

The Role of Expansion Movement in the Establishment of New Region in Indonesia: A Study of Parigi Moutong Regency

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Abstract

The study explains the dimension of the structure of resource mobilization in the political movement of new region establishment in Indonesia. The establishment of new regions has been seen only in the utilization of formal structures. In fact, the involvement of non-formal organizations also contributes to the importance and determines a region expansion. The study employed a qualitative approach with the support of primary and secondary data related to the establishment of Parigi Moutong Regency. The data was obtained through in-depth interviews with the group figures of the expansion. The secondary data was obtained from mass media and government agencies as well as personal documentation. The theory used was the dimension of the resource mobilization structure of the political opportunity structure (POST) theory. The study reveals that the success of the expansion movement in Parigi Moutong Regency for their structure resource mobilization by civil society organizations or non-formal to formal institutional build up pressure by using lobbying based on personal, professional and primordial networks. The influence of national political reforms motivated and mobilized the mobilization of movement resources as a repetition of the movement that had taken place in the previous expansion movement in Parigi Moutong Regency.

Keywords

movement; group; expansion; local politics; mobilization structure.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of forming new regions in Indonesia remains as a *latent* problem in the political issue of central and local government relationship (Benyamin Hossein 1993; Anne Booth 2011; Asnan 2007). The region expansion after the reform is a repetition period, like during the political era of 1950s (Bemmelen, Sita Van; Raben, Remco 2011). One of the instruments that reinforce the situation is related to the

issue and political agenda. The widespread demands of regional autonomy are often accompanied with mobilization and raise ethnic sentiments. Considering the process of incorporation of old state in Indonesia which is characterized by primordialism, it becomes the empirical reality of Indonesia.

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The nationalistic character of Indonesia emerges as a large house constructed from a very plural primordial entity. These entity and ethnicity are living reality that cannot be ruled out in national politics. This phenomenon is an empirical condition of nationality as a real implication of Indonesian nationality which consists of different regions as well as the growth of regions with the identity and structure of power relations between the elite and its people. The willingness to realize the regional autonomy had spawned a series of regional rebellions in the 1950s, where various regional movements demanded that the government change its policies which were considered highly centralized, by giving greater autonomy (Lev 2009; Harvey 1984; Bebbington 2010;).

The territorial identity for every community is important because the region is the space of interaction that connects people, leaders and resources. In Indonesian context of governmental policies, the situation is reflected by the existence of regional autonomy. Large-scale of decentralization is being undertaken, one of which is the expansion of the region, thus becoming an alternative link between community, state and local leaders (Richard Bennet 2010). In the area of Ternate, students articulate their political interests through involvement in the arena of power through instruments of regional organizations (*ethnic*) (Basri Amin 2014). As in the context of Parigi Moutong, young people play their own interests in the arena of power and in terms of taking advantage of practical opportunities for them. The expansion provides hope and opportunity to the community to be able to participate directly in the government for the benefit of their community. Although considered not to be a solution to the plurality of social life, culture and religion, as the phenomenon of conflict in this era of decentralization as a mirror in view of the dilemmatic side of decentralization. (Davidson 2008).

The implementation of political policies concerning an unsuitable affair, its application may have adverse implications for society. This is because it can provide

excesses that are far from desired and not in accordance with the characteristics of the community. Radical changes in political contexts are dangerous because they are uncertain (Montesquieu 1977). According to him, misery is often preferred over improvement or something that is actually better but not yet established. The selection of new forms is far from the availability of necessary instruments to society and plagiarism methods are sometimes made the choice in political contestation. Consequently, it becomes a battle of choice of ideal conception. There is a policy which serves only as a repetition and duplication of previously oppressive policies. Emphasis on the tendency of selecting certain policy forms will result in other matters, including in the context of decentralization and the establishment of new regions in Indonesia.

The decentralization policy is a momentum that led a big bang of decentralization in 2001 and 2006 in Indonesia (Fengler & Hofman 2009). The implications of freedom of regional autonomy create new effects for democracy. The phenomenon marks the birth of strong people (bossism) or the emergence of new local oligarchy. It is an implication of the weakness of a state to create the necessary conditions for alternative society (Sidel 2005, p. 62; Lim 2013). Other decentralized political phenomena are related to the emergence of *Jawara* in Banten (Masaaki and Hamid 2008), and studies in Bali, Bengkulu, West Java, and South Kalimantan (Bridget Welsh 2008, p. 474). Each of the study suggests that decentralization has provided local opportunities through the institutionalization of violent groups into political-economic capital. The indication of other experts about the choice of a decentralized approach used in Indonesia is a neo-institutionalism. The approach misinterpret the idea of autonomy to become radical change (Vedi R. Hadiz 2010). Decentralization has been said to create *predators* as the chain of the new order which quickly master the local power through money, violence and media. Specifically, the formation of new autonomous regions (DOB) gives rise to a change in land use and

farming communities rather than strengthens the policy to support agriculture that is the main source of life in the village (Sayuti 2015; Valenzuela 2012; Uitermark 2012; Lund 2011; Uitermark 2012;).

Studies related to the movement of regional formation are almost absent in the literature of political studies in Indonesia. One of the classic studies in political science is related to motivation and dimensions that underlie the uprising of *Permesta* in Makassar and turned into an arena of violence in Minahasa (Barbara 1984). According to Harvey, *Permesta* movement is a threat to the central government which is considered dominant in the implementation of decentralization. The movement also shows the disappointment over the state structure which is considered too bureaucratic, inefficient and corrupt. Studies related to decentralization-related regional movements can also be seen in Aceh and central government relationships. The birth of the Aceh rebellion was a political event that was awakened with Aceh's long background on religious and regionalism that the central government did not understand (Nazaruddin 1990).

This type of management of local government had taken place long before the modern colonial government took place. Indeed, it is found that the areas in Indonesia since the Dutch era were arbitrarily set in accordance with the Dutch system. The local society fought the Dutch according to their struggle and character determined by history, culture and traditions as well as the direction of the local group (Audrey 1989). The phenomenon of decentralization of the era in 1950s shows that the ability to crush various disintegration movements in fact does not eliminate regional assumptions and beliefs related to their belief in the need for greater regional autonomy in order to further promote the development of their regions. (Kahin 1993)

Regional autonomy in the course of Indonesian national politics has always been a sensitive issue (Vel 2007; Tidey 2014; Li 2000; Klinken 2011; 2007). The development of autonomy which relies on state mo-

ney has shaped a certain political class. The centralized power of policy and allocation of money in local cities create regional-central typology. Other than that, current regional autonomy has fallen into the identity politics and terms of "region son" and the indigenous people and immigrants. This reality is an open and uncontrolled implication in the reform era. Communities and their elites seek to achieve state resources through various means with diverse interests that cause confusion, especially in the formation of areas that many claimed to fail (Hall 2015; Connors 2010; Wampler 2012).

