

Local Bossism in Decentralization Era: Study Political Power and Local Bossism in Bangkalan, Madura, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The succession of the regime from the New Order to the reform era has become an important history for Indonesia, especially in relation to the central and regional governments that had previously been centralized to decentralization. However, the decentralization system is also alleged to give birth to local strongmen and local bossism. Fuad Amin through power and network in Bangkalan is considered as a local strongmen and local bossism. How Fuad Amin in hegemonizing power and really Fuad Amin is one form of local bossism or local strongmen in Indonesia is the question of this study. This research uses qualitative method using local strongmen by Migdal and local bossism by John T. Sidel. The results of this research are Fuad Amin using his strong power and local bossism, Fuad Amin is a representative of local strongmen and local bossism.

Keyword: Decentralization, Local strongmen, local bossism

A. INTRODUCTION

The fall of the New Order regime marked by the resignation of President Soeharto in 1998 was the first phase of democratization in Indonesia. Samuel Huntington in his book titled Third Democratic Wave called the phenomenon or wave of democratization is a change or the turn of various regimes that were previously non-democratic to be democratic. ^[1] One of the important agendas of the democratization process in Indonesia is the implementation of decentralization policies. Implementation of decentralization in Indonesia based on Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government. The concept of decentralization applied in Indonesia is to transfer most of the authority of public service from the central level to the local government. Previously, during the New Order era, Indonesia implemented a centralized system in its government. All

regional affairs are determined by the center, including the regional head.

The implementation of decentralization or regional autonomy system then continues to grow significantly with the enactment of Law No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government. The law implicitly regulates the duties and authorities of the Regional Government. In addition, the Act is also seen as an amplifier for the role of local political actors in Indonesia, but unfortunately the strengthening is not matched by their role in realizing the consolidation of democracy in the region. Not a few of the local political elites are taking advantage of his position to perpetuate his power, both in the executive and legislative branches of the region. ^[2]

A.1 Research Problem:

The change of the regime from the New Order to the reform era does not necessarily encourage democratization in

Indonesia. The shift from centralistic to decentralized is considered to encourage the formation of small kings in the region. The post-reform phenomenon resembles a batch system, where political and economic domination shifts from bandits (stratonally bandits) to small bandits (roving bandits).^[3] The phenomenon by John T Sidel is called local bossism (local boss), while Migdal is called local strongmen.

The emergence of local boss phenomenon occurred in various regions in Indonesia post-reform, precisely after the implementation of regional autonomy. This is because, the local boss figure in Indonesia developed along with the transfer of power from the center to the region (decentralization), it is rarely encountered in the previous era because the style of government is managed centrally or centralized. Decentralization is used by some local elites to build political and economic oligarchy, thus generating local bosses in the region.^[4] Furthermore, the era of decentralization also opens up a space of inter-elite fighting in regions with diverse backgrounds and identities for local economic and political resources. According to Hadiz, the seizure is not only about the struggle for the post of regional head but also on the seizure of control over the authority and economic resources.^[5]

The phenomenon of Ratu Atut Choisyah's in Banten Province won the Election which is backed up by the Jawara is one of bossism form in Indonesia. This is because, Atut's victory became a political capital by Jawara figures to dominate economic and political resources in the province of Banten.^[6] If in Banten, the appearance of local bosses comes from the Jawara, in Polewali Mandar the emergence of local bosses emerge from the nobility,^[7] while in Bangkalan, Madura, Fuad Amin figure phenomenon as a local boss derived from the santri. Fuad Amin is the grandson of the highly respected KH Kholil in Madura. Fuad Amin is Bangkalan Regent for the period of 2003-2013. When he served as Bupati, his son Ra Momon served

as a Member of Bangkalan District Legislative Council, while his younger brother served as Chairman of Bangkalan Regency DPRD. During that period, the function of legislative oversight was deemed unemployed because the holder of the executive and legislative branch was the Fuad family. Not only there, in the elections of 2013, with the limitation of the period of head of the region for only two periods, Fuad Amin, who cannot run for Bangkalan Regent, nominated his son Ra Momon to become a candidate for Bangkalan Regent, and was elected. While Fuad Amin, in 2014 elected as chairman of Bangkalan Regency DPRD. During that period, the top executive and legislative leaders were controlled by the Fuad Amin family. In addition, Fuad Amin in his power also established good relations with the klebun (village head) and blater (thugs). In running his government, Fuad is a figure of anti-criticism, if there are elements who criticize or shake his power, so the network premannyalah will act.

