

Democracy and Development at the Local Level: Synergy of Local Boss, Entrepreneur, and Bandit in North Kolaka

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Abstract— This article reviews the implementation of democracy and development in North Kolaka which combines three political forces: local boss (regent), businessmen (contractors) and bandits (robbers). The synergy of three local political forces controlled by the head of regions was able to change the 'face' of North Kolaka from underdeveloped to a developed region in Southeast Sulawesi. Local elections have an impact on economic development in North Kolaka. This portrait appears in the availability of infrastructure that can stimulate the economic society. The flow of goods, services, and people coming in and out of North Kolaka goes more smoothly along with an ability to control the security stability in this place that formerly known as the place of robbers operation (bandits). The absence of bandits coincided with the inclusion of their family members as part of elected government that succeeded in occupying essential positions as vice-regents. In addition to bandits, entrepreneurs play a significant role in democracy and development in North Kolaka. In the democracy arena, entrepreneurs are elected as party leaders at the local level as well as directly involved—fighting—or indirect—budgetary suppliers—in the struggle for political power—executive and legislative—at the local level. In the provision of infrastructure, entrepreneurs who are party leaders and have relations with regional heads (Rusda Mahmud) -are winning contracts for the work of development projects in North Kolaka. The execution of government projects is very stretching and grandiose, but also regarding collusion and nepotism. This paper concludes that democracy has a positive impact on economic development and security stability in North Kolaka, although it does not automatically lead to a clean government.

Keywords—Democracy, Development, Local Boss, Entrepreneur, Bandit, North Kolaka

I. INTRODUCTION

In February 2017, North Kolaka along with 101 other regions in Indonesia held the local election simultaneously. At that moment, we visited the North Kolaka and witnessed the work of development that was quite rapid. Since redistricting itself from its main district, Kolaka in 2003, the construction of road and building infrastructure moved quickly to catch up. When other areas in Southeast Sulawesi do not have a highway (toll road), in North Kolaka it is available. The toll is one of the portraits of the fast-paced North Kolaka development that supported by the economy, which is difficult for a new autonomous region of its age such as Bombana and Wakatobi in Southeast Sulawesi.

Another change that appears in North Kolaka is the maintenance of security that was previously known as a hideout for robbers operating in South, Central, and Southeast Sulawesi. The achievement seems to correlate with the changing political system towards the democratic. Through a democratic system, local political actors compete openly to become regional heads and to build their regions. The presence of development and democracy raises the question of whether the two are running stimulants, complementary or mutually exclusive. The case of North Kolaka presents an overview of the answers to these questions, as well as reflections for other regions in Indonesia that have similar situations.

This paper is divided into fifth sections. The first section contains theories and conceptual bases. The second part tells about the brief history and political background of North Kolaka and the appearance of local bosses. The third part

explains the implementation of the first local election in North Kolaka, won by a coalition of entrepreneurs (contractors) and bandits. The fourth section illustrates the real work of infrastructure construction, a workmanship method that involves contractors from close relatives, supporters and friends of the head of the region. In the end, it presents an analysis of the essential lessons of democratic practice and development in North Kolaka that is followed by the conclusion.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. *Democracy and Development*

The link between democracy and economic growth was first expressed by Seymour Martin Lipset (1959). This Lipset's opinion became the foundation of further political scholars-such as Larry Diamond and Adam Przeworski-in analyzing the linkages between democracy and development. Diamond (2008) in his article entitled *Democratic Development and Economic Development-Linkages and Policy Imperatives* revealed that democracy is not only in line with economic growth, but also has a significant role in alleviating poverty and realizing people's welfare. Diamond's opinion indicates that democracy is a prerequisite for the realization of development and prosperity. In short, it can be said that democracy is positively correlated to development.

Furthermore, the relationship between the political regime and economic growth is also expressed by Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi (1993). Unlike his predecessor, Adam Przeworski seems to be more critical to see the linkage between democracy and economic development. He tried to get out of the influence of Lipset and Diamond's thought. According to him, democracy and development are not entirely linear. He pointed to some cases of a democratic but slow-growing country-France in 1985-and an authoritarian but rapidly growing economy-China and Singapore. By not ignoring the political regime factor, he mentions the existence of other factors that cannot be observed systematically affecting economic growth.