Assessment of political movements using dimensional approaches of mobilization structure of resource in the political opportunity structure theory (POST) is still its infancy. This theory is described by Mc Charty which sets out the structure of resource mobilization is "*..those collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, which through people Mobilize and engage in collective action*" (McAdam, McCharty, Zald 2004). The emphasis is on institutional both formal and informal as one unity of community movement. The main purpose of this theory is "*mobilizing structures for understanding the trajectory of particular social movements and broader social movement cycles; how can people understand a particular trajectory of social movements and cycles of the broader social movement. The focus of resource mobilization is the meso-level groups, informal organizations and networks as syntheses in social movements. The contexts refer to various groups of expansion (Pemekaran) movements in Parigi Moutong. The processes and mechanisms that occur in expansion cases are interesting objects. The essence of political movements as they relate to the struggle of civil society influence policy by building allied with political parties in parliament.*

Another important element seen by McCharty is, *the choice that activist make about how to more or less formally pursue change have consequences for their ability to raise material resources and mobilize dissident efforts, as well as for society-wide legitimacy-all which can directly affect the chances*

that their common effort will succeed" (McAdam, McCharty dan Zald 2004). In addition, the other element which should also be considered by McCharty and Wolfson is the availability of resources, especially in informal structures as important contributors to the rise of local movements (Morris and Mueller 1992). This understanding emphasizes the strategic choice of the movement to be able to manage and maximize non-formal institutions in the political movement. By using them, people will be able to receive a stronger impact on the movement's ability to optimize material resources and mobilize resistance. The expansion of Parigi Moutong movement is actually a formal institutional initiative. In fact, there is a difference between the formal political elite and the civil society that places the political movement of society as an option.

Local political issues related to regional autonomy, especially the formation of the area above, is a value that has a certain meaning for the identity of the community. The political journey and process behind the birth of Indonesia is an important dimension that cannot be immediately eliminated in the development and progress of Indonesian politics. The study related to the structure of resource mobilization of the expansion movement in Parigi Moutong is interesting in relation to the continuity of regional formation movement. It struggled by involving many elements such as political parties, local elites and especially the general public who sacrificed their property, time and energy since 1963 and later the widespread post-reformation was successful in 2002.

This study also confirms the essence of decentralization as an instrument of democracy in the management of local governance. Understanding related to decentralization proposed Oxhorn is *"...for all of these reasons, even limited decentralization helps strengthen civil society"* (Oxhorn, Joseph, Selee, (ed) 2004). Decentralization is something that is shaped from below as a strengthening of civil society so that decentralization as a policy must be dynamic and a conceptualization developed in dyna-

mic relationships between central and local governments.

This research was conducted in Parigi Moutong Regency which was expanded from Donggala Regency in 2002. Parigi Moutong Regency division which was a protest cycle had been going on since 1963 and developed in post-reformation era 1998. The expansion of Parigi Moutong was born from the rise of civil movement with the birth of various groups of *expansion* movement. The group was formed generally based on territorial *primordialism* and also because of proximity, professionalism or friendship. The study of the structure of the mobilization of this political movement became an interesting case study in looking at the phenomenon of expansion in Indonesia.

This study used qualitative approach with the in-depth interview of question lists for the informants related to the expansion of Parigi Moutong expansion groups (GEMPPAR, AMMUK, FPPKPM, BPSPKPM and university students) as well as the society figures and parliament members. This study was also supported by secondary data from some state institutions such as the local government of Parigi Moutong Regency, Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi Province and BPS), the secretariat of DPRD Central Sulawesi Province, DPR RI and local media (Newspaper, Website) and personal documentation. The primary data was recorded and transcribed to ease the segmentation and interpretation.

The Expansion Movement of Parigi Moutong

One important dimension of a territory is *primordialism* because it deals with someone's identity and thus become an important indicator to maintain the existence of an area (Benyamin Hossein 2009, p. 2). The fact that the Indonesian nation is diverse from the beginning is a real situation. Indonesia is a country built from a lot of different regions. The difference of Indonesian society is not solely related to identities, ethnicities and races, but also state entity consisting of various areas of traditional kingdom and the history of regions which

were built by colonialism (Hatta, Zulfikri Sulaiman 2010). Both forms of territoriality are common characteristics that encourage each community to fight for the establishment of a definitive region. Different perspective which suggests that regional bureaucracy in the era of regional autonomy throughout Indonesia tends to create tribal/regional bureaucracy. It is prone to corruption and ignores the principles of modern bureaucracy such as meritocracy, expertise, impersonal and efficiency principle (Miftah Thoha, Ratnawati 2013).

The changes in the structure of modern governance have consequences for the realization of territories in a single arrangement, both politically and administratively. The change also gives economic and social implications to the society. Indonesia is a government in the form of a republic with a government management system built in a hierarchical order from the center to the region as one unity of Republic of Indonesia. This form places the existence of power nodes in each autonomous region to be able to perform certain duties and authorities according to the provisions of the legislation.

Local government policies have existed since UU. No. 1 1945; UU. No. 22 1948 about the core guidelines of local government; UU NIT. No. 44 1950 about Government of East Indonesia; UU. No. 1 1957 about the core of Local Government; Presidential Decree No. 6 1959 Duty Submission from Central Government in General Governmental Affairs, Assistantship of Civil Servant and Financial Submission toward Local Government; UU RI No. 18 1965 about The Core Guideline of Local Government; UU No. 5 1974 The Core Guideline of Local Government; UU. No. 22 1999; UU. No. 32 2004; UU. No. 12 2008; UU. No. 23 2014, UU. No. 2 2015, UU. No. 18 2015 AND UU No 23 2014.

The substantial core in the above policies is in the urgency of the authority arising from the recognition of the status of the autonomous region, which places decentralization as a transformation of governance (Santoso 2013, p. 41). The existence of an autonomous region is not merely seen as an administrative area but also a politi-

cal identity of society. The autonomy is also viewed as the achievement of other things as the city's position on colonial perspectives that still affect the community who can regulate the surrounding area or eliminate the peripheral and central impression (Low 1996). Local government becomes a media and destination (Mutallib and Khan 2013, p. 112) ". The statement further states that:

"... Because the division has instrumental values as well as objectives that are: First, local government is the result of the implementation of the distribution of political power so that the government can effectively act with certainty; second, just like other levels of government, it is important to realize the dominant basic values at a certain time and place ... "

The emphasis of the definition illustrates the problems related to the worldview in governance of Indonesia. It is not surprising that the establishment of new areas is used as a means to achieve goals related to welfare and development. It is the implications of welfare and development of the distribution system by the state through a variety of financing mechanisms with a system of cross-subsidies. The paradigm shapes upward development traits, especially for regions in Indonesia that have not been able to fully finance their Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD) through Local Revenue (PAD).

The centralistic mechanism in determining the management and utilization of such state assets has become an organic element in a regional development. This system works within the institutional structure of government which is emphasized by the existence of autonomous region status for certain region. The autonomous area in this context becomes the source of opportunity to prosper and receive the development cake. Therefore, it becomes a trigger to accelerate the formation of the desire and the interest of the society which is driven by the elite to manage their area independently.

The formation of autonomous regions that prioritizes administrative requirements

and procedures tends to be very elite and is more concerned with the interests of local elites who have not been assigned to regional positions than the will of the local people (Surbakti 2013, p. 28). Different appraisal states that when an area becomes a new autonomous region, it will lead to more attractiveness of social, political and economic interests. According to him, this is caused by the formulation of policies that are not transparent and accountable just yet (Swasanany 2012). Redistricting is also seen as the willingness of local officials and local elites strategy to get funds from the central government (bureaucratic and political rent-seeking)(Aragon, Lorrain M. 2007, p. 49).

