personal, informal, and

communal. Meanwhile, the rich—educated people—who have religious knowledge are also of an elite group because their population is not that many, and they influence social life.

During the 1970s to 1980s, the *Ata* were the lowest class of society who obeyed the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng*. They do not have influence and a strong position in society. Formally, they are ordinary employees at the Jeneponto State Prison, fish traders, and housemaids. For example, these *Ata* help with the housework at *Karaeng Ke’nanng*, *Karaeng Gau*, and *Sunu Daeng Gassing* (Daeng Riu 2021). Mostly, the *Ata* are domiciled in the Ujung Loe area. The rest are farmers called *tesang*.

Meanwhile, the *Ata* who work in the rice fields and gardens usually live in poorer conditions. Landlords such as *Karaeng Gau* in Patton-tongan, *Daeng Nyere* in the Manyumbeng area, and *Daeng Sanre* and *Daeng Ngampo* in Ujung Loe Barat are elite; they have many followers in society (Focus Group Discussion 2021). Their followers are those who work with them. Tjahjoko (2019, 23) mentions that:

“Relations between them are of different class statuses, where the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* provide a living. They are involved in economic affairs. The *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* are stronger in position than the *Ata*. The sole purpose of the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* in engaging in economic relations with the *Ata* is to foster a sense of ‘debt of gratitude’ and loyalty towards them.”

The unbalanced relations pattern benefits the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng*, showing that the elite’s superiority to dominate the *Ata* comes to a realization. Domination of social status is then strengthened by mastery of economic resources to stabilize their position as elite. Meanwhile, poverty and underdevelopment will add to the dependence of the *Ata* on the *Daeng* and the *Karaeng*. This relationship is based on material that influences individual activities in everyday life. The *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* want obedience from and control over *Ata*. When they need help, the *Ata* must be ready to help them. However, the power relations between the *Ata* and the other two groups have changed due to a new power base that emerged along with the change in society towards a modern society.

Modern and Competitive Society

a. Moving Forward to Elite Pluralism

Social changes have impacted the increasingly dynamic conditions of the Biringkassi community. These changes are marked by people’s more diverse livelihoods, technological developments, an increasingly open mindset of the society, developing and increasingly advanced community, and the development of health, education, and transportation infrastructure that are all getting better. The level of education and social welfare are also showing good precedence. For example, almost every person in the Biringkassi received a decent education. In fact, in Ujung Loe Barat, there are already many bachelors, masters, and doctorates. The same thing is also happening in Pattontongan. A good education is directly proportional to the level of welfare of the population. One way to see the level of welfare in Biringkassi is through the number of public figures, ownership of vehicles, pilgrimages, and their children working as civil servants (Focus Group Discussion 2021). In addition, the land is no longer the only basis for people’s livelihoods, and people’s economic activities are increasingly diverse.

On the other hand, developments in democracy and decentralization have opened up an increasingly open and competitive political arena. This has an impact on the emergence of elite pluralism in society. In this political change, even though the *Daeng* and the *Karaeng* still monopolize the economic and educational sectors, new elites have emerged due to their diverse resource bases. Consequently, the elite of the Biringkassi community is becoming increasingly dynamic. Socio-political changes have also impacted the shifting of the elite resource bases in Biringkassi, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Shift of Elite

Area	Then	Now
Ujung Loe Timur	Traders	Educators
Ujung Loe Barat	Traders	Educators
Pattontotongan	Educators	Traders
Manyumbeng	Farmers	Traders

Processed from an interview with Daeng Ngawain on May 19, 2021

Specifically, what happened to the elite in the Ujung Loe area was inversely proportional to the social changes in Pattontongan. From their respective historical journeys, in Ujung Loe, people preferred to be a merchant instead to become a scholar. Parents would always encourage their children to become traders. Most of these traders were from the *Daeng*. On the other hand, in Pattontongan, education is more critical than trading because most people are of the *Karaeng*, who have better opportunities to go to school and receive an education. In short, the elite in Ujung Loe strove to be traders and then got their feet into the world of education, while people in Pattontongan were acquainted with the world of education and started trading after that.