Sidel's observations in three democratic states, Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia called money politics, bribery, and thuggery happen in the democratic process at the local level. Under a democratic regime, politics controlled by bosses is characterized by bureaucratic alliances, party bosses, businesspeople, military, and thugs. The strong influence of local actors in the post-decentralization democracy process in Indonesia is expressed by Vedi R. Hadiz (2005). In the future, this process influences the implementation of development at the local level.

The role of actors-such as local bosses, entrepreneurs, and bandits-is observed in the implementation of development at the local level. The term local boss refers to Sidel's opinion designed for local elites who have monopolistic control over the coercive and economic resources of their respective domains. For instance, the decades-old mayor who manages

the municipality as a private domain, members of Congress, and governors who build political machines as well as business empires of all districts or provinces. Meanwhile, entrepreneurs persuade people who try to trade; merchant; businessman. Whereas the term bandit refers to Eric J. Hobsbawm's description which includes anyone who belongs to a group of people who attack and rob with violence, snatching, guerrillas and organized insurrections. The involvement of this group is sometimes favorable for the development, but on the other hand, is very destructive, primarily if it is associated with democratic values.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. *Background Politics of North Kolaka and Local Boss Occurrence*

North Kolaka is located in the east of Bone bay, extending from the north (East Luwu, South Sulawesi) to the south (Kolaka, Southeast Sulawesi). It is in the eastern part of the Mekongga mountain; the highest mountain in Southeast Sulawesi where flora and fauna of Sulawesi live. North Kolaka is one of the exits of goods and people connecting the provinces of South and Southeast Sulawesi. No wonder then this area has a lot of potential and threats regarding demography, politics, security, economy and natural resources.

Demographically, of North Kolaka is inhabited by various ethnic groups including Bone, Luwu, Toraja, Tolaki Mekongga and other small ethnic origins from Central Sulawesi. This diversity often raises ethnic and regional rivalries in local election. From the political aspect, North Kolaka has many stories of the struggle of the past. In the colonial era (1935), North Kolaka (Lasusua) was the site of the founding of PMI in Southeast Sulawesi, the wing organization of the Islamic Sharia Party of Indonesia (PSII). The Old Order regime became the basis of DI/TII rebel movement led by Kahar Muzakar. Furthermore, the reform era became the base of power of Golkar, PNBK, Islamic parties (PAN, PPP, PKS, PBR, and PBB), PDK and Pelopor party. Golkar's superiority is inseparable from the long-standing power in the New Order era, while the Islamic parties have historical roots of the past in the struggle for independence and DI/TII rebellion. It was another case of PNBK that emerged in the reform era and won the second highest seat.

From the side of security, North Kolaka region during the Old Order was somewhat vulnerable considering the location of DI / TII troop movement. In the New Order era, North Kolaka region haunted by existence of the raiders of Tabb'a'e origin after being evicted from their hometown of Bone. Until 2005 (first local election), North Kolaka was alerted by street passers because the Tamborasi hill area was told as the place where the robbers operate at night. A passenger told the story that he was once forbidden to continue the journey at night, to avoid the intrusion of robbers.

The economy and natural resources of North Kolaka are very prosperous and fertile. The agricultural sector-clove, cocoa, coconut (copra) and patchouli-became the economic backbone to print 'many pilgrims.' Also, construction sector development and the existence of mining businesses make this area overgrow, in which 74% of North Kolaka GDP is donated from these three sectors. It is very much different than the condition when it is still part of Kolaka Regency; the area of North Kolaka is very lagging and isolated. It is because Kolaka (the parent district) has a very extensive area and distances are far apart from each other, which becomes the reason why the idea of redistricting emerged.

The struggle for the expansion of Kolaka Utara involves many actors ranging from youth groups, educated people (teachers/students), leaders of political parties, contractors, bureaucrats, and other North Kolaka communities. Through the process of redistricting, the prominent names play a role in the acceleration of redistricting emerging. Among them is Rusda Mahmud who holds the position of chairman PNBK Kolaka and works as a contractor. In addition to favorable contractors, Rusda Mahmud leads a group of young people and the community of North Kolaka in presenting the government to accelerate the redistricting. Also, another well-known figure is dr. Ansar Sangka, a bureaucrat who had been assigned as task executor of the first Regent of North Kolaka.