In fact there, are other mechanisms that grow from the existence of historical values and become stigmatization that builds on the surrounding circumstances. The improvement of development and political dynamics in the autonomous regions of other regions gives rise to social and political jealousy for other regions. These situations drive dynamics the establishment of the area to flourish and cause even violence. The reality of political contestation in each region generally comes from the characteristics of the old Indonesia in colonial era which was constantly awakened from strongly primordial dimension. The findings of the study in the local base line of democracy suggest that the use of legitimacy of local wisdom through customary institutions in the era of regional autonomy is only an ornamental and ceremonial event of local government (Alamsyah, M. Nur and Savirani, Amalinda 2015, p. 91).

The formation of new regions will always give rise to resource mobilization. Various potentials of institutional structure mobilization will seek an opportunity to obtain the status of the autonomous region either as a manifestation of the recognition of regional identity related to *primordialism*, ethnicity and position. As stated by Surbakti, the tendency of expansion mechanism by prioritizing aspects of administrative requirements will always be elitist. The approach becomes contradictory when looking at the

view that the expansion fails because it is determined more by political lobbies than the technical problems of governance (Djohermansyah Djohan 2003, p. 113).

Reform provides many opportunities for the birth of various changes in the society. The transformation that occurred increases the euphoria related to the role and influence of society through organized interests to form a political group (Andrew Heywod 2014, p. 429). The dynamics of central and regional relationship has long been widely questioned regarding the provision of regional expansion opportunities underlying regional autonomy in Indonesia (Hosseini, Wahidin 2013). Generally, Parigi Moutong regency is an area that has overall potential to be established as a new area. This is stated in the conclusion of the evaluation results of Balitbang Ministry of internal Affairs of Indonesia. The same view expressed Muhiddin a politician of the Golkar party since the end of the new order era until today who suggests that:

“... The birth of Parigi Moutong is because of its strategic location and heterogeneous population so it will be able to develop their area. Its main potential such as agriculture with technical irrigation is very good. Besides, politically, they will give birth many opportunities to be leaders in the region. For areas such as Central Sulawesi region, then the regional expansion is done so that they can develop. In addition to these potentials, the elites of Parigi Moutong are very supportive. The community also fully supports its plan so that it is synergistic. One of the main triggers of the expansion of Parigi Moutong is the existence of political groups which hold the formation of Parigi Moutong. The main purpose that is used as the direction of expansion is the service but is also used for other purposes...” (Muhiddin, Alamsyah 2016)

The expansion of New Autonomous Region (DOB) until 2014 in Indonesia as the final stage of regional establishment creates 8 (eight) Provinces and 175 (one hundred and seventy five) regencies and 34 (thirty four) cities. The number of new autonomo-

us regions (DOBs), if added to the total area of Indonesia, is 34 Provinces, 416 regencies and 98 Cities (Dirjen.PUOD-kemendagri 2015). Central Sulawesi province, which was originally consisted of four districts and one city, in 2014 has become 12 (twelve) regencies and 1 (one) city. The proliferation is considered related to the low *distortion* performance index New Autonomous Region.

The Mobilization of Non-Formal Institutional Resource

Initially, the mobilization of expansion movement of Parigi Moutong is a critical initiative from Parigi college students who see the existence of irregularities and the lack of seriousness from formal institutions in following up the amendment of DPRD of Donggala Regency. The moving of first capital city which should be done simultaneously and the growing information about the failure of the formation of Parigi Moutong because it is considered will not be able to finance the region create the initiatives. The silence of the government's formal structure in Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi Province and Donggala and Provincial DPRD's justify the concern.

The students obtain the limited information from non-formal network through the relationship of individual politicians, as well as bureaucracy. Although for the sake of information and are armed with the information, the students build assumptions for themselves related to the fate of the formation of Parigi Moutong. The students also cultivate relationships with student groups and political elites from three other areas in Central Sulawesi who are also waiting for the policy to be expanded together with Parigi Moutong namely Buol, Morowali and Banggai Islands. Through this interaction, the students get leakage that the three regions have successfully bloomed and the area Parigi Moutong has failed because it did not have enough ability to finance himself when it is expanded.

The students form the Youth Action Unity of East Coast Student Students (KAPPM-SPT) campaign with a purpose to

advocate and action related to the unclear formation of Parigi Moutong Regency. The students assume that the political parties after the 1999 election no longer paid attention to the memorandum of the Donggala Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) and more competed for power. The group was led by Hamzah Tjakunu a student from Muhammadiyah University of Palu and was active in the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM) of Central Sulawesi.

The students mobilized power to the political elite in the city of Palu even to Jakarta, although it did not provide clear and maximum results. The group of students then preferred a strategy to influence the mass in Parigi to get support related to the formation of Parigi Moutong. Using the ways of dimensioning local wisdom called *silaturahmi* (gathering), the students came to every community, traditional and religious leaders to discuss their plans, goals and willingness to form groups that supported the formation of Parigi Moutong. The framing method used alternative media strategies was capable of generating support mobilization.

The mobilization of cultural resources was successful with the acceptance of indigenous figures including the support of Ada Tagunu as the tradition ruler of Parigi Kingdom. Later, almost all of Parigi's noble relatives supported although they refused it in the beginning. This is commonplace considering that some members of the Parigi royal family are part of the East Coast Family Clan Forum (KKPT) led by Sutomo Borman. The conflict was caused by the students' willingness and insistence on requesting KKPT which was an institution used for bargaining power. The institution of the community is considered to be only used by a group of people for personal power. The silence of the politicians became high especially Golkar Party after the transfer of the capital to Banawa. The strength of the splitting spirit that had previously been awakened in Parigi became the trigger for the figures to ignore the differences and to choose to be involved in the students' plan.

Through utilizing *Bantaya* meeting

(custom meeting room) in Masigi village which is the center of the Kingdom Parigi, they began discussions or deliberations regarding plans of expansion of the establishment of Parigi Moutong. The framing of issues by the students had revived the spirit of Parigi's formation struggle that had been going since 1963 and involved some of these figures in the talks related to the establishment of Parigi Moutong. Parigi Moutong figures included Thamrin Ntosa who was a prosecutor and Halim Kariming who was a former secretary of Formation Team Parigi in 1960s joined the group. The process of this movement as it rotated back with the addition of new figures as presented as cycles of protests by (Tarrow in McAdam et al. 2004).

These efforts led the emergence of the collective consciousness of society as a common complaint to justice. Spontaneously, the formation of the expansion group recruited Abdullah Pasau who was one of the indigenous leaders and a noble relative of the Kingdom of Parigi and was known as the chief of security for the elected Chinese community as chairman and his deputy was his noble Awalunyah Pasau who was former subdistrict head in several places on the East Coast and chose to retire and get into politics as a member of the Golkar Party. The group that was born under the name GEMPPAR (*Gerakan Masyarakat Peduli Pemekaran Parigi Moutong*), is expected to be a community as a platform for the struggle for the establishment of Parigi Moutong Regency.

The first step of GEMPPAR group, according to the agreement, would be in convoy or some sort of show of force in Parigi City to be a medium for promotion. The process of the convoy or procession suddenly turned uncontrollable, when the mobs without getting the command, attacked and dispersed the ongoing office process at Parigi. The mass of GEMPPAR boycotted Parigi City and closed a number of office facilities by allowing several strategic institutions to remain open, despite the conflict between the GEMPPAR masses. The crowd demanded that an

inquiry linked group has claimed to be the unreadiness of Parigi Moutong regency to be accountable for the autonomous administration. The statement resulted in Parigi Moutong failed to become the definitive area. The week-long boycott movement stopped the economic processes in Parigi because the market was closed and economic activity did not run, until the coming of the military district commander Donggala by the governor opened the boycott because it considered the act of treason.

