The Aristocrats Power on Local Politics in The Regency of Bone 2013-2018

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Received: December 29 2019; Revised: April 1 2020; Accepted: April 20 2020

Abstract: This research purpose is to examine the aristocrat’s power in the perspective of habitus, capital, and arena. This type of research is qualitative. The results of the research show from the habitus perspective, the leadership of the descent line has gained legitimacy by the people with the “lontara” principle that is still held firmly by leaders from the aristocracy until now and Aristocrats has been prepared to become a leader from next generation. From Arena perspective, it can be seen that patronage of bureaucracy and parties has a great influence on the continuity of aristocratic power and the political system produces political opportunities that are influenced by the popularity and capacity. Finally, Capital owned by the aristocrats that are social, symbolic, economic and cultural, of the four capital the most powerful is capital symbolic because the title of aristocrat roommates then capitalized as a political tool to reap the votes in political contestation.

Keywords: aristocrat, local politics, habitus, arena, capital

Introduction

The presence of the aristocrat in the election dispute raises the political dynamics because it can be considered as the emergence of small kings, it is characterized by the dominance of gentility in the political contest. The emergence of fear they will kill democracy, although it is known that the nature of democracy in this region has grown long before the ideology of democracy itself emerged in Europe. After approximately 15 years of reform goes, the form of democracy that is growing increasingly unclear. The division of social stratification between aristocrats and not aristocrats is still very strong. Simultaneously sociologically, where there is an elite group of dominant culture and power as well as the relative gain greater political access. The impact of social level in the political context, especially when the faucet participatory politics take place. Elite culture in South Sulawesi largely jumped into the political elite to master even the economic basis (or at once into the economic elite).

Aristocrats Heritage of the past that are still influential in southern Sulawesi until now is the influence of the aristocrat in the social and political field. Bugis nobles who have the 'Andi' has historically had a respectable position in society. Land noble families generally
have large enough and a lot of work as government officials and politicians. In the structure of social stratification, they belong to an elite group together with the professionals, businessmen, intellectuals, clergy, and so on. In the present context, the aristocrat still plays a role as a patron to maintain a relationship with his client (Basir, 2016).

The Aristocrat’s power in Local Politics can not be separated from three things: First, the construction of the building behavior of the aristocrat in the structure of society be decisive to win the sympathy of voters. Second, the presence of capital within the Aristocrats becomes a tool for election a decisive victory, the capital of the most powerful symbolic capital and domination in society influence on the support it receives. Third, habitus and capital will affect the election victory Andi was in the arena as container utilization or play the habitus, and the capital three things are the decisive victory of the actor’s process that was contesting in the election arena (Fitriani, 2014). Habitus in political contestation of democracy era has important parts to be a political tool to gain legitimacy from the community so that the use of habitus must have a positive effect on the owner of the habitus (Harrits, 2011). While the factors that cause the aristocratic group can survive in the long term that is the persistence of the myth to-Manurung. To-Manurung is a symbol of the legitimacy of power for all the great kingdoms in South Sulawesi, including in the Kingdom of Bone and maintaining family networks. Political marriage performed by the aristocratic elite Bone is one form of power strategy in expanding the network of royalty and aristocrat Bone (Mappangara, 2011).

Strengthening Tradition And Symbols Elit Aristocracy In Local Political Dynamics in influenced by first, the size of the authority granted by the central government to the regions in the era of the Reformation led to the aristocratic elite has sought to control everything that happens in the political process through the legitimacy To Manurung to bring tradition and a symbol of aristocracy. Second, as the development of social conditions, the public mindset also experiencing growth. Third, the pattern of the preservation of traditions and symbols of the aristocracy as a means of strengthening the political authority applied by aristocrats Soppeng (Muhaemin, 2016).

