The Strategy Center: Study of Regional Area to Center in Conflict of Placement of Ibukota District North Buton

LA ODE MUHAMAD MULIAWAN
Postgraduate Students of Gadjahmada University
muhamadmuliawanode@gmail.com

ABSTRACT
The regional resistance to the center is a permanent issue that faithfully colors the history of the dynamics of central and local relations. This paper is a presentation of research results that try to express the opposition of Local Government to the Central Government which takes place in a closed form. Taking the case of the conflict in the capital of North Buton Regency, this research has succeeded in explaining that the resistance to the center by the regions is not always the case in an open form. Working out is a powerful strategy choice in reducing pressure and central intervention over the course of governance in the region.

Keywords: Local Government; Central Government; Regional Resistance.

INTRODUCTION
This research analyzes the relationship between the Central Government and the Regional Government post-reform, in the context of regional resistance to the center.
The focus on closed forms of resistance done by the region to the center will distinguish this research from the basic theory of closed resistance that has been generally understood as the resistance of the peasantry (Scot, 2000) and also the concept of avoiding the state (Scot, 2000) as a way of community resistance to avoid pre-colonial state coverage. This study will contest the idea of closed or daily resistance beyond its classical use of the Resistance of the Regional Government to the Central Government. Nevertheless, because what will be discussed is the process of birth and development of the resistance of the Regional Government towards the Central Government and also because of the limited closed resistance study which specifically concerns the regional resistance to the center, the main inspiration of the conceptualization of closed resistance in this study comes from related works closed resistance of the peasants.

The importance of studying the relationship between the Central Government and Local Government is based on several reasons. First, the empirical reason is related to the strengthening of the position of the Regional Government as the spearhead of service providers in the regions especially after the reformation of 1998. The strengthening of positions that coincide with the greater authority it has as a consequence of the regional autonomy policy ultimately strengthens the capacity of local governments. The amount of authority handed over to him would require also more optimal supervision of the central government to ensure that authority submitted to the region can be implemented optimally as well. The ineffectiveness of the supervisory role by the Central Government to the regions makes the relationship between the two levels of government is problematic. In this case, the appropriateness of understanding between the Central Government and Regional Government is absolutely necessary as a condition of the realization of the harmonization of their relationship.
Secondly, theoretical reasons related to the relationship between the Central Government and the Regional Government. During this time political and governmental scientists described central and local relationships as merely formalistic legal relations. Therefore, the relationship between the central government and regional governments is divided into relations of authority, financial relations and supervisory relations (Riwu Kaho, 2012). The significance of the relationship between the two levels of government with this form is ultimately attached to a serious problem that ends in simplifying the relationship between the Central Government and the Regional Government only to the extent of tasks and responsibilities. This worldview also proves so dominant that the center performs with full of dreams at a higher level and the area as the realization of those dreams to a lesser degree. In the end regardless of what and how the system of division of authority between the center and the region is done, the expression that local politics as an arena of expansion of national state character becomes difficult to refute (Lay, 2012).

The dominance and strength of the Central Government against Local Government in Indonesia can be traced from the beginning of Indonesian independence precisely in the 1950s (Asnan, Nordin, & Othman, 2015). The regional upheaval fueled by a sense of dissatisfaction with central policy was successfully put down by the Central Government. Despite the gripping and harsh resistance of the region, in the end it only reinforced the central advantage in controlling the region. The same conclusion that reveals the dominance of the center of the region can also be traced to post-reform studies where the center once again becomes a formidable entity and freely controls the region (Timmer & Salven, 2007).

An empirical indication of the relationship between the Central Government and the Regional Government when viewed in the focus of regional resistance to the center, so far,
the following two conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the Central Government is a dominant entity to the Local Government and the region becomes very vulnerable to the central intentions. Secondly, the form of resistance carried out by regions over the central government is always in an open form, and therefore always easy to muffle.

The loss of studies on post-reform regional resistance suggests that the region seemed to be silent after the open resistance of the 1950s. However, the conflict of placement of the capital of North Buton Regency indicates that the relationship between the center and the region especially after the reform is not entirely void of regional resistance. Conflict that began since the establishment of North Buton Regency in 2007 (Indrahavu, 2015) and then dissolves until almost one decade of North Buton County has yet to show any indication of the end. Dissident of North Buton Regent (Kendari Pos Edition 29 September 2011) as well as legal countermeasures (to the Act by the Regional Government to the facts that confirm the indication. The loss of the oversight role of the North Buton Regency DPRD in resolving these conflicts shows that the conflict of placement of the capital of North Buton Regency is not just the dissolution of the North Buton Regent as a person, but more than that, this conflict is about the resistance of the Regional Government.

Closed Ideas of Resistance and the Concept of Avoiding the State

The idea of closed resistance refers to the concept built by (Scoot, 2000). He defines resistance as follows: Resistance is any action by a lower-class member with the intention to soften and reject demands (eg rent, taxes, honors) imposed on that class by a higher class (landlords, state, machine owners and money lenders) or who put forth the demands of employment, land, generosity, rewards) against these upper classes (Scoot, 2000).
Scott further divides the resistance in two aspects: Public transcript and hidden transcript. Public transcript is characterized by an open interaction between subordinate classes and dominant classes. While Hidden transcript characterized by the interaction closed, not directly with the properties of offstage between classes subordinate to the dominant classes. On the other side Scott explains that there is an open resistance and some are not real (closed). The real tangible resistance is organic, systematic and cooperative, principled with selflessness and revolutionary consequences. While closed resistance is irregular, not systematic, is opportunistic, has no revolutionary consequences.