B. Local election (Pilkada): Coalition of Entrepreneurs (Contractors) and Bandits

After becoming an autonomous region, North Kolaka holds a democratic election of the regional head. The first elections were held in 2005, followed by six pairs of candidates for regent and vice-regent. The six pairs of candidates, namely; Rusda Mahmud and Hj. ST. Suhariah Muin, S. Ag carried by PNBK and gained 12,774 votes (23,98%); the couple of dr. H. Ansar Sangka, MM, and H. Abbas, SE carried by PKS and Pelopor Party could get 11,070 votes (20.78%); Drs. Bustam AS and Sapruddin, SE carried by PDK, PIB, Merdeka PSI, and PNUI won 9,926 votes (18.62%); the couple of Ir. Muh. Hakku Wahab and Ir. Zakaria, M.Si carried by PAN earned 8,911 votes (16.73%); couple drg. Sutan H, MM, and Drs. Syamsul Ridjal carried by Golkar Party gained 5477 votes (10.28%) and Drs. H. Syarifuddin Rantegau, M.Si and DR. Ilham Labbase, SE., M.Si carried by PBR, PKPB, PKPB, PNI, Marhaenisme, PPDI, PBSB, PPD, and Patriot party won 5,115 votes (9.60%).

The votes of the candidate pairs failed to produce the elected head of the region after the 30% + 1 legal requirement was passed, so the second round of elections was held. Rusda Mahmud and Hj. Sulaeha won the second round election after surpassing his toughest rival dr. Ansar Sangka. The victory of Rusda Mahmud is fantastic considering that he comes from PNBK, a party that has little historical roots in local politics in North Kolaka, as it is with Golkar and Islamic parties. Rusda Mahmud is a figure who emerged in the reform era, with an educational background of STM graduates who had passed the

lecture even though it did not finish successfully. It is certainly different from one of his rivals, dr. Ansar Sangka, who has a lot of organizational experience. Ansar Sangka figure is known as a bureaucrat, former student activist in the new order era and a graduate of Unhas medical faculty.

The emergence of Rusda Mahmud in the political arena began in an era of reform, where political parties grew up like 'fungus in the rain'. At the same time, PNBK was born as one of the political parties participating in the General Election in 1999. PNBK of Kolaka District gave the position of DPC chairman to Rusda Mahmud for the success of his business as a contractor. Since the New Order, in 1986 with Nur Rahman Umar he founded a CV. The horizon is engaged in construction. In the era of reform (in 2003) Rusda pioneered his own business by establishing CV Bangkit Bangun Persada which later turned into PT. Bagkit Bangun Persada. Gradually, PT. Bangkit Bangun Persada grows as a leading construction company in Southeast Sulawesi who often work on construction projects including in North Kolaka.

Armed with the background of contractors who have networking, financial and division leaders who can move the masses, PNBK led Rusda Mahmud managed to place three seats of legislative members in DPRD North Kolaka in 2004. This position is more than enough to carry one candidate without coalescence. The significant acquisition of PNBK seats raises the desire of Rusda Mahmud to fight in the elections. The intention of Rusda Mahmud is getting stronger after getting the encouragement from his cousin and adoptive parents, H. Haerudin, who is usually called H. Rimba or abah. The role of Haji Haerudin in Rusda Mahmud's political and business career is immense as told by his close friends.

"Mr. Rusda was once a nobody. He graduated from STM Kolaka, had attended a lecture in Java (UII) but did not finish and worked in East Timor as an employee of a contractor company. Then, he went home (Lasusua) to establish a company. When he wanted to involve in elections, he didn't have no money, and 'abah' (H. Haerudin) is the one who helped him".

It was also told that H. Haerudin's assistance to Rusda Mahmud was not only when he wanted to take part in the election, but it had been a long time. When pioneering the construction business, Rusda Mahmud who lacked capital got help from H. Haerudin whose background is as an entrepreneur.

H. Haerudin's financial support did not necessarily smooth the plan of Rusda Mahmud following the elections. It was because the absence of a candidate deputy regent figure who wanted to pair with Rusda because it had the image of the past as an ex-convict. After all this time looking for a representative, the offer came from Hj. ST. Suhariah Muin, member of DPRD Kolaka from PKB, nephew of Alimudin Page. Alimudin is known as a former DI/TII guerrilla and

former village chief of Benteng Tellue (Bone) or commonly known as Tabbae where criminals, gamblers and people *to lampa* are hiding out to operate in South Sulawesi.

Some sources mention that besides the desire of St. Suhariah Muin to pair up with Rusda, it was also encouraged by the political lobby conducted by Alimudin Page, a highly respected and influential figure in the Kolaka and North Kolaka areas. Through the lobby, Alimudin who conducted bargaining would help Rusda win the election by mobilizing the resources he has, provided that St. Suhariah was elected as his deputy. Upon this, Rusda Mahmud-St. Suhariah Muin paired in the first local election in North Kolaka.