The development of patronage politics is influenced by several factors underlying them is the lack of institutionalization of political parties, the oligarchs of the party in the political recruitment, legacy of political owned by the family politics, and the political opportunity provided through the mechanism of local elections directly with the multiparty system and the proportional representation system with majority voting. In addition to these findings, this study shows that not all politicians who come from a political family came from political kinship (Purwaningsih, 2015). Candidates in political contestation that has a kinship with the previous rulers have many advantages. The gain is in the form of how the popularity of candidates has been boosted by the effect of previous rulers. The political dynamics of kinship in the elections could not be separated from the
The political culture of neopatrimonialism where there is a practice that carries that concept to the winning candidate. As well as abuse of authority in government and patron-client relations in political polls indicate that kinship is closely related to the political culture of neopatrimonialism (Pamungkas & Alfirdaus, 2018).

The political arena in the patronage networks of local governments creates a patron-client relationship by emphasizing the domination of the local strongman. It shows that political protection is not a good government. Chain-dynastic patronage able to silence the community so that democracy seems to be abolished. This kind of government is usually able to control the sector of the regional economy and the welfare of society less attention. Therefore, people would rather submit to the authorities rather than reject them. The success of these patronage networks led to the emergence of a new political culture of political dynasties (Ikmal, 2018).

Aristocrats’ strength in Bone regency until now still dominates in victory on Political contestation. In the post-reform era figure who leads the District of Bone all descended from aristocrat title “ANDI” among others, Andi Muhammad Amir (Period 1993-1998 and 1998-2003), Andi Indris Galigo (Period 2003-2008 and 2008-2013), and Andi Fashar Padjalangi (2013-2018 and 2018-2023). Contestation of the election showed the existence of Lords in winning political battles, recorded elections of 2008, Andi Idris Galigo won the election with the acquisition of 216,952 Votes, then in 2013 Andi Fashar Padjalangi won the elections with the acquisition of 191,542 votes, and in the elections, last return was won by Andi Fashar Padjalangi contending by Empty Box and successfully obtained 232,961 votes (62.92%) (Qadri, 2018). The Aristocrats / Noble Families indeed Having high social strata and respected in South Sulawesi. Noble families generally have a large land and work as government officials and politicians (Purwaningsih, 2015).

Aristocrat’s domination is not only in winning the elections but, in determining the candidates for the election participants all come from the aristocratic circles. Political parties as bearers of regent candidates in regional elections seemed to have their restrictions that would-be contestants in the elections must be from the aristocratic so that it is evident from the first election in Bone Regency in 2008 until the 2018 elections all the regent candidates who fought in the elections came from Aristocrat. The aristocratic group is considered as a group that was destined to rule because of their origin. They are believed descended from gods by some communities Bone considered are meant to rule.

Community members are deemed to be a very respectful group of nobles when not aristocratic group often referred to as an element of society that are considered disrupt democracy. In this democratic era, there is no ban on anyone to participate in local elections, including aristocrats and not aristocrats. However, political parties are so much in Bone, never brought the figure is not from the aristocracy. The novelty in this paper is that aristocrats use the dominance of habitus, arena, and capital to gain and maintain power on local politics in Bone Regency.
Methods
This study used a descriptive qualitative method, Executed in Bone regency. Topics studied are about aristocrats Power in Local Politics. Qualitative research reveals a problem or circumstances or events that are revealed as the facts and give an objective picture of the true state of the object adapted to the issues to be discussed concerns the aristocrats Power in Local Politics in Bone regency would be using a qualitative approach. Some of the indicators in this research were analyzed using software Nvivo12 Plus.

Result and Discussion
Aristocrats Power in Perspective Habitus
Habitus is derived from the Latin word refers to the condition, or the appearance of a typical situation that is typical or habitual, especially on the body of an individual or a group-oriented power (Richard, 2010). Since the days of the kingdom of Bone, royalty has got strong legitimacy from the people of bone, the King as head of state in the Kingdom of Bone when it must be descended from royalty Level 1 or called the crown prince. In the Age of Empire, the method applied is the customary legal order where all forms of civilizations and is determined by ministerial decision in cabinet kingdom called customary seven (7) or ade ‘pitue. The king who would lead the district of bone will be selected by ade ‘pitue (customary seven) led by chairman ade’ pitue called to marilaleng. The crown prince has been selected by ade ‘will be placed in the district pitue district Bone royal power, then after the test of his leadership, will be appointed as the King of Bone.