Through discussions with GEMPPAR group, it was decided that this action would be channeled to the government. The Commander of KODIM of Donggala facilitated and escorted vehicles that would bring the action to Palu. The provision opened after returning from Palu. In general, the meeting of the regents and provincial secretaries remained unclear with GEMPPAR group thus giving an ultimatum to make greater action and boycott Palu if there was no clear fate about Parigi Moutong Regency formation.

The process of formation of administrative areas, as done in 1998, there should be an indicator of government policy-making. In fact, political perspective is more prominent in the absence of political support from the parent regions, thus it failed to expand. Reforms were able to mobilize a variety of non-formal resources in Indonesia with an increased demand for the establishment of regional division of Parigi continued the same. Based on the strategic considerations, the military justified the point of the move done by the community to look for justice to government.

After the heroic action in Parigi and the rejection of East Coast Donggala Regent assistant for being inaugurated, the government issued the Law No. 51 of 1999 which officially inaugurated the head of regency of Buol, Morowali and Banggai islands. This condition triggered Parigi Moutong community to conduct an action in September 1999. The Act, not only made people Parigi no longer believed what they were experiencing. The political elites and the local government did not see Parigi as something

to be reckoned with in the arena of Central Sulawesi Province. The Parigi elite society silenced by the policy thus the expansion movement of Parigi support became more disorganized.

One form of action is done using the campus network and personal network by Hamzah Tjakunu through personal close networking to seek support through Parigi entrepreneurs who have been successful in Jakarta and even the world. The businessman prepares for the possibility of financing the action of supporting Parigi by hiring the urban poor in the land as a mass that would be joined together with the mass of Gorontalo students who were struggling with the action in the House of Representatives for the division of the province.

The real evidence of the failure of Parigi Moutong uplifted people of East Coast community. It is also a part of the plan which would implement openly governor's election in Central Sulawesi Provincial Parliament that presented political dynamics of political parties in this area for the first time. This contest was a fight that pitted incumbent HB Paliudju who was a soldier, especially the Golkar Party candidate Aminuddin Ponulele, who was a former scholar who held a professor/teacher position at the University of Tadulako. The contestation had been blowing hard after the 1999 election so that any public dimension would be a space of political contestation. This contestation was also supported by the inclusion of various candidates who had begun to dare to compete such as azis Tanju, a former bureaucrat. His last position was as an auxiliary governor of the Donggala promoted by PKB (National Awakening Party).

Tanju Azis group formed Parigi Moutong Proliferation Concern Forum (FPPKPM) to garner some public figures of Parigi with businessmen and bureaucrats backgrounds who were supported by trained bureaucrats. At the time, they also served as senior bureaucrats in the civil service as well as provincial government assistants. The ability of bureaucrats who would view a fairly good area to map problem was the main capital FPPKPM group in addition to for-

mal institutions both at local and national levels. The family-owned media availability Toana namely Mercusuar was also a capability that provided a major influence on the movement of this group. The tendency to be a part of movement that could be more accommodating to the central government is the attached stigma of this group from other groups. Nevertheless, working mechanism is built with professional networks and proximity to various parties which were able to connect the group with others.

One of the efforts undertaken by this group is to negotiate directly to Jakarta namely autonomy area minister's office, the ministry of internal affairs and Parliament. The distrust of the mechanisms of formal structure that happened with previous Parigi Moutong failure was an important lesson that was used as a justification of this group. FPPKPM group was able to have audience with Prof. Ryass Rasyid who used his proximity to Dewi Yasin Limpo who acquainted familiar with Husni Toana. While GEMPPAR group which at the same time also wanted to conduct hearings by relying on one staff Prof. Ryass, was only accepted by the minister of regional autonomy outside the room. On the substance of the competition has the same estuary, seeking the support of the failed expansion of Parigi Moutong.

Looking at the formation of groups, the actual pattern is very strongly attached by *primordialism*, especially on GEMPPAR which was characterized as Parigi society. The group which was also subsequently formed was AMMUK (The Community Alliance of Moutong For Regency). Although there was a logical framework which served as the basis and foundation in the formation of the division in Parigi Moutong namely the consultation mechanism and *silaturahmi* which can dissolve the various tense situations as the result of the expansion movement.

Almost all movements are formed based on formation mechanism and related primordial orientation. The group is geographically split into North and South regions which showed the character of the radical movement. As GEMPPAR boycotts,

AMMUK action in Gorontalo came out of central Sulawesi if the plan was not successful. Even a splinter group that formed later as BPS-PKM was a fraction of GEMPPAR and was a representation of society Parigi conducted large-scale action by occupying Parliament Donggala and cause damage to offices and vehicles were damaged and contained behind the office.

The dynamics of the expansion movement of Parigi Moutong spawned vibrant civil society that did not think the political approach. As a result, it raised various social movements that were reflected the disclosure of the injustice. Various actions shown were not solutions to solve the problem to achieve political purposes of establishing a new area. The actions from students, youth and various other elements in Parigi or in Palu were only social movements to build public awareness of Parigi people related to Moutong justice. Even the action of social movements as done by BPS-PKPM with vandalized and pursued Donggala Chairman of the Parliament due to his statement that the division of Parigi Moutong was delayed to 2001, turned damaging loss of confidence among sub-ethnic entities and region in Parigi Moutong. The treatment for groups outside Parigi had been out of the corridor plan

the establishment of regional and community showed its own winning attitude Parigi. Some communities such as Ampibabo, Tinombo threatens exit plan Moutong Parigi formation. The treatment for groups outside Parigi had been out of the corridor plan of the establishment of regional and community. Some communities such as Ampibabo and Tinombo threatened to exit the plan of Parigi Moutong formation.

The context was not generally opened; that what was meant by the chairman of the parliament actually just reread the letter from the Ministry of Internal Affairs related to the expansion process of Parigi Moutong with the evaluation process and the visit would be carried out in 2001. There was a miscommunication between the movements for each division group which managed the information according to their respective interests. These conditions made the main expansion movement groups of students and youth groups Parigi criticized various group of community. (SKH. Tinombala 2000)

The worst conflict then took the group along with the expansion movement of Parigi Moutong elite to seek a solution through the mechanism of public culture/ deliberation. The youth meeting in Kasimbar was