Rusda-Suhariah won the election that lasted two rounds successfully. The election of Suhariah as deputy regent became a record breaker in the Page family circle. He became the first person to have a high position, in addition to his brother and cousin as members of parliament, lecturers, and entrepreneurs. The election of Rusda-Suhariah cannot be separated from the distribution of patronage (rice distribution) and intimidation to the voters. Rice was distributed by successful teams and groups led by Alimudin Page on the eve of elections.¹ The group also intimidated the threat of violence (to be slashed/cut off the neck) if they did not follow their instructions.² The team moved in the middle of the night with the characteristic of black clothes and disappeared when the morning came³, at first glance this model of operation is like a bat.

A member belonging to this group acknowledged the role of the Alimudin group in the momentum of the elections in Kolaka and North Kolaka in the reform era. He told me that it is difficult to identify them because they use particular symbols, as quoted in the following interview quotes:

I join the organization is called 'white horse', the flag logo or black sticker depicts a white horse. It is usually taped to the car or motorcycle, as well as flags during the campaign in the field.⁴

The white horse is the name of the organization led by Alimudin, identifying members of this organization somewhat tricky, because it moves in secret. They can be recognized on black stickers with white horses stuck to the back of the car's glass to distinguish members/co-workers and those outside of them.⁵ At the time of the elections in 2005 and 2012, this group operated to distribute rice and launch intimidation by first giving a distinctive sign (password) to the homes of

¹ Interview with S, residents of North Kolaka and the story of Laode Harjudin (Commissioner General Election of Southeast Sulawesi Provincial) based on field report results.

² Interview with AL, residents of North Kolaka.

³ Interview with Laode Harjudin (Commissioner General Election of Southeast Sulawesi Provincial).

⁴ Interview with H, Kolaka residents.

⁵ These sticker attachments have consequences of unofficial tax payments, but this is comparable to the security guarantees attached to them from thug or robber disturbances.

residents to be visited.⁶ In particular, the group also targeted mountain areas as a place of operation with considerations of escaping from the security forces and allowed them to secure themselves. The pattern of Alimudin group movements in Pilkada resembled a strategy in crime operations that first through surveillance (special team) and magic team.⁷

Rusda-Suhariah relationships while leading the North Kolaka was very harmonious. Harmony was what made Rusda Mahmud issued a sentence at the end of his term that later is replaced by Hj. Suharia.⁸ The harmony of both ended after the vice-regent, St. Suhariah died from a vessel that he was sailing in the Bay of Bone. This event made the family, residents of North Kolaka and Rusda Mahmud feel very lost. Nevertheless, Rusda Mahmud did not betray his words. As his appreciation of Hj. Suhariah, while nominating in his second period he appointed the family of Hj Suhariah as his representative. Hj. Suhariah's family summoned it by conducting a family meeting and agreeing on Bobby Alimudin Page as Rusda Mahmud's companion. Bobby is the son of Alimudin Page, cousin Hj. Suhariah, who is also a member of the Bone Regional House of Representatives from the Golkar party election results in 2009.

Rusda and Bobby did not know each other but because of the agreement of Hj. Suhariah's family then he simply accepted Bobby's proposal as deputy regent. A year passed by and Rusda-Bobby's relationship seemed to get along well. Relations between the two began to crack when entering the second year, in which Rusda and Bobby no longer sat together in government events. It is evident in the presence of the Regent at every important event that was not attended by the Vice Regent. Rusda also did not provide a strategic role to Bobby and his family. The end of Rusda-Bobby's relationship was confirmed in Pilkada 2017, where Rusda supported Nur Rahman (senior bureaucrat), while Bobby did not get any support even barely from any party. Luckily, Bobby got the blessing of DPP PDIP; the only party that brought him along with Maksum. Giving support to DPP, Bobby had caused chaos at the district level. DPC PDIP as represented by H. Haerudin then expressed his rejection to Bobby. Instead, Haerudin wanted his son (Ulfa / DPRD member of North Kolaka) to be the candidate. In the end, the wish of H. Rimba was not fulfilled after the national body of the party recommended Bobby.