After the change of the Royal Bone into Bone district, aristocratic leadership continues until the direct election by the people in democratic elections, which began in 2008 until now. Aristocrats in the habit retain power as the basic principle of leadership has called the principle lontara. Lontara principle has to be something that must be adhered to by the nobles who led in Bone regency. The principle becomes a habit leader of aristocrats that received appreciation and a form of interaction between persons in the territory as Nobles speak, act, and solve problems.

Table 1.
Principle Lontara the Aristocrats Leadership Habits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Lontara Bugis</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lempu’</td>
<td>Honest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Getteng</td>
<td>Firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ada Tongeng</td>
<td>Telling the truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ada Mappasilaineng</td>
<td>Do not discriminate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted by the researcher, 2019

The Aristocrat lineage from childhood has been educated to be prepared as a leader. Starting from the pattern and behavior of the nobility required to follow the leadership character of its predecessor as a form of
habitus with an unbroken link from time to time. As a form of habitus that is inherent in aristocrats, the character that is formed is originated from family education which is still attached to a strong Bugis culture so that the offspring of the nobility have wise personalities and can protect others. As a human Bugis with royal blood then has the slogan "Taro Ada, Taro Gau" which means one word of one action, so each action will be in line with what has been promised.

Habitus built by aristocrats not just a characteristic that is attached to the individual, but still adjusting to the times. Habitus is used to gain or maintain power by performing a variety of ways, such as habitus as blater in local politics used for political contestation (Suswanta & Sulaksono, 2016). It can be concluded that the habitus of the aristocrats in Bone regency has patterns and behavior to gain and maintain power which has been prepared from generation to generation.

Aristocrats Power in Perspective

Arena concept is inseparable from the concept of habitus as the habitus concept can not work if it is not their arena. The concept of the arena (field) is a key determinant of power in the arena of power in society for political purposes would require the actors to determine the field or area that will be a place of struggle to achieve its political goal of obtaining power and dominate the region.

Arena concept popularized by Bourdieu is a place or a social arena where political elites vying to draw up plans and strategies struggle to given the desired resource in the form of manifestation of power that has got the legitimacy, Arena concept has several indicator analysis has been compiled by researchers including, Patronage Bureaucracy, Political Party Patronage, Political System, and elections. The indicator is a reflection of all political activities in the arena of contestation of power struggle.

Arena Elections

Arena elections in Bone Regency always present aristocrats as winners, and the chosen candidates are certainly supported by the Golkar Party. This phenomenon is certainly not accidental because it has been going on for a long time. Golkar the ruling party in Bone regency has strong domination in the elections, The regent candidate who is promoted must be from the nobles who have the Andi Title. Reason Golkar party always raises aristocrats as a candidate because aristocrats have a strong base in the government that has lasted a long time, then the party cadres have been dominated by the aristocrats of the pre-reform era and still exists today.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Election Year</th>
<th>(%) Acquisition of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andi Idris Galigo</td>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>56.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andi Fashar Padjalangi</td>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andi Fashar Padjalangi</td>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>62.95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KPUD Bone, 2019
Arena elections in 2018 held aristocrats Status Andi Fashar be the key to his victory in the election dispute. Then there are political transactions that occur when the nomination where Andi Suaidi which has a strong constituents base of the Democratic Party openly said that he did not run because of their special requests from Andi Fashar. Then the political parties as vehicles Andi Fashar victory in the contestation also assume that the incumbent won the election results was the impact of Andi Fashar’s leadership so far.