Meanwhile, the Mayumbeng neighbourhood is slowly changing from farmers to traders. The shift in the elite resource base in the Biringkassi urban village shows something positive. The elite group who controls the economy are slowly beginning to send their children to school. The same thing also applies to the educational elite becoming traders. The implication is that fellow elite have a stronger position in the Biringkassi community.

“Economic elite like *Daeng Sa’ra* and *H Daeng Tutu* encourage their children to pursue education. On the other hand, farming parents such as *Daeng Sikki*, *Daeng Sila*, *Tua Makka*, *Tuan Mas-siri*, and *Karaeng Gau* have managed to send their children to the university. In addition, in Biringkassi Urban Village, more and more residents have sent their children to school who later get more decent jobs. What they have got from school will positively impact their social status because they are categorized as successful people.” (Daeng Ngawin 2021).

Success stories in trading and education impact elite pluralism in the Biringkassi community. Status mobilization occurs naturally in society following social changes. In a Focus Group Discussion, it was stated that:

“Education and traders are instruments that are trusted to raise the social status of all groups (*Karaeng*, *Daeng*, and *Ata*) in the Biringkassi community. All groups compete to be the best. Success will raise the dignity of the family and class. Because of this, there are many parents whose dignity and honour are elevated thanks to their children’s success in education and trading. There is a strong awareness among children and parents to change their destiny for the better. Children who no longer want to continue their parents’ work as farmers and fishermen. On the other hand, parents are very supportive of their child’s desire to pursue higher education or do trading.” (Focus Group Discussion at Biringkassi Village, 19/05/2021).

Meanwhile, Daeng Sanre (2021) said:

“Parents with broad insight always strive to provide their offspring with better education. Because education can change the fate of a large family. This belief was born from the experience of seeing their siblings succeed and live more prosperous lives.”

The desire to go beyond and become more successful than their parents is a driving factor for progress. The passion to be the best, to live a decent life, and to elevate the honour of one’s family and class are among the main motivating factors for changing their fate. They do not want to sit and wait for something to happen. However, along the way, they struggle to achieve the desired results. They appreciate the value of competition for success in becoming an elite in the Biringkassi community; being elite means being respected in society or having a respectable position.

In a new round of community development in the modern era, there has also been a shift in resources owned by the elite in the Biringkassi. In the last twenty years, there has been an elite circulation within the Biringkassi community. Previously, they came from a family of farmers/fishermen who successfully changed their occupation to become a trader, educators, police, military, civil servant, or politician. In contrast, many trader families became civil servants and politicians. They even

changed from a family of religious figures to become civil servants and traders. Elite profession changes automatically alter the resources they have. For more details, see Table 5.

Table. 5 The Shift of Resources

Then	Now
Traders	Civil servants-politicians
Farmers/Fishermen	Traders, teachers/lecturers, police officers, military, medical personnel
Civil Servants	Civil servants, traders
Religious Figures	Civil servants, traders

Processed from various sources.

Table 5 provides two critical pieces of information. First, generally in the past, there were only a few traders, civil servants, and religious leaders. However, their number has significantly increased because all social strata can be whatever they want, not limited by a particular option. To become a trader and civil servant, one does not have to have a career in a specific area. They need to migrate to other areas. As an illustration, a child of Kasim *Daeng* Sitaba and Teka *Daeng* Sila has succeeded in becoming a fish dealer in Muara Baru, Penjaringan, North Jakarta.

Meanwhile, Jamaluddin *Daeng* Ranca's son and nephew started their civil servant in Palu City, Central Sulawesi (Daeng Pake 2021). Subsequently, *Karaeng* Lau's children start their careers as police officers in Southeast Sulawesi and the youngest work at a bank in Makassar City. This phenomenon shows us that successful traders' children pursue careers in several fields.