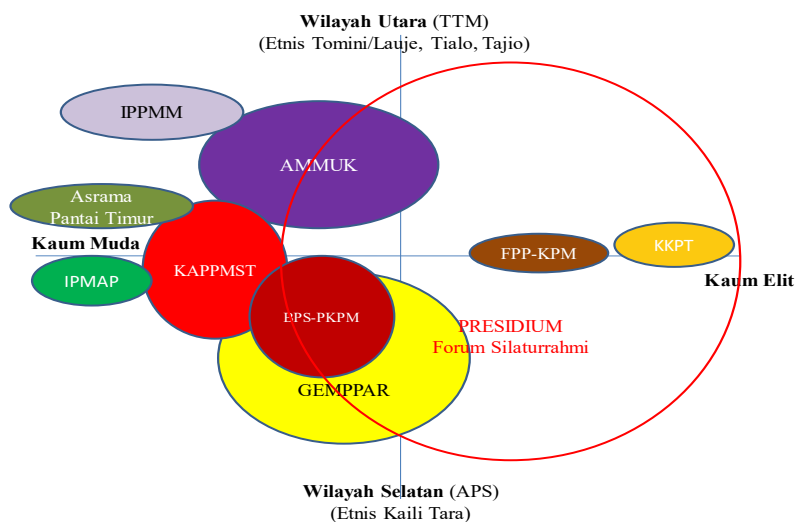


Figure 1. The Sorting of Expansion Movement Groups based on regional and sub-ethnic features in Parigi Regency
 Source: M. Nur Alam, Jakarta; Fisip UI, 2016

conducted in one of the oldest kingdom areas in the East Coast. The meeting was proposed by KNPI Donggala who was the son of East Coast Ampibabo, Olumsyah Saehana. The meeting used elements of cultural wisdom named *Bantaya* of Kasimbar Village to bring together all elements of youth from the existing six districts. The objective is primarily related to strengthen the commitment of Parigi Moutong formation who pledged that all elements of the community would jointly strive for the establishment of expansion and capital for Parigi Moutong would be in Parigi. The commitment was the glue and consensual mechanisms for all elements of youth throughout the East coast. To carry this commitment in order to become more widespread impact and not only youth, Palu community leaders of Parigi Moutong organized a East Coast community *Silaturrahmi*.

The *sillaturahmi* of the community managed to bring together all elements of a good East Coast community in Palu or from Parigi, Tomini, Tinombo and Moutong regions. They created East Coast Community *Silaturrahmi* Forum of Donggala, which later became known as the Expansion Presidium. The consensus of the meeting gave the task to establish institutions presidium to be an umbrella for all the existing groups for expansion movement. This group continued to politically work all at once to collect the file as administrative requirements. The support from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle with full support Fauziah Abdullah, chairman of DPD PDIP Sulteng, then Tim presidium outlined steps to prepare from an academic paper, lobbying to parliament and to build both personal and institutional networks that are expected to support the establishment of Moutong Parigi.

Amid the uncertainty about the conditions of Government Regulation 129 2000 which obliged their academic text, they drafted the necessary document. All the documents collected by the team were compiled by the Presidium team division with the support from the personal relationship of Tadulako University scholars to make a

SWOT analysis related to the formation of Parigi Moutong (Awalunsyah, Alam 2016). Even if the comparison between the needs of academic texts in conformance of the requested data was not comparable, the political initiative of the Parliament in fact only required local political legitimacy to be used as an initial step. The document only served as a formal requirement, although the real potential was far from adequate Parigi Moutong to be expanded. Nevertheless, the document advocated the establishment of Parigi Moutong and in 1998, different rules had been evaluated by the Research and Development Department of Home Affairs.

Through all those efforts, Parigi Moutong was proposed to be expanded. Another effort was by negotiating with and visiting the chairman of MPR through personal networks and Muhammadiyah. The group of East Coast descendant community in Jakarta also helped to facilitate a meeting with the parties who could help providing facilities and funding potential. All the elements of Parigi Moutong supported each other to support and finance the initial establishment of regency. The involvement of local entrepreneurs have a lot to contributions in encouraging movement in addition to Moutong Parigi formation given society at will starting from Rp. 1000, per household (Asmir, Alam, 2016). Not all of the funding potentials were accepted as part of the expansion movement plan. The request from group of religious teachers to increase their salary was not approved by the regent because it would be a burden for Parigi Moutong after being definitive areas. (Prophet Bidja, Alam 2016).

The formation of Parigi Moutong was done with the limited financing. In order to be escorted in the process of discussion in the working committee of the House of Representatives which intensively lasted for approximately two months in Jakarta, one of the ways is by limiting the funds for the Presidium team sent to Jakarta. The reason for choosing the team who went by the presidium of the team is based on two main things: the capacity to support the work related to the process in the sub *panja* (Working

Committee) and *panja* the Committee of Commission II of the House of Representatives, as well as having a private financing to be able to support themselves and the team in Jakarta (Borahima, Asmir, Alam 2016). The relief and flow of support from various sources obtained by Parigi Moutong formation team by Fauziah Abdullah is when Parigi Moutong with other 22 regencies/municipalities have been set by the Parliament in plenary. For the sake of celebration, they set up the financing for the public celebration for Parigi Moutong people in Jakarta (Fauziah, Alam 2016).

The Dynamics of Formal Institutional Mobilization

The formation of a new expanding region commonly encounters pros and cons. This includes the establishment plan of Parigi Moutong Regency that has been initiated long before that since 1963. The struggle showed signs that the plan would be successful when the fighters of this establishment could encourage the expansion movement until the phase of gaining support in parliament with the bill of formation of Parigi Moutong Regency through the DPR-GR initiative rights by Ishak Moro (Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia / PSII) and his friends in 1969. The effort was initially driven by the elite political parties Parigi, followed by public figures Parigi Moutong although the attempt failed due to the influence of the political situation ahead of the 1971 general election and the end of DPR-GR period in 1970.

The lobbying and negotiating ability of political parties and elites of Parigi Moutong to use the network in Jakarta pushed the bill quite well. However, due to the parliamentary period ended, the activities were delayed. In general, there is a reluctance of the government for not releasing Parigi Moutong to be able to stand on its own. At least there are two logical reasons behind it. First, the area of Parigi Moutong is a fertile region with abundant natural resources potential, including crops, forests and agriculture so that it becomes a source of tax revenue for local revenue (PAD). Second, Parigi Moutong is a broad area, so that the loss of Parigi Moutong

would also eliminate the opportunity for elite dominant power in Donggala. Although the area is only comprised of six (6) districts and 1 (one) assistant regents office and several agencies coordinated directly with the Province.

This condition is firmly expressed by some people as informants who state that: "In Donggala, there are some people who disagree with the expansion, especially the owners of the power of *the status quo*, although there are some people who like the expansion. The main debate is related to the expansion of space will make the broad power lost. And other thing, that was a long time ago, the financing of local government districts could only gained from the domestic revenue (PAD) in which the money was once taken in districts. Therefore, the more that can be taken in districts, there will be more funds that can be spent on" (Taswin, Alam 2016).

The systemic administration area of the new order era driven through Law No. 5 of 1974, actually had a financing mechanism which was also derived from the general allocation fund (DAU). However, because of the management of a centralized system, the law was a merely written jargon. The small sources of financing that could be managed by the local radio tax, and dogs tax, making the area had always been a part which allowed obtaining financing area. For people who came from surplus region, community or Parigi Moutong of east coast who are also elements of society and bureaucracy assumes no injustice in the treatment of their territory. The bond of area was part of prompted efforts to be able to support the establishment of a definitive area that was Parigi Moutong.

The expansion movement of Parigi community was conducted by both elements of community organizations such as the large family harmony of Toraranga (KKBT), east coast family harmony (KKPT) and student organizations such as the Youth Union of Students Parigi (IPPMAP). They urged their new status for Parigi to be the capital of Palu after it was set to be the administrative city and would be upgraded to a municipality. Donggala Regency government that was

dominated by elite Donggala / Kaili, felt that it was not possible given that the Donggala was also an area of long history in the past, as well as the commercial port city and one of the oldest kingdoms (Prophet Bidja, Alam 2016). Although the Central Sulawesi provincial government provided the possibility Parigi public demands could only be achieved, but elite Donggala disapproved it.