Arena elections are expected to bear a leader who can be role models for the whole society. Bone regency election contestation that occurred in 2018 with a single candidate to prove that the people’s choice following a single candidate chosen by all parties in Bone regency. Regent Candidate of the Duke Andi Fashar Empty Box Padjalangi fight, that if the empty box to win the elections conducted repeated as happened in Makassar. But it turns out in reality aristocrat is still trusted by the community, as much as 62.90% votes owned by Andi Fashar Padjalangi and Ambo Dalle in election contestation able delivered back leads Bone District for five (5) years.

Bureaucratic Patronage

Patronage is a distribution of profits among politicians to distribute something individually to voters, campaign workers or activists, to gain their political support. Patronage is also a gift of cash, goods, services, and other economic advantages (such as a job or project contracts) are distributed by politicians, including benefits intended for individuals and to the community group (Edward & Sukmajati, 2015). In Bone regency patronage politics to the bureaucracy had a big influence on the continuation of power Andi Fashar Padjalangi as aristocrats descent who has won election twice in a row, because the people who promoted to head of department is the special staff of regents and some of them never become when the election campaign team, so of course there is the closeness that exists among the echelon II with Regent. So that political support will certainly flow to the incumbent that comes from the power of bureaucratic patronage although the support is not done openly because they have to maintain the neutrality of bureaucracy.

Figure 1. Percentage of an aristocrat in the position of Head of Department, Head of the Agency, and the Regional Secretary Post-Election 2013

Patronage can be either cash or goods were distributed to voters from personal funds (for example, the purchase of sounds or commonly known as money politics and vote buying) or public funds (eg, projects pork barrel which is financed by the government) (Pratama, 2017).
Since leadership Andi Fashar Padjalangi which started in the year 2013 to 2018, has made a lot of changes in Bone district bureaucracy. Thus be seen from these data indicated the existence of patronage in the formation of the bureaucratic structure due to mutations bureaucratic officials always determined after the contestation of the elections took place and officials to get a promotion is the special staff of regents who must have a special affinity with the Regional Head and some also the winning team Andi Fashar-Ambo Dalle in the elections, as Andi Promal Pawi which is a winning team coordinator 'PRO TAFADDAL, then Andi Syamsidar which is the sister's bladder Nurdin Halid is also the coalition package in simultaneous elections in 2018. Patronage did have a mutual method as in Kazakhstan where religious leaders of the sacred lineage (Qozha) in northern Kazakhstan seeking refuge from the political elite to build, maintain and expand the complex place of worship. The patron of this is that state officials expect compensation of assistance to his client with the form of political support (Bigozhin, 2018).

**Patronage Political Parties**

Political parties are the basis of power if you want to get a political position, to advance in the regional election contestation it must also have a strong basis in political parties as a vehicle to become a candidate in the Election. The base of the votes of political parties in Bone Regency is still controlled by the Golkar Party. Since 2008 until now the Golkar Party has still been the biggest legislative seat winner in the DPRD of Bone Regency. Relevant to these results, the regional head election in Bone Regency is also always won by candidates who are promoted by the Golkar Party. Patronage in political parties is inevitable, the Golkar Party as the dominating party in Bone Regency is a place where the descendants of aristocrat descend, in fact almost all parties in Bone Regency have important positions filled with aristocrats offspring. So the perception arises that aristocratic descendants have a greater chance to become party cadres because of the title of aristocrat that is considered to be able to push the political party's vote.

The Golkar party stated that it would promote equality for all sections of society. However, the facts show that aristocrats have always been a priority of political parties. This fact is shown by the important role of the aristocracy that was built long ago, political party cadres mostly from aristocratic descent, this was reinforced by the election of DPD II Chairman of the Golkar Party in the Bone Regency from 1971 to 2019, all who were elected came from the aristocrats, and the current chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party in Bone Regency is Andi Fashar Padjalangi.