Second, there has been an increase in resources: civil servants, teachers/lecturers, police, politicians, and soldiers. The elite of the Biringkassi community in the past never owned these five resources. Civil servants, teachers/lecturers, soldiers, police, politicians, and medical personnel are products of education. All of these professions are pathways to becoming the modern elite. All job professions can be achieved through competition between layers of society. Therefore, capacity and knowledge are needed to express one's identity as an elite with what it takes to claim the position.

b. *The Fallen Elite*

Maintaining a fixed position as an elite is undoubtedly not easy, considering that all members of the Biringkassi community move and compete to become elite based on their fields of expertise, jobs, and professions. This is because being an elite means being respected and receiving recognition of one's dignity or status in society. All layers or groups, the *Karaeng*, the *Daeng*, and the *Ata*, seek status and honour. However, not all elites can maintain their position in society. These elites cannot go with the current flow and adapt to the ever-changing situation and take an essential role in determining the movement of societal changes. For more details, see Table 6.

Table 6. The Fallen Elite

Fallen Elite	Resources	Area
Daeng Sanre	Landlord/cattleman	Ujung Loe Barat
Daeng Jalling	Landlord/trader	Ujung Loe Barat
H Daeng Tutu	Landlord/trader	Ujung Loe Timur
Daeng Campo	Landlord/trader	Ujung Loe Barat
Daeng Ngemba	Landlord/trader	Ujung Loe Barat
Daeng Nyere	Landlord	Manyumbeng
Karaeng Ngacang	Landlord	Manyumbeng

Processed from various sources.

Table 6 shows that the landlord and trader elite from the *Daeng* and the *Karaeng* experienced a downfall. Collapse means bankruptcy or an end to their wealth. The implication is that their influence is also fading in society. In the past, these elites triumphed around the 1970s to 1990s. Several factors can cause the collapse of these elites. First, landlords would always think that what they had then was sufficient. They believed that they were already prosperous. They even thought that their descendants' needs would still be easily fulfilled with the land they owned. This way of thought was from *Daeng Sanre*, *Daeng Jalling*, *Daeng Ngampo*, and *Daeng Nyere* (Daeng Riu 2021). Because of this, their children were not encouraged to go to high school. The saying, "Seek knowledge even to China" clearly did not mean a thing to them because they did not love modern science through formal schooling.

Second, land as a resource is slowly being abandoned by the community as the emergence of a new resource, which is seaweed. The presence of seaweed farmers has changed the behaviour of the Biringkassi people. Becoming a seaweed farmer is much more promising than being a rice farmer. As an illustration, a seaweed farmer can harvest four times a year, while being a rice farmer is uncertain. Becoming a seaweed farmer has improved their lives in the last ten years. Many seaweed farmers are considered rich because they have luxury houses, own cars, buy land, and send their children to university (Daeng Riu 2021). As a result, the land is not cultivated or abandoned (Daeng Pake 2021). Third, being a peasant is no longer a promising future job for the younger generation. Therefore, landlord families experienced a decline in wealth. In addition, some peasants become old, while some are starting to get independent. In an interview, Daeng Ngawin (2021) explained that "Most of the families of landlords and traders do not want to go to school. Their children always say that their parents are rich and own land. Meanwhile, the *Daeng* take advantage of the educational path to gain recognition from the community."