The Parigi political forces in parliament of Donggala conducted several movements after their loss of political voting ballot on the determination of Donggala new capital. Voting in the Donggala Parliament succeeded in choosing Banawa as the capital, beating Parigi. Donggala Assembly Members of the electoral district of Parigi Moutong/East Coast submitted a memorandum to the Donggala House of Parliament. One of the basic principles is the stronger and more vigorous mass movement and Parigi push into the capital. Therefore, win-win solutions offered was that Parigi Moutong would be separately divided from Donggala Regency.

The memorandum was successful and known as a memorandum No. 16 1995, the core: First, the capital of Donggala will be moved to Banawa; Second, Donggala will be expanded to form the Parigi Moutong Regency; Third, the time for points 1 and 2 will be done simultaneously. The political progress of movement in 1995 was a success of Suto-mo Borman and his friends as legislators in Donggala East Coast's electoral district election of 1992. The progress had the support and response from all elements of society Parigi Moutong. Simultaneously with the completion of the 1997 election and reform in 1998, in conjunction with the Research and Development Department of Internal Affairs to evaluate for the continuation of recommendation in getting the real picture related to the transfer of the capital to Banawa and formation of Parigi Moutong Regency. The evaluation was a technocratic completeness by the central government and the city confronted Banawa with Dalaka which were never prepared to become the capital city. Although Parigi was initially involved, for their memorandum to Parliament Donggala-

la, it was excluded from the evaluation plan because it would be assessed separately for the assessment of expansion. The result of the evaluation was not different with the expectation, especially in points 1 and 2.

Banawa city was set to be the new capital of Donggala without confirmation of Parigi Moutong decision to be expanded. None of the political movement in Donggala parliament and the government was concerned about the delay in the fulfillment of memorandum. Political actors were more involved in the political contest as a result of the reform of the 1998 with the plan of the various political changes until 1999, until the elections held in 1999. The period of political transition that is dynamic in Indonesia that marked the birth of many parties in the election like the of the 1955 election. The opinion of establishment efforts plan in Parigi Moutong Regency was vanished after post-reform politics.

The phenomenon of government at various levels also felt the rapid change of political climate and was characterized by increasingly strong impetus of reform and democratization that comes from the student movement. At the same time, Central Sulawesi province was also affected by the euphoria of political change including regional autonomy, and also facing the social conflict in Poso. The expansion was one solution that was thought of as an alternative. Morowali as part of Poso then proposed to be expanded out of Poso. And through a less complicated political negotiations, the proposals were followed by Buol and Banggai Islands to be separated from Toli Toli and Banggai Regencies. Parigi Moutong was also proposed to follow such action by the provincial government following the three (3) the proposed area to be expanded even without the support of Donggala regency.

The result of government policy was a rapid product of a political policy. The proposal on the establishment of four areas in Central Sulawesi was to establish Buol, Morowali, Banggai Islands and Parigi Moutong Regencies. In the same year, the Act. No. 51 of 1999 on the Establishment of Buol, Morowali and Banggai islands was released. The

decision did not mention Parigi Moutong. Therefore, it became a clear statement on the failure of Parigi Moutong establishment. The establishment of a technical team formation for Parigi Moutong Regency by Regent Nabi Bidja was just newly done on October 1, 1999, or three (3) days before the promulgation of Act No. 51/1999 after the pressure of Parigi mass action.

This failure did not receive a constructive response from the structure of Donggala Regency government as the central government's failure to understand the desired substance in the division proposal. Not surprisingly, the formal structure of local government was merely vacuum and did not confirm nor check on the determination of the failure of Parigi Moutong. Indeed, the issues and opinions related to the failure of the establishment and expansion plan for Parigi Moutong had been detected by the students through the mechanism of student proximity with the political elite in the Provincial Parliament and local government. Based on that information, the student moved to consolidate with the intent to encourage the formation of Moutong Parigi Regency despite the proposal remained unsuccessful after a large-scale action.

The struggle to establish Parigi Moutong struggle then generally became non-formal actions since almost all the formal elements were unsuccessful. The condition of Parigi and Palu City after the expansion of three new regions became tense because of the issues that the public Parigi would also boycott in Palu City as a result of failure of the division. Through negotiation groups of Parigi Moutong expansion, Donggala Regent finally felt cornered with a high mass pressure, agreed to issue a recommendation expansion support. In other words, these recommendations came into a new opportunity.

The recommendation which was obtained by FPPKPM that met the Donggala Regent had prepared these documents through the Donggala assistant in charge of public administration which was also the Parigi Moutong local person. Donggala Regent supported the expansion. Even the request was immediately prepared and signed.

The recommendations were successfully obtained and became the basis of a new struggle of Moutong Parigi expansion. There were fundamental weaknesses in the movement of Parigi Moutong formation which put more emphasis on political action without preparing administrative formality. Most of the movements were to urge various formal structures to support it politically. This was stated by Taswin as a bureaucrat who was heavily involved in the establishment of Parigi Moutong bureaucracy within and outside the Central Sulawesi provincial government bureaucracy, that:

“... Expansion was sometimes not understood by fellow group that later on handling such expansion. The affairs division is comprised of two (2) things that must be resolved, namely political and administrative affairs. The existing political affairs in the government of the period that is after five (5) years have been completed according to the period of office, then he can no longer be charged to begin anew. All the proposals suggested in the period after completion to be repeated again. The terms of the division of administration is supposed to be government duty because common people do not know the paperwork, although it is okay for political figures, but they should just assist. While the society politically supports through mobilization of the masses ... “(Taswin, Alam, 2016)

The formation of Parigi Moutong initially involved the government bureaucracy characterized by Donggala Regent who repeatedly had to commute to Jakarta to meet the call of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Parliament, as well as with the provincial government. The party which was not visible was the political party. Golkar Party to Donggala led by Sutomo Borman even when it seemed to be the enemy of the expansion of Parigi Moutong. It was shown by his refusal to attend the various activities that discussed the expansion. The most remembered moment for Parigi Moutong people was his refusal to sign a letter of introduction to support the division Parigi Moutong which

the chairman of the parliament had to sign.

The misunderstanding happened here. For Sutomo Borman, there were two things that made him behave that way. First, culturally, some of public figures, even the chairman of KKPT of east coast, were not involved in important processes related to this conversation. In addition, there were some people feeling offended, especially its position as one of Moutong and Tinombo riyal families which at the same time were the head of DPRD of Donggala (Aidar, Alam 2016). Second, there was interest to put capital in Tinombo which was a region where he came from and was considered more rational in terms of the division as a means of service closer to the community. According to Sutomo, if the capital was placed in Parigi, then there was no difference in the struggle with the current capital expansion in Palu for the community Moutong and Tomini and Tinombo because still far (Ritman paudi, Alam 2016).

Indonesian society in general had been strongly oriented towards a leader in its territory so-called oriented *patron client* (Patronage). The wisdom of cultural values for certain circles in the East Coast community was a value that had been blindly simplified system by the expansion movement. The problems of the patron had brought relations between regions and ethnic groups in the community, represented by the figure of Sutomo Borman into the distance which inhibited the movement of the division. Movement action was ended in an uproar in Parliament of Donggala by mass Parigi joining the Preparatory Committee of Parigi Moutong Regency (BPS-PKPM). This had been criticized by many elements of society both from outside of Parigi Moutong and in the region itself. The censure motion brought the level of division hit into each group to create mistrust conflicting elements of society even outside Parigi.