The presence of a form of resistance used as an option to challenge Scott’s claims is heavily influenced by a form of surveillance and a belief in the possibility and severity of retaliation. Thus, if the resistance technique has the potential to generate considerable retaliation then the choice of strategy will not be used (Scott, 2000).

Furthermore, Kraft avoids the idea of a state political practices hills called Zomia community that spans Southeast Asia by some provinces in China in the pre-colonial era. Scott sees that highland communities as political agents are fully aware of their relationship with the lowland peoples that are the places of concentration of military power and state authority. Hence, the people of the hill are not the people who are left behind or are isolated from various advances but they choose to avoid all that progress (Mammina et al., 2010). Various problems are not profitable right hilly community chose to flee the country coverage (slavery, taxes, war and so on). Scoot explains that hill communities are trying to do various forms of strategy to stay away from state power. All aspects of life in the zomia villages are deliberately designed so that they are not annexed into the state and to prevent the society from emerging nations’ seeds. In the context of avoiding state
pursuits, the two important and strategic principles that characterize the hill society known as the main enemy of the state’s seizure, *firstly*, lie in their ability to choose locations that are not easily accessible to the state. *Secondly*, the mobility made by the hilly community makes it difficult for the country to track their existence. Hill people are always moving from one place to another.

There are at least three forms of strategy undertaken by the hill society in avoiding pursuit and seizure by the country, namely: *first, escape agriculture* is a strategy of avoiding the state by designing agricultural systems to enable escape from the grip of authority of state power. *Secondly, social structures of escape* are a form of strategy whereby social structures are built with very egalitarian differs from the social structures of lowland communities living in the state space (Scott, 2009).

**ANALYSIS AND METHOD FRAMEWORK**

Resistance of the Regional Government in this research is interpreted as an act done to reject the claim or show claims made by the Regional Government against the Central Government in the conflict Placement Ibuko ta Buton Regency. This research uses the assumption that the longer and longer the conflict resolution process and the more accomodated claims or interests of the Local Government, the more effective the resistance by the Regional Government. Conversely, the faster the conflict resolution process and the unaccommodated claims or interests of the Local Government, indicates the ineffectiveness of the resistance of the Regional Government.

There are several matters related to the framework of resistance analysis of the Regional Government. *First*, related to units related to the resistance both at the level of the Central Government and Local Government. In the body of the Central Government which is the unit of analysis is the Ministry of Home Affairs as the embodiment of the Central
Government in this context. While at the level of Local Government, the unit of analysis is the executive and legislative as the executor of government in the region. Second, we will trace the causes of local government resistance to the central government and how the form of resistance occurred.

In this way, this research would like to explain some important points in the context of the relationship between the Central Government and Local Government. First, a form of resistance by the Regional Government in the face of the onslaught of Central Government authorities. Secondly, this study seeks to show that the resistance of the Regional Government to the Central Government does not always take place in an open form but instead takes place in a closed form. Thirdly, this study wishes to show that the Local Government is not always a vulnerable party to the Central Government’s pressure.

This research is qualitative by using case study method. Therefore, this research is carried out by researchers exploring and studying the whole case within a specific time span, by digging deeply, in detail by utilizing various data sources or information such as observation, interviews, using sound recording and audio-visual materials, as well as research reports, and generate research reports based on specific topics that are selected (Creswell & Maietta, 2002).

The process of the North Buton Regency: Between the Rejecting Maternity Wife and the Baby Divided Candidate

North Buton is one of the few regions born to take advantage of the opportunities available to the success of the reform. The difficulty, toughness and length of the newborn baby process in the northern part of the island of Buton is the right sentence to describe the stories told by the pemekaran fighters. In addition, the establishment of the District is quite likely to be facilitated by a proper regulatory policy that is worthy of being called haphazard and full of
tricks to reinforce the fact that many of the new autonomous regions generated in this process are in fact failing because they are born of a deceptive process. It read clearly by an informant in his statement regarding the North Buton as if to emphasize that in pembe reforms introducing or expansion of new areas in Indonesia, particularly the establishment of North Buton, Parliament has the ability to determine the final outcome.

“Ithe North Buton Regency is not feasible to be expanded but the younger brother knows the process is certainly strongly influenced by the process in the House, there is a political process that is sodominant.”(Interview with head of the field of regional administration of the Ministry of Interior, the month of February 2017)

Formed under Law No. 14 of 2007, the work of establishing the North Buton Regency can be traced long before that. The people of Buton Utara, at least so according to the figures of pemekaran pemekaran as if carried by Tsunami waves of expansion region since the beginning of the reform period to help make their area as a new autonomous region with various considerations both political and economic. Various reasons put forward by the leaders of the pemakaran of North Buton regency to rationalize the effort of the division. The presence of justifications in this process is certainly standard in the pemekaran process anywhere, not only as a tool to mobilize the masses but also as a condition that must be met for the formation of new territory.

Since 2003 the expectation of the establishment of North Buton district has been