Education is a struggle to gain recognition of dignity. A bachelor's degree has added value in the points of view of the Biringkassi people because the title proves that the recipient has fulfilled certain requirements in specific fields of knowledge to work as a professional and civil servant. Fourth, the collapse of landlord and trade families was caused by their descendants' inability to manage existing assets. Some of the children of the rich spend their parents' money lavishly. Some others, because of the necessities of life, sell their assets. Finally, many children from wealthy families fall into poverty. As a result, all of their wealth goes into the hands of the *Daeng* and the *Ata*. As their economic situation worsens, their influence in society fades away, leading to the collapse of the glory of an elite.

c. *The Surviving Elite*

The surviving elite has been tested from time to time and across history. The surviving elite is those who can benefit and gain from the changes. They occupy a position and play an essential role in the social order. According to Duverger (2005, 176), history explains that individuals, groups, and social classes have always tried to maintain their position as elite in society. From the field findings, it was revealed that several elites were able to survive, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. The Surviving Elite

Surviving Elite	Resources	Area
H. Daeng Sa'ra	Landlord/trader	Ujung Loe Barat
Karaeng Gau	Landlord /public figure	Pattontongan
Karaeng Jenne	Landlord /civil servant	Pattontongan
Karaeng Bumbung	Landlord /military	Pattontongan
H Daeng Gassing	Landlord/trader	Ujung Loe Timur

Processed from various sources.

In general, the elite above can survive due to the following reasons. First, those who can produce new resources will remain respected in Biringkassi Urban Village. At first, they were the elite with economic resources, such as land and shop ownership in Bontosunggu central market. Then, they would teach their children the same skill sets they had while their children and grandchildren were expanding their resources. For example, many of the descendants of *Daeng Sa'ra*, *Karaeng Gau*, *Karaeng Je'ne*, and *Daeng Gassing* became civil servants, lecturers, traders, soldiers, and politicians. The ability to expand resources was able to keep their family's good name and thus stay respected because they proved to have high achievements.

Second, the elite in Biringkassi could survive because they could maintain the quality of their offspring. Quality is an advantage for the elite. For example, the *Karaeng Je'ne* family in Pattontongan succeeded in securing a position as a civil servant. This career was later continued by his grandson. They grew up as a family of civil servants.

Meanwhile, Sunu Daeng Gassing's family in Ujung Loe started their career as fabric and clothing sellers, followed by their children and grandchildren. In the 2019 election, one of his grandchildren was

elected as a member of the DPRD in Jeneponto Regency from Perindo (Sudirman 2021). Third, both the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* possessed the same awareness to remain an influential elite in the community. In order to maintain this position, they would expand their resource base. According to Duverger (2005), the elite always maintains their superiority over others. Elites' ability to survive shows their capacity to pull through the changing times. Such an excellent desire for status and recognition motivated them to strive to be the best.

d. Expanding Power

Elites in Biringkassi were good in their territory and trying to expand the influence of power outside the district area. With the ability to compete by taking advantage of the structure of political changes, which relies on obtaining the most votes, elite Ujung Loe and Pattontongan were successfully elected as members of the DPRD (local legislative council) of the Jeneponto Regency. In other words, they were able to expand their territorial power. There are also names of the elite in Biringkassi who were members of the DPRD. See Table 8 below.

Table 8. DPRD-Elected Elite in Biringkassi Urban Village

Name	Political Party	Social Strata	Elite
Hj. Sharia Lologau	Golkar	Karaeng	Surviving Elite
Syamsuddin Darjad	PPPI	Daeng	Surviving Elite
Ahmad Yani	PPRN	Daeng	Emerging Elite
Hj. Salmawati	Gerindra	Daeng	Surviving Elite
Rima	Perino	Daeng	Surviving Elite

Processed from various sources.

Based on Table 8, there are five critical points. First, when viewed in terms of numbers, far more *Daeng* were elected as DPRD members than *Karaeng*. From this number, the *Daeng* are far superior to the *Karaeng*. This is because mentality and struggle are far superior when viewed from the numbers. Moreover, in an electoral democracy, the most votes determine the winner.

More interesting is that of the five DPRD members, four are from the surviving elite, and only one comes from the new elite, namely Ahmad Yani. Therefore, surviving elite is trying to increase their power.