Andi Fashar Padjalangi as the political elite of the aristocrats has a network of patronage in strong political parties, not only the Golkar party but of the other parties was Andi Fashar have clear support. The strengthening of the ties of patronage in Indonesian politics caused by the mutual need or symbiotic mutualism between the political elite with various elements (Fadiyah, 2018). In Bone regency existence of royalty in a political party can not be denied is very strong, in the legislative elections showed the 19 candidates from the Aristocrats
managed to gain seats in the local parliament Bone.

Patron-client affected by the three conditions, the first presence of the differences (inequality) striking in the possession of wealth, status, and power. The prevailing tradition, a patron more bases and on the strength and track to get a job title and position, rather than the inheritance position. Second, the absence of institutions that ensure the safety of individuals, both concerning the status and wealth. Thus, the bonds have replaced direct personal rule of law, shared values and strong institutions. The third, which is also the implication of the definition of patronage is when familial bonds can no longer be relied upon for protection and the promotion of self (Heddy, 2007).

Decentralization of power and authority within the scope or locus of party politics raises the relationship of the party hierarchy which is still patterned patron-client (Solikhin, 2017). Political Parties believed to be the public officials interacting with political appointments, to build trust based on mutual need, so patronage between the political parties are often not biased inevitable although sometimes make voters skeptical about the promises that are not realistic (Bustikova & Corduneanu-Huci, 2017). As if relevant to the Andi Fashar as a figure of aristocrat strongest in Bone regency currently has the patronage relationships with many of the political elite either Golkar Party and from parties other in Bone regency, it is portrayed through images patron-client as follows:

Figure 2. Aristocrats Patronage on Political Parties

Source: Adapted by the researcher, 2019
Figure patronage above shows that Andi Fashar as Patron had strong support from various elite political parties, so no wonder if he was on the stretcher by 11 Parties in 2018. In the current elections patronage networks, some DPC chairman of the political party in Bone regency make Andi Fashar as a patron in the political contest. As Chairman of the DPC PBB Latif Syaifullah has become a client to give full political support to Andi Fashar since 2008 although at the time it was lost to Andi Idris Galigo, then Andi Wahyudi Taqwa Chairman of the DPC PAN Bone regency, Furthermore, from Andi Heriyanto Bausad Nasdem Party, a legislative candidate in the electoral district II have the biggest voter in Bone regency 2019. Legislative elections Relations visible on the support of political patronage to Andi Andi Heriyanto Fashar in the elections in 2018, was immediately declared support mutual friend AHB is a mass political owned by Andi Heryanto. Political patronage is happening in the political contest in Bone regency relevant with thought (Scott, 1972), namely the relationship of patronage occurs because of the political ties between the two instruments in which a person who has a social and economic position high as Andi Fashar will become Patron followed by a client who has a notch lower, but can provide mutual support.

Political System

The political system will be influenced by domestic economic systems, natural resources and their natural environment, education and technology systems, and systems of ethnicity and culture. All of these systems will bear fruit into the political opportunity structure. Economic control and political and cultural will bring the power of such popularity and capacity. The structure of opportunity in the political system in Indonesia Already an open secret that the political system in Indonesia cost of democracy is so great then structure opportunity in the political system is strongly influenced by the popularity and capacity as well as political actors Elitism.

Bone County is an area that the political opportunity structure as putting highties born as the most prioritized group in the local elections, it is reflected from the candidates who participated contestation is 100% derived from the title of noble descent "ANDI". Although a democratic political system has been run properly, in the structure of opportunities that exist in the political process, the aristocrat was more dominating in the registration of candidates. Then the political parties as vehicles to the nomination are also dominated by the aristocrat as the holder of an important role in the political parties.