The workings of the bureaucracy according to the appropriate levels caused the formation of Parigi Moutong like running in place. Even the proposal was potentially failed when it was proposed through govern-

ment channels because because the Department would hear its substructure of government bodies (Fauziah, Alam 2016). The problems which seemed to be endless finally found the support because Fauziah Abdullah as a member of the House of Representatives who was elected in 1999 as one of five members of parliament from the constituency of Central Sulawesi. Fauziah position as chairman of DPD PDIP in Central Sulawesi brought a hope to realize Moutong Parigi formation of political movements in Parliament through the PDIP faction. Fauziah accommodated expansion movement complaint stagnant of the various elements that have long been associated with the PDIP. The existence of some of the elements that made students of East Coast develop critical ideology from PDIP during the reform period in addition to the presence of expansion cadres in groups dominated by Golkar Party.

The implementation of the exploratory potential of Parigi Moutong Regency used perspective politicians. Fauziah Abdullah Firman Jaya invited and facilitated Daeli a commission member 2 of the PDIP faction to see these opportunities. The experience seen in other areas became the basis of presidium for expansion team and prepared a variety of things that were needed. The provisions were based on Government Regulation (PP) No. 129 of 2000 to see administrative requirements such as area, population, social and economic potential as well as the approval of Parliament regents and parent regions. By using the Gorontalo assessment perspective, Firman argues that "... Parigi Moutong is very appropriate and fulfills the requirement for expansion ..." (Firman, Alam, 2016). Although with minimal support from the government, community groups with encouragement PDIP would agree to seek the establishment of Parigi Moutong Regency through the initiative of the Parliament.

In the next process in DPR, because this proposal was one of 22 proposals, DOB plan was divided into 10 draft laws that would be established and proposed as an initiative of the Parliament then the trial was carried out from the beginning. For the Working Committee (the Committee) which was

further subdivided in 3 sub Committee discussing separate bill for Parigi Moutong discussed at the Sub Committee C led by Alex Litay. The work of each of these subPanja was discussed in Panja and then taken to a meeting forum of Commission II of the House of Representatives and the Minister of Home Affairs of Indonesia on February 20, 2002 for a reported discussion and study. The result could then earn commission president No. R.01 / PU / I / 2002 dated January 8, 2002 for ten (10) The Act consisted of 22 new regions respectively 19 and 3 City district including the plan of Parigi Moutong regency.

In detail, the Act are as follows: 1. The Bill of Aceh Jaya Regency establishment, Nagan Raya, Gayo Lues, Aceh Barat daya, Aceh Tamiang in Aceh Province; 2. The Bill of Katingan Regency, Seruyan, Sumara, Landau, Gunung Mas, Pulau pisang, Murung Raya and Baito Timur in Central Kalimantan.; 3. The Bill of Banyuasin establishment in South Sumatera.; 4. The Bill of Penajam Regency Establishment in East Kalimantan.; 5. The Bill of Talaud Regency Establishment in North Sulawesi.; 6. The Bill of Rote Ndea Establishment in di Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) Province.; 7. The Bill of Parigi Moutong Establishment in Central Sulawesi.; 8. The Bill of Mamasa Regency dan Palopo City Establishment in South Sulawesi Selatan.; 9. The Bill of Pariaman City Establishment in West Sumatera and The Bill of Bima City Establishment in Nusa Tenggara Barat (the meeting outcome of DPR, 2002). Based on the process, on March 11, 2002, the result of working committee of Commission II led by Teras Narang from PDIP, was brought to the meeting to be officially legalized as the acts.

The hearing in the House of Representatives established under Decision Consultative Body Meeting dated January 24, 2002. It was decided that 10 (ten) Bills on the Establishment of the Autonomous 22 Region which would be addressed by the Commission II. The discussion Level I on the bill was carried out from 04 February until 20 February 2002 between the Commission II with the Minister of Interior Affairs. Discussion of the procedures carried out by a short (*short cut*). Through this mechanism,

working committee was formed and divided into three sub *panja* to optimize the activities of the legislative process for 22 new autonomous regions (DOB).

The process of the *sub* working committee (*Panja*) until the discussion and reconciliation committee of labor involved intensive interaction among members of commission II. This was because the presence of each team forming regions of the 22 regions that were discussed to oversee and ensure the area contained in the plan being drawn up by the Commission II. In this mechanism, there was a commitment between the expansion team that also continues to interact associated financing are prepared to encourage the completion of the design process of the law. According to one community leader of Parigi Moutong that "Providing funding to members of Commission II which has been working for the public interest is a grant for the effort they make to society Moutong Parigi.

However, if there were areas that gave a high cost, so it was asked not too much to not sacrifice other areas. In addition, for areas that have limited funds and relatively no problems such as Parigi Moutong always asked first time to be able to meet the Committee and the Committee sub team to communicate the development of the expansion discussion. Asmir further stated, "not everyone who has worked for the establishment of Parigi Moutong district want to receive the funding acknowledgments. Given by him that:

"... There are also members of Parliament who are not willing to accept funds from the joint community, the members of the House of Representatives even suggested that if he took the funds that came from the people that he would stop escorting formation of Parigi Moutong Regenc in Parliament ... "(Asmir, Alam, 2016).

The mechanism of the formation of the Act in Parliament always synonymous with political lobbies as noted Fauziah that:

"... The mechanism of seizing the policy in parliament is not always as imagined. According to him, it can achieve the pur-

pose of the policy for establishment Moutong Parigi, then that should be done by every member who came to Parliament is to approach any member of a political party is the party dikomisi II because they are also in desperate need of support. So it does not always speak whether or not have enough funds, mutual interest to encourage the acceleration of society's prosperity and development of a destination member of Parliament from various political parties ... "(Fauziah, Alam 2016)

The mechanism of political lobbying became a tool in the formation of a regional movement. Politics large amount of money for the establishment of the area in fact was not entirely correct. However, it could be argued that the interaction between the parties in determining the possibility of an expanded area was largely determined by the urge parties in the commission II. As for showing political strength in Parliament tasked the commission II discussing the ten (10) Bill to the region 22, the composition of the membership of the House of Representatives Commission II involved are as follows Table 1.

Contextually, the process in the House of Representatives for Parigi formation Moutong did not have problems like other areas such as Penajam, nor plans Mamasa district in Central Kalimantan with problems with boundaries. Discussion process in the sub-

committee being targeted by the expansion movement for political lobbying to members of Parliament involved, especially beyond the PDIP. As Patrialis Akbar from PAN, La Ode Djenihasmarr and Ferry Murzidan Baldan of the Golkar party. The target lobbying division team was member of Commission II, which came from outside Java and was considered to have the same care and passion to promote the area. Faction members and the composition of Parliament who attended the establishment of 10 Packs of this bill is as follows Table 2.

Table 1. Composition of the House of Representatives Commission II.