Second, in table 8, the electability of the five elites in Biringkassi shows that they can be on par with other elites from different urban villages. With these five elites elected, Biringkassi's image was taken into account in political calculations in the Jeneponto Regency area because Biringkassi can provide its best sons and daughters to represent its citizens in the regional parliament. In other words, DPRD members are responsible to the party giving the mandate. Third, their focus was more on voicing the needs and interests of the Biringkassi community (Daeng Ngawin 2021). The logic is that they were able to understand better what the Biringkassi people needed. Therefore, all of their political actions as representatives of the people must be of the needs of their constituents.

Fourth, the election of five elite from Biringkassi as DPRD members is paramount in understanding the power that can be expanded territorially. By becoming a DPRD member, a candidate has the power to make policies. Normatively, legislature members have three functions: setting budgets, supervising, and making regulations. The three functions are closely related to their role in building relationships with their constituents. Lastly, the election of the five elite from the Biringkassi indicates that the process of awakening and expanding power is on the go by following the pattern of struggles between the elite across regions, between political parties, and between castes through free and democratic elections. This contestation is very competitive because it is based on awareness to raise each other's social status through political channels (Focus Group Discussion 2021). These five points clarify the progress of the elite in Biringkassi. They are dynamic urban village elites who are always looking for new professions to survive as central figures in society. Similarly, the elites in Biringkassi also have a strong awareness of creating a better future. Therefore, the elite in the Biringkassi Urban Village is always moving forward and improvising for ways to gain social recognition.

CONCLUSION

The study conducted in Biringkassi, Jeneponto Regency, demonstrates the development of the elite at the local level. Apart from political changes, the development of the elite is inseparable from social changes that occur in society. Social changes contribute to the formation of elite resource bases and their configuration within society. Specifically, this study emphasizes that changes in the social structure determine a person's position of power in a community group. Diverse resources contribute to elite circulation and diversification at the local level. The more diverse resources a person has in the same and different arenas, the more likely they are to rule and reproduce their power on a broader scale. The phenomenon of power in Biringkassi, Jeneponto Regency, explains the process of forming elite power at the local level, which is determined by social changes.

In general, the process of forming an elite power base in the Biringkassi Urban Village is determined by two main factors. First is the social system formed and developed in a feudal and hierarchical society. Second is an open and competitive social system. In a feudal and hierarchical system of society, social status is fundamental in Makassar tribal society. Social status can be seen in the social stratification formed in society. In the Makassar-Biringkassi community, there are three groups: the *Karaeng*, the *Daeng*, and the *Ata*. The class positions of this group are passed from generation to generation. The *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* represent the local elite or aristocrats, while the *Ata* are the slave class who were employed during the feudal era. In other words, this elite power base was based on land ownership and heredity (cultural basis). This cultural basis represents the power relations between groups in the Biringkassi society. Therefore, the dominant power in feudal and hierarchical societies is primarily determined by the ownership of the cultural base.

However, when the Biringkassi people began to move from the feudal and hierarchical social system towards a competitive society, the composition of the elite changed. These changes contributed to the character of a society that was increasingly open, advanced, and more

competitive. Everyone from different classes can eventually compete with each other. A new elite emerged from the *Ata* in the economic and educational fields. During feudal society and the hierarchy, the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* were very powerful; but now, the *Ata* started to emerge as a new elite and compete with the *Karaeng* and the *Daeng* in various contestation arena in the economy and social status. However, they are still lacking in the political field. However, their influence in local political contestation is quite significant. Education and trade are significant sectors that pave the way for elite transformation in society, where the *Ata* compete with other groups and become the new elite at the local level. Many *Ata* are highly educated and successful traders and have even become civil servants. This success strengthens their social position and status in society closely related to societal shifts in resources, namely success in the economy and politics supported by an increasingly prominent economic and educational resource base.

On the other hand, social changes also impacted the collapse and survival of some of the old elite, the emergence of the new elite, and the expansion of power from some elite to the local political arena. In short, ownership of resources and the ability to accumulate them in different arenas is the key to maintaining power and extending it. At this point, in the era of modern society, the local elite is increasingly plural, thus resulting in elite diversification.

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