Phenomenon of local bossism in the era of decentralization can not be separated from the use of strongmen and local bossism theory to analyze the phenomenon. According to Migdal, local strongmen do various strategies to survive, expand and sustain power by forming accommodation triangles along with state bureaucratic apparatus and politicians at the local level.^[8] The emergence of local strongmen or local strong people is based on the emergence of organizations or groups of society that are independent and autonomous separated from the state domination. This shows that the state has weak controls in the community making it possible to increase the role of strong local people.^[9]

Sidel had the same opinion about the local strong man, but the position of these powerful local men transformed into local bosses who held important positions to gain a monopoly of control over society through the mastery of economic resources and coercive power in the territorial jurisdiction of their power in era of democracy.^[10] This

local bossism has a form like Gurbenur, the mayor, legislative members and members of the senate who became a broker. The tenure makes the ability of local boss controls dependent on state-owned resources. ^[11] Furthermore, Sidel explained that local bosses emerged through a competitive and periodic election mechanism, in which they used a strategy of sound buying, manipulation, and violence. ^[12]

Furthermore, Sidel explained that in the effort to maintain its economic and political domination, various strategies are carried out by the bosses, among others: Putting relatives and cronies as officials or filling the important posts in the region, Forming political machine as a sound broker, Arranging the placement of officials in the region, Arrange government projects and aspiration funds, and intimidate and violence against political opponents.

In his theory, Sidel provides a critical account of the local strongman theory ever written by Migdal. These records include, firstly, the nature of the state and the nature of a society that causes strong local people to flourish. Migdal calls the emergence of strong local people backed by weakened state conditions and the strengthening of local communities. While Sidel explained that bossism emerged when the state controls strengthened and weakened local communities. Migdal mentions that local strong people can be informal leaders, while Sidel mentions that local bosses are structural leaders in the state, may be Governors, Regents, and Mayors. Furthermore, Migdal mentioned that local strong people will inhibit the development of capitalism, but Sidel believes that local bosses actually facilitate and take advantage of growth in development and industry. ^[13] However, they have many similarities, including in terms of strengthening the network, both local bosses and strong local people cooperate with bureaucracy and politicians, as well as forming dynastic politics. ^[14]

Given the enormous strength and political role and control of various

economic resources controlled by Fuad Amin in Bangkalan district, it can be said that there is a tendency that Fuad Amin including strong people as well as local bosses in Bangkalan District. Based on the above description, this paper will discuss the way Fuad Amin pursued in consolidating its political power to maintain its power in Bangkalan and test the local strong man theory of Migdal and Bossism of Sidel associated with the Fuad Amin case.

So, the research question of this paper are How does Fuad Amin consolidate his political power to maintain his power in Bangkalan? Can the power of Fuad Amin be categorized as a phenomenon of bossism as the theory of John T Sidel or the phenomenon of the local strong man as described by Migdal?

B. METHODS

This research adopted qualitative research. The main method uses in this research is literature study to obtain the objective results. The data were collected with legal procedure which is helped by the government, library and any other. Literature study towards some journals, scientific papers, newspapers and other sources which are further analyzed by the researcher. This research use theory of local bossism by Sidel and local strongmen by Migdal to analyze of phenomenon local bossism in Bangkalan, Madura.

C. RESULT

C.1 Fuad Amin and His Political Power

As explained earlier, Fuad Amin emerged as an influential person in Bangkalan legally after the implementation of Regional Autonomy, elected as Bangkalan Regent. It was the opening gate for Fuad Amin to expand his power network. In his political career, Amin's fuad repeatedly moved political parties to smooth his political career. The political parties that have been followed by Fuad Amin include PPP, PKB and the last is Gerindra. However, even so, Fuad Amin also put his family into various political parties in

Bangkalan. Like, put his cousin, Razak Hadi as Chairman of DPC Bangkalan Democratic Party, Zaenal Abidin as Chairman of DPC PPP Bangkalan regency who is also a relative of Fuad Amin, his son Ra Momon or Ibnu Fuad DPRD member of PAN, and Faturrahman chairman DPC PDI P which is also relatives. [15] This is done Fuad Amin no other because Fuad Amin wants to perpetuate his power.