Faction of Parliament	amount
Faction of PDIP	18
Faction of Golkar Party	14
Faction of PPP	7
Faction of PKS	5
Faction of TNI / Police	5
Faction of Reform	4
Faction of PBB Party	2
Faction of Indonesian National Unity	2
Faction of the Ummah Daulathul	1
Faction of Democratic Party of Kasih Bangsa	1
Total	59

Source: Bureau of Sessions of the Council of Representatives of the Republic of Indone-

Table 2. Composition The presence of members of the House of Representatives Determination of 10 bill dated March 3, 2002

Faction of Parliament	Attend	amount	%
Faction of PDIP	103	145	71.03
Faction of Golkar Party	78	118	66.10
Faction of PPP	45	58	77.59
Faction of PKS	31	48	64.58
Faction of TNI / Police	34	41	82.93
Faction of Reform	32	38	84.21
Faction of PBB Party	8	11	72.73
Faction of Indonesian National Unity	8	12	66.67
Faction of the Ummah Daulathul	8	11	72.73
Faction of Democratic Party of Kasih Bangsa	4	4	100
Non faction	0	1	0
Total	351	487	72.07

Source: Data Sports Bureau Trial Results House of Representatives in 2002, October 2016

sia, March 2016

Based on the above table, it can be drawn that the attendance of members of Parliament to agenda-setting 22 district / city is up to 72%. The highest attendance rate is the Democratic Party of Kasih Bangsa Parties of 4 people were present. The major parties are included in the top 5 in the parliament are Fractions Reformasi and PAN and the PKB is the lowest. Another party which shows low enthusiasm is Golkar Party with only 66%. The existence of several areas that became the basis of Golkar as Sulawesi and East Kalimantan, which has been the basis Golkar does not really affect attendance in the plenary. The PDIP based in Central Kalimantan and NTT though not maximal yet able to bring members of the House to support the process of determining the outcome of initiatives Act of Parliament, especially the House of Representatives Commission II. An overview of how the consolidation of political mobilization Parigi Moutong district formation after the reform can be shown as Figure 2.

Moutong Parigi Regency formation process left a particularly strong contesta-

tion by the political elites. The robustness of chairman of the parliament Donggala to put Tinombo as Capital of Parigi Moutong was indicated by the "carry off" the House of Representatives Commission II Team and Internal Affairs to review the preparation Tinombo to become the capital along with community support and readiness. This aroused opposition in both structures of Donggala provincial and district governments. The agenda prepared by the government would only visit Parigi and meet with community elements was altered by the presence of the additional agenda. Clearly, Governor Paliudju previously stated that for the formation of the Moutong Parigi district capital was in Parigi. Golkar internal negotiation process after the victory Aminudin Ponulele, through Nur Rahmatu who still had the kinship and Mulhanan Tombolotutu who was the Golkar party cadres, provided the same support that the capital of Parigi and also committed to continue the expansion Parigi Moutong.

The formal position in the institutional structure in Parliament was an important force influencing the success of a lob-

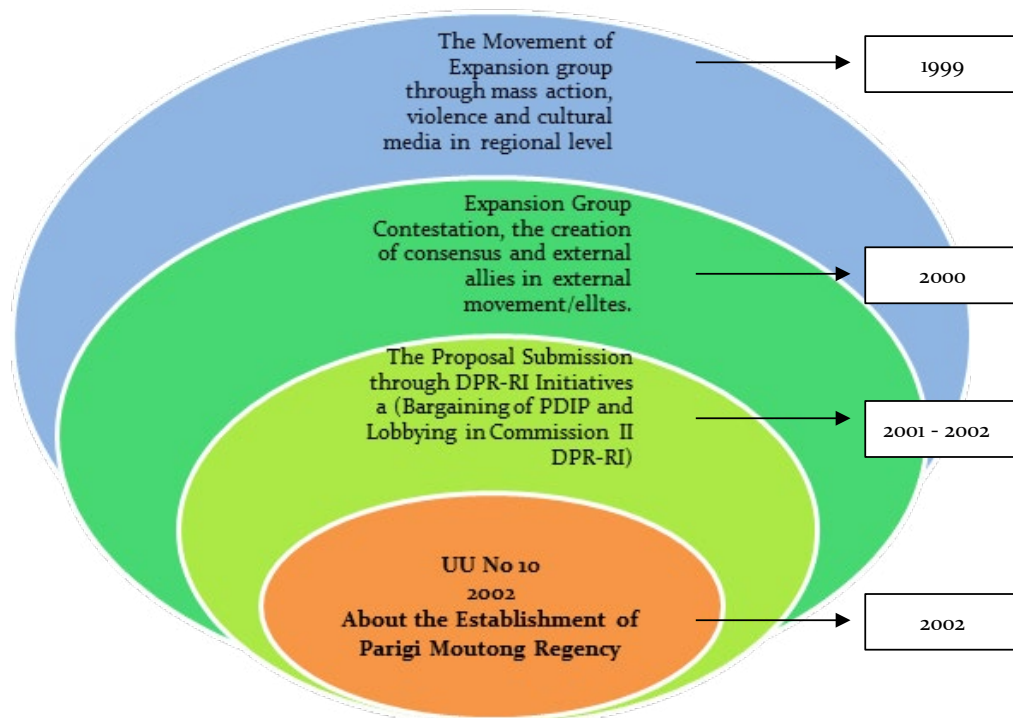


Figure 2. The Mobilization Structure of resources of Expansion Movement in Parigi Moutong

bying mechanism. Through his position as chairman of the DPD PDIP Central Sulawesi province, Fauziah which automatically became one of the deputy chairman of the PDI-P faction in Parliament could take advantage of its position to support a policy despite its deployment position in parliament was not in the commission II. This was proven by the strong influence in shaping the value PDIP bargaining and lobbying for the team prepares to members of the other faction presidium in Commission II. This strategy was crucial to convince members of the working committee that Moutong Parigi was a very appropriate area and allowed the expansion mainly for the purpose of people's welfare and development acceleration.

CONCLUSION

The mobilization structure can be successfully managed through the use of strategies, optimization of injustice and grievance issues, the creation of motivation, and opportunity to encourage collective action. The successful formation of Parigi Moutong Regency can be achieved through the ability to mobilize and utilize resources mobilization structure of formal and informal mechanisms. Looking at several efforts of non-formal endorsement despite competing groups has focused on the purpose of the formation. The formal support is received both from personal and institutional organizations such as obtained through the struggle of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI-P) through Fauziah Abdullah, as well as members of the other factions in local government (Regent/Parliament/Governor) as well as a formal institution at the center (Ministry of Internal Affairs/*Menotoda*).

PDIP party as the winner of the 1999 elections the party is able to build a strong bargaining for expansion of Parigi Moutong on other parties in Parliament so that in theory POST become allies for the group division. However, it can run effectively and strategically because of the presence of non-formal resource potential through movement group division. The success of the civil society movement is the essence of the im-

portance of informal institutions in seizing the opportunity to fight for their interests. The mechanism of consensus through the presence of local wisdom values becomes the instruments and is in addition to new elements POST theory in the context of the expansion movement in Indonesia.

The expansion of Parigi Moutong success's movement is also determined by the intensity and mobilization strategy using radical mode with a boycott of the city, anarchic street demonstrations, as well as sympathetic action are unremitting. This movement could trigger fresh value to the formal structures that are willing to talk about the formation of Parigi Moutong with broad popular support on resource mobilization. The success of movement is also supported by successful consolidation of the community through consultation mechanisms with the local wisdom and *silaturahmi*. The systematic movements and non-formal institutional supports are able to build allies with the formal elite which can bring the achievement of objectives to form the expansion. These findings support understanding the POST theory of McAdam, Mc Charthy and Zald.

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