Figure 3.
Structure of Opportunity in Politics
System of Bone Regency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab Query-Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aristocrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Coding Analysis through Nvivo12 Plus
Aristocrat has a popularity of 88% and Capacity as a leader of 68%, the data shows the opportunity structure of the aristocracy in local political contestation is indeed very large, so it is not surprising if the aristocrats always win in political battles because their popularity and capacities are undeniable. The structure of opportunity in the political system in Bone regency is also determined by popularity and capacity if it wants to obtain power. Andi Fashar Padjalangi as Regent selected two periods has high popularity in Bone regency, his work began to appear when becoming the leader in the District of China and Tanete Riattang, and as vice-regent Bone in 2004-2008 paired with Andi Idris Galigo. Popularity born by themselves following their work in the office to which it aspires. Its capacity has also been tested in any duties in the government who always got appreciation from the public. Political opportunity is strongly influenced by the popularity and capacity that was born of the power itself.

Capital of Aristocrats
Capital is Pierre Bourdieu's thinking about the resources owned by political actors who then used the contestation of local elections in an arena (field) (George, 2011). Lordship in Bone regency in this discussion is analyzed by owned capital while participating in a political contest. There are four (4) of capital that will be discussed in this section, namely social capital, symbolic capital, cultural capital, and economic capital. Some of this subject we will elaborate in the discussion and so found scientific facts unique in this research.

Social Capital
Social capital is the result of building relationships with the community of political actors that can be seen from the activities of political actors like interacting with people, build relationships with community organizations, as well as building relationships with officials and businessmen. Results from the capital building in the form of public legitimacy of the political actors that have been perceived by the public.

Figure 4.
Social Capital Analysis by Nvivo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab Query - Result</th>
<th>0%</th>
<th>20%</th>
<th>40%</th>
<th>60%</th>
<th>80%</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non Aristocrats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristocrats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Relation</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Organization</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted by the researcher, 2019

Social capital built by Aristocrats has high domination that's is has 87% from Social Organisation and 86% from Government. Andi Fashar Padjalangi as aristocrats and power holders in Bone regency starts since he joined AMPI Bone Regency Year 1993-1998 with the position of secretary-general, and to this figure, Fashar Andi was active in 14 social organizations in Bone regency, Relationships are built through a community organization capital is considered to influence to gain legitimacy from the people. Relationships are built
Aristocrats for social capital that is active in community organizations is one of the factors that affect the figures Andi Fashar as descendants of Aristocrats legitimacy of the public.

Not only in society but the organization of government bureaucracy Andi Fashar Padjalangi also has an outstanding track record, start a career in government began in 1991 as a civil servant in the district Tanete Riattang to become head regent Bone in 2013. After completing his studies in Makassar Andi Fashar straight back to the Bone County to devote their knowledge in the District Government of Bone. Track Record Andi Fashar in Bone Regency considered capable of creating a culture of good cooperation that eventually led to public confidence.

Social capital built by AndiFashar structured Padjalangi been done long ago, from the relationship with the general public, community organizations, up to the officials in the bureaucracy. This social capital makes Andi Fashar very high bargaining in political contestation, as evidenced by the election to become the regent two periods in Bone regency.

**Symbolic Capital**

Symbolic capital is capital that comes from earned the honor of lineage eg, derivatives of the king, the blue blood or nobles, Capital symbolic peer got a special place by the general public because they have something different from the public at large. However, although this can be inherited capital still needs the legitimacy of the public to generate symbolic power.

Capital that can be inherited a genetic automatically power derived from his predecessors. Bone County is an area with a very thick custom that used to be one of the largest kingdoms in Indonesia. More modern era does not make the customs were relegated, in the regional head of the aristocratic figure family White (King) is still very dominating. This symbolic capital is one factor still aristocrat exist in the election dispute.