⁶ Interview with S, residents of North Kolaka

⁷ In committing criminal operations such as robbing and stealing livestock, they have a very neat reconnaissance organization. In every crime they commit, it is always preceded by an advanced team that carries out surveillance of the target. Special team surveillance reports are an important consideration for the execution group. In addition to the spy team, the Tabbae group also has another team, which they call the magic team. The main task is to make the target or the victim sleep soundly when the team executor execute. If special teams and magic teams are unable to provide sufficient information, and can not make potential victims sleep well, the group of executors usually performs their actions publicly and publicly robs people's property and cattle, by pointing sharp weapons and firearms. See Mujahidin Fahmid, op.cit, page. 253-25

⁸ Interview with AL, residents of North Kolaka

PDI.P was the winning party of the General Elections in North Kolaka. Nevertheless, in the elections of 2017 PDI.P experienced a 'touchstone' after being hit by conflict and internal fragmentation at the DPC level. Based on party support, PDIP supported Bobby-Maksum. But electorally, the contribution and support of H. Rimba's masses were more entrenched. He also consolidated his loyalists against Bobby and gave support to Nur Rahman. PDI.P's voice was also rejected by a third candidate, in which Haedirman, the candidate for Vice Regent number three had sibling relationships with the head of North Kolaka DPRD from PDIP. As a result, PDI.P's political machine did not work efficiently in Bobby Alimudin Page.

C. Infrastructure construction: methods, practices of collusion and nepotism

Physical infrastructure development becomes something that is commonly done by local government, especially at the new autonomous regions. The condition of infrastructure is an indicator of the progress of an area in addition to economic growth. It is shown by North Kolaka under the leadership of Rusda Mahmud. Some physical infrastructures have been built, such as government buildings, shopping centers, mosques, roadshowing, sports and highway activities. When other areas in Southeast Sulawesi do not have a highway (toll road), in North Kolaka one is available. The existence of this toll addition to the icon of North Kolaka can also create time efficiency for road users, economic actors and boost the regional economy.

As one of the areas established in 2003, the presence of infrastructure in North Kolaka can be felt more than its two ages, Bombana and Wakatobi. Even when compared with the parent region (Kolaka District), the condition of the North Kolaka infrastructure is still slightly superior and in order. This success cannot be separated from the way Rusda Mahmud (head of the region) initiating infrastructure development. According to the stories of close people, contractors and employees of the public works department, Rusda Mahmud is a different head of region figure compared to most regional leaders who are diligent in seeking economic benefits through the project. Rusda Mahmud has never asked for fees to contractors working on projects in North Kolaka. Whereas, the charge was exchanged for physical construction, such as Mushola.⁹ In the community of North Kolaka, this way is very positive and provides benefits for the public. Rusda Mahmud's attention to his region gave rise to praise, defense and protection from the community. For the residents of North Kolaka who discuss the negative side of Rusda Mahmud will get the scorn of other citizens.¹⁰

The positive image of Rusda Mahmud can cover the practice of collusion and nepotism, especially in the work of infrastructure projects. A source mentions that the project in

⁹ Interview with Public Works employee of Southeast Sulawesi Province.

¹⁰ Interview with AL, residents of North Kolaka.

North Kolaka is done by H. Haerudin (Haji Rimba / abah) and a person close to the Regent of Makale Group.¹¹ By contrast, contractors outside the circle of regents are difficult to win in North Kolaka, unless they become sourced from the state budget (APBN). Even though the project comes from the state budget, the contractors outside the circle of regents feel the loss, because of the reluctance of material owners to sell materials to them.¹² As a result, contractors outside the head of the region's circle have to pay more to bring in materials from outside the region.

The end of Rusda Mahmud's position as Regent did not necessarily release the entrepreneur's grip on democracy and development in North Kolaka. Nur Rahman Umar (who substituted Rusda Mahmud) is an old friend of Rusda Mahmud who comes from bureaucrat-entrepreneur (contractor) background. Nur Rahman Umar ran for Regent to get full support from Rusda Mahmud and Haji Haerudin who has a political and economic character. As the head of the incumbent area and chairman of the Democratic council, Rusda Mahmud influences the bureaucracy and political parties. Meanwhile, Haji Haerudin as a contractor and had been chairman of DPC PDI.P Kolaka Utara has the financial strength and loyal masses. The support of Rusda and Haerudin played a major role in Nur Rahman's victory over Bobby Alimudin Page, son of Alimudin Page and cousin Hj. St. Suhariah Muin.