In addition, Fuad Amin is also involved as a broker in various contestation of national and local election, such as At Pilkada East Java 2008, and conduct various fraud. The Constitutional Court stipulated that Bangkalan area was the worst-structured, systematic and massive areas of fraud in East Java, so the Constitutional Court decided to conduct repeated balloting for the area three times. Based on the decision of the Court No. 41 / PHPU.D-VI / 2008, the Court found evidence that there was a vote purchase through the village head (headman) in Bangkalan, through a contract agreement. The nominal value obtained by the village head ranges from Rp 50,000,000 to 150,000,000 depending on the number of votes in the village. Here are the details:

Tabel 1 Details of the Money Politic between the Karsa Team and the Headman in Bangkalan: [16]

Voter turn out	voters 51-60%	voters 61-70%	voters 71-80%	voters 81-100%
-2500	50.000.000	60.000.000	70.000.000	80.000.000
2501-5000	60.000.000	70.000.000	80.000.000	90.000.000
More than 5001	70.000.000	80.000.000	100.000.000	150.000.000

Fuad Amin also asked the klebun (village head) to manipulate the votes in the elections of East Java 2008. As the testimony of one of the witnesses presented at the Court session named Sahidi, he claimed to get 311 votes from the PPS, and was asked to vote Karsa. [17] Another thing was also expressed by one voter at TPS 7 of Alas Kembang Village, Bangkalan which stated that the 156 voters were present in total totals were 402 voters, but the rest of the votes were all punched for Karsa couples while the candidate witnesses were prohibited from filling in the minutes,

because will be filled by village officials themselves.

Besides placing his colleagues and relatives in various political parties in Bangkalan District and involved as brokers in political contestation, Fuad Amin also put his colleagues into bureaucracy in Bangkalan and established good relations with Kiai, Klebun (village heads) and blater (thugs). As is known, Madurese community, especially Bangkalan people, placed the position of Kiai as a figure highly respected and obeyed. Even in the philosophy of Madura mentioned that Kiai is the second one who must be obeyed and respected after obedience to the parents. [18] The status of Fuad Amin who is also the grandson of Kiai Kholil is regarded as a highly respected figure, Kiai Kholil's demeanor is considered to be descended to his descendants, namely Fuad Amin, therefore by Fuad Amin society gets the title as RKH (Raden Kiai Haji).

In Madurese, there are three types of Kiai stratification. The top stratification is occupied by Kiai Bani Kholil, Fuad Amin's grandfather. This is because, the figure of Kiai Kholil is the most meritorious figure in terms of spreading and teaching Islam on the island of Madura. Second social stratification is occupied by an-Kholil Kiai, and the third social stratification of Kiai is occupied by village Kiai. However, all Kiai have an important position in the community life system in Bangkalan. With the status as RKH and grandson of Kiai Kholil, it is not difficult for Fuad Amin to establish good relations with the Kiai in Bangkalan. The move is often done by Fuad to maintain his political power, as well as the support of the Kiai as if to imply that Fuad Amin has been on the right path. In addition, Fuad's closeness to the Kiai was also used as a political force for Fuad, to mobilize santri (strict adherent of Islam) and citizens to elect him in the elections and to elect his cronies in the legislative elections.

In addition, Fuad Amin also utilize the network klebun to defend his hegemony power. Klebun or in the Indonesian language referred to as the village head

utilized by Fuad not only during Pilkada, but also during the legislative election. In fact, this Klebun network has also been used by Fuad in mobilizing the masses for the victory of Soekarwo-Syaifullah Yusuf as Governor and Vice Governor of East Java. Fuad used Klebun to manipulate the vote, which resulted in repeated elections in the area three times. ^[19]

In perpetuating his power Fuad Amin also utilizes the Blater network (thugs). Blater in Madurese society has its own role in social life of society. This is motivated by the early appearance of the blater itself. Blater in Madurese society has existed since the time of the kingdom, the era of colonization to the present. Blater is a figure that defies or rejects the hegemony of royal power, and colonial. In the New Order era, the Blater figure still exists but its existence is not too conspicuous because of the hegemony of New Order power. Uniquely, although the blater is categorized as a thug, but the blater is very respectful and obedient to Kiai. Fuad Amin used the power of a blater to defend his power, not only in the electoral process, the legislative elections, but Fuad Amin also used a blater to tackle and even terrorize his political opponents.