**Figure 5.**

**Aristocrats Capital Analysis of the most dominant in Local Politics with NVivo Plus 12**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capital Type</th>
<th>Percentage Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic Capital</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Capital</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Capital</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Coding Analysis through Nvivo12 Plus

From the analysis through NVivo coding on the text informant interviews several studies show Symbolic capital gets 34% percent while other capital gets percentage below symbolic capital, it appears that the symbolic capital is the greatest capital dominance in aristocratic power in Bone regency. The aristocrat symbolic capital is Andi’s degree or Noble Titles are then capitalized into a political tool to scoop up the sound in the political contest. Symbolic capital has a high bargaining power due to the majority of people in Bone regency still believe that
the royal line has the same leadership to the Bone previous kings. Andi symbolic capital derived from the offspring of kings (To-Manurung) which is a symbol of the legitimacy of power for all the great kingdoms in South Sulawesi (Mappangara, 2011). Symbolic capital does have a high degree of dominance as a political tool in the democratic process because it is easy to get legitimacy from the public (Harrits, 2011).

Bone regency long history of Aristocrats power that is still remembered to this day by the public in Bone regency. So no wonder that until now lordship continued until the contestation of the elections in Bone regency. Andi Fashar Padjalangi as noble descent who has won election two periods in Bone regency acknowledged the influence of symbolic capital in his victory in Political contestation. Symbolic capital is a very capital contestation reckoned in local elections. Knighted that given of blood descendant of the kings Bone, making increasingly strong public confidence in determining the political choice.

Capital Economics

Economic capital is the capital the most reliable in the political contest. This capital is a form of property ownership in the form of money or valuables. Economic capital is very easily converted into a material driver of political support, in the form of posters, billboards, and even pay for ads on visual media services. Economic capital is also easier to measure than other capital for economic capital can be calculated by the amount of money used for the purpose contestation, either in the form of goods or services.

The presence of Marx's economic capital is the basis for classifying people based on class. According to Marx, the social position of the public will refer to the position of individual economic production. It is undeniable that the political actors should have a high economic class if you want to go forward as a candidate for the head area, all due to the political costs are high. Contestation elections in Bone regency in 2018 nearly followed by two candidates each from the aristocrats and non-aristocrat. But unfortunately, the candidate of non-aristocrats died while verification independent support from the community. Whereas economic capital dr. Umar highest compared with other candidates.

Table 3.
Wealth Candidate Regent and Vice Regent Bone 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Wealth</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dr. Umar Rizalul</td>
<td>28.502.941.758</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Non Aristocrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Andi Fashar Padjalangi</td>
<td>13.303.232.438</td>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>Aristocrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ambo Dalle</td>
<td>6.636.907.662</td>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>Aristocrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Andi Mappamadeng</td>
<td>2.840.000.000</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Aristocrats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KPUD Bone, 2019
The data in the above table shows that dr. Umar as a candidate that falls upon verification independent path data has the highest wealth than the other candidates. This capital is relatively the most independent and dynamic in its use because of the economic capital can easily be converted into other capital in the political arena. Contestation related economic capital in the elections, district commissioner Bone revealed that when referring to the economic capital only, dr. Umar is sure to be a winner, but the fact forwards a candidate fails. Economic capital is essential for use in contestation election in Bone regency, Andi Fashar Padjalangi is a person who has economic capital to the Wealth Report reached 13 billion. Economic capital is to be possessed by candidates who will participate in the dispute, but the economic capital must be followed by strong support from other capital such as social capital and symbolic capital.

**Cultural Capital**

Cultural capital is a form of utilization of information about the culture and knowledge of someone who is seen from the level of education and skills possessed. A concrete form of capital in the form of a receipt has been studying or diploma. Cultural capital is used to show the capability of the candidate’s eligibility to lead an area. Andi Fashar Padjalangi has sufficient cultural capital, high level of education makes a man of high intelligence. Education has the high bargaining power to people who understand politics, especially in education adopted by Andi Fashar namely social science and political science, so an understanding of leadership is unquestioned. Peerage that had also demanded to hold firm Bone cultural mores. Trust the people about the cultural capital owned by Andi Fashar is irrefutable, some community leaders stated that the figure Fashar Andi was someone who seemed born to be a leader.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Educational</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TK Matanna Tikka Watampone</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SD Neg. 11 Watampone</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SMP Neg. 6 Makassar</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SMA Neg. 5 Makassar</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bachelor of Public Administration Fisipol Unhas</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Master Program Local Governance Unhas</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Doctorate of Public Administration Unhas</td>
<td>2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted by the researcher, 2019