D. Reflection

The discussion above makes the need for the link between democracy and development. The question is whether it is a conducive democracy for development. The answer to the question above explains how the political system and development affect each other. The meaning of development is the achievement of economic prosperity that is considered a precondition for the political modernization that leads to democratization. The condition of the people whose basic needs and the protection of them were social, economic and political rights will make the community more actively participate in maintaining the civil rights and freedoms.

The above linkage may provide conceptual legitimacy for the spread of democracy as well as justification for the governance system, including the local domain for implementing governance to become more democratic. In that situation, it becomes a question of how democracy works in realizing development and prosperity. As a form of regulation, there is a relation among actors, power relations, and mechanisms for managing resources politics in practice development.

In disclosing development politics, the study results have described powerful relations among political actors, and

¹¹ Interview with J, one of the Supervisors who works in one of the contracting companies.

¹² Recognition of a consultant of a construction company working on the APBN project in North Kolaka.

successfully identified dominant actors (politicians, entrepreneurs, and bandits) and strategies used by principal actors in managing resources. The strategies used by the dominant actors in politicizing and controlling resources at the local level are in the form of political figures, identity politics, and threat politics. The political strategy of the figure is evident from the strengthening of patronage and populism patterns underlying the management of development. Although the State exists as the ultimate authority in the distribution of resources, yet dominant and alternative actors use their patrimonial relations and business networks in gaining power and managing resources. The strengthening of the figure strategy also indicates the dominance of the elite in the development politics as well as asserting the not yet established systemic changes in the local domain.

Identity politics also still appears in the practice of power relation at the research location. Identity becomes part of a strategy to compete for access or resources, and among others, it is used to exclude competing politic actors. This great phenomenon, at least from the results of this study, shows the growth of cartel politics at the local level. The ongoing election process is colored by the practice of conspiracy between political parties and entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs can secure his business through politics and the political parties set relatively a high tariff to become a “boat” for accommodating the candidates. The situation becomes harder; because of the rise of bandits who rely on violent agents, who have been historically astronomical. Various symbols are created while organizing movement is tidied up. It is still interesting to examine whether the emergence of bandits was formed intentionally by their bosses, or whether they took advantage of opportunities because of the space in the political space of competition as in the local election is relatively freer.

Another thing that can also be noted is that local election turns out to produce strong local bosses who have a local base. For examples, in Kendari (Asrun), Konawe Selatan (Drs. H. Imran), North Kolaka (Rusda Mahmud), and Buton (Umar Samiun). Even now, Kendari City has sprouted with the emergence of ADP as an Asrun progressor. Some other areas will also sprout shoots, such as in Konawe, wanting to raise Revelation as a continuation of Drs. H. Imran.

Therefore, democratic instrumentation is needed as an effort to build the system, so that the management of development is not only dominated by dominant actors. In that situation, a steady institutionalization of political parties at the local level is required without relying on local bosses. The contribution of democracy to development can be seen by the reorganization of institutions and actors in the management of resources so that their allocation and distribution leads to equitable development.

The reconceptualization of democracy and development is directed not only to be able to manage equally between the State, the market and the society but also to redistribute resources through policies made equally by the policymakers. Changes in the role of the State at the local level are based on

common good values grow the participation of all citizens voluntarily and enthusiastically.

There is an important experience of the facts revealed from the results of this study. Although the study site has succeeded in promoting the region with macro indicators as already discussed in the beginning, the effect cannot be felt by the community evenly. The result of development is in fact not always felt by all levels of society in the district concerned, but often felt by a group of elites only. It is called as a trickle-down effect, which means that there is no distribution of development results. This is what causes a reaction in the community against the government, demanding the government to do development fairly. It should be realized from the beginning because of the failure of the development resulting from the absence of good governance, in which on the contrary, the bad governance is the one that has a growth of corrupt political practices.

CONCLUSION

Democracy provides an opportunity for all levels of society to participate actively in government and development. However, community participation in governance and development does not take place inclusively, on the contrary, it is very exclusive. Those involved in governance and development are the ones who win the competition in the electoral process. They are the ones that determine the direction and purpose of development. The process of democracy in North Kolaka emerges leaders from entrepreneurs and bandit backgrounds. Their background strongly influences the vision of development. Infrastructure construction is the primary focus. Intimidation becomes the way used to win the competition and close the space for criticism of some deviations from the practice of collusion and nepotism. The results of this study conclude that democracy succeeds in promoting the region with macro indicators that it achieves, but the effect is not felt by the community evenly, except the ruling family.

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