In perpetuating his power and enriching his self Fuad Amin also organizes various government projects and aspiration funds. This is evidenced by Fuad's corruption case which receives funds for the personal interest of PT MKS which is the winner of the tender in the procurement of natural gas in Bangkalan and the deduction of budget realization regional budgeting

about 10% of revenue and placement of civil servant recruitment with total value IDR 414.224.000.000. ^[20] The allocation of money by Fuad is used to buy various assets and property, such as land and some apartments in Jakarta.

During the leadership of Fuad Amin in Bangkalan, there are various NGOs have made criticisms and demonstrations against Fuad Amin. One of the NGOs that are active in criticizing Fuad Amin's performance and the various irregularities perpetrated by Fuad Amin is Madura Corruption Watch (MCW). However, whenever Fuad Amin was criticized, a few moments later the critics got terror. As happened to Fahrillah and Syukur who is an MCW activist who was hacked and shot after criticizing the leadership of Fuad Amin by auditing allegations of corruption committed by Fuad Amin. ^[21] Not only that, Fuad Amin also did not hesitate to terrorize his political opponent by trapping the use of drugd, so that the concerned deal with the apparatus and imprisoned.

However, during the leadership of Fuad Amin, various infrastructural developments took place in Bangkalan. Such as the construction of roads to the corners of the village, the development of modern and traditional markets, as well as the construction of educational facilities, health and others. Another thing that proves the improvement of Bangkalan progress post led by Fuad Amin is the increase of Human Development Index numbers since 2003-2013, although it had decreased in 2009

Tabel II: HDI of Bangkalan From 2003-2013 ^[22]

Tahun	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
HDI	57,6	59,49	60,24	62,72	62,97	63,4	62,97	63,4	64	64,51	65,01

D. DISCUSSION

Political power possessed by Fuad Amin in Bangkalan for two periods served as Regent, then subsequently succeeded by his son while himself in the next period served as chairman of Bangkalan DPRD, further strengthening his hegemony of power in Bangkalan. In addition, with his

power Fuad Amin also has the flexibility in placing families and people of their faith to occupy various strategic positions in government, political parties to the mass organizations that are influential in Bangkalan. Fuad Amin's emergence as the sole ruler of Bangkalan can at least be seen

from the local strongman Migdal's theory and local boss John T. Sidel:

Tabel III: The significance of Bosism's theory and Local Strong on the Political Power of Fuad Amin

Bosism	Local Strongmen
1. Fuad Amin occupies the structural position of the state	The emergence of Fuad Amin as a local strongman is based on the patrimonial culture of the people of Bangkalan who greatly respects the figure of Kiai. Kiai are placed on their top social structure, as well as Fuad Amin who is a prominent Kiai grandson in Bangkalan, and earned the title Raden Kiai Haji (RKH). In fact, the cult of Fuad Amin also continues to this day, although it has been declared a suspect of corruption cases by the KPK, but the respect for Fuad Amin does not necessarily fade away. ^[23]
2. Fuad Amin became a political broker, and did vote buying and sound manipulation	
3. Fuad Amin exercises control over public officials (bureaucrats), political parties, mass organizations to village heads.	
4. Fuad Amin seeks to block his political rivals	
5. Fuad Amin during his leadership period accumulated wealth by working on state projects, as evidenced by the establishment of Fuad Amin as a suspect corruption case of state funds worth 414 billion rupiah by KPK.	
6. Fuad Amin in his leadership maintains good relations with the blater (thugs), and often intimidates violence against his political opponents.	
7. Fuad Amin seeks to place his son to be a successor in his power	
8. Fuad Amin committed violence against his critics and political opponents	
9. Fuad Amin supports development in Bangkalan	

E. CONCLUSION

In the era of decentralization, Fuad Amin emerged as a local boss in Bangkalan Madura. The appearance of local bosses in Bangkalan also coincided with the emergence of local bosses in various regions in Indonesia, namely after the end of the New Order regime. This indicates that the local bosses were inhibited by the New Order regime and were hampered by the indirect election of regional heads as regulated in Law No. 5 of 1974 on Regional Government. In that era, the regional head of Bangkalan always came from the military.

However, on the other hand Fuad Amin is also a figure of strong local man as stated by Joel Migdal. This can be seen in the New Order era, although structurally Fuad Amin has no political office in Bangkalan, but his social status as a prominent Kiai grandson in Bangkalan makes the figure of Fuad Amin a highly respected person in Bangkalan.

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