Cultural Capital is one factor that makes Andi Fashar can win twice election in a row because the community leaders stated that the figure Andi Fashar which is highborn has the quality of education that is relevant to lead an area. Andi cultural capital Fashar Padjalangi indeed proved strong. His is Graduates of Public Administration FISIPOL Unhas, then continued in Masters and Ph.D. programs Unhas Regional Government, pursued education is very relevant as a regional
head so that the public did not hesitate to place the choice for Andi Fashar Padjalagi. Golkar Party as the bearer party also believes that the history of education possessed by Andi Fashar is one of the capitals which has resulted in victory.

Cultural Capital owned by Andi Fashar have a high bargaining power in the political contest in Bone regency. Cultural capital comes from all educational qualification owned by Andi Fashar Padjalangi, then the knowledge gained from the family heritage as a descendant of royalty. The cultural capital represents a learning process that has been undertaken by Andi Fashar Padjalangi that is attached to the figure of capital and not easy to claims by others.

Conclusion

Aristocratic power in local politics in Bone regency is the result of the existence of the aristocrat in the master habitus, arena, and capital in the process of elections. Lordship has been analyzed with the theory of habitus and field (arena) with a view habitus and arenas are performed by the aristocrat in retaining power in Bone regency. Then the power of capital owned by the aristocrat in the election dispute. Here are the findings related to "Aristocrats Power in Local Politics in Bone regency 2013-2018":

Aristocrats Power in perspective habitus was found that the descendants of Duke in obtaining and maintaining power than past traditional to the modern politics are the offspring show the leadership that has been legitimized by the community with the principle lontara still firmly held by the leader of the aristocrat until now, then habitus of the royalty has patterns and behavior that is characteristic to maintain the power which has been prepared from generation to generation. And behavior patterns are derived from the discipline of a noble family who still adheres to customs in Bone regency.

Aristocrats power of perspectives arena has four findings that the First, Patronage bureaucracy had a big influence on the continuation of power leadership Andi Fashar Padjalangi because the people who promoted to head of department is the special staff of regents and the team winning the time of the elections, so of course, there is the closeness that exists among the echelon II with Regent, So that political support will certainly flow to the incumbent. Second, patronage of political parties is a strong factor in the aristocratic power in Bone regency for their patron-client relationships that were from the aristocrat in the body of the political party with his followers who have no loyalty. Third, Mastery Arena elections are still owned by the aristocrat, network in terms of both political parties as well as a large selection of vehicles to the contestation of the legitimacy trust community to the authority. Fourth, the political system produces political opportunities that are influenced by the popularity and capacity that was born of the power itself. Bone society still tends to want leaders of figures who have popularity and capacity within a power, making the Golkar party took advantage of that by always providing full support to the candidates of the true ruler of aristocrat’s blood.

Then the last part, the power seen from capital owned by aristocrats, Capital
owned namely Social capital, Symbolic, Economic and Cultural capital of the capital’s fourth most powerful is the symbolic capital which is the degree Andi or Noble Titles are then capitalized into a political tool to scoop up the sound in the political contest. Symbolic capital has a high bargaining power due to the majority of people in Bone regency still believe that the aristocrat’s line have the same leadership to the Bone previous kings.

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Acknowledgments

The Author would like to thank Titin Purwaningsih as lecturer at Muhammadiyah University, Yogyakarta and Achmad Nurmandi the Professor in Master of Government Affairs and Administration, Jusuf Kalla School of Government, Muhammadiyah University, Yogyakarta.

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https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24198/jwp.v2i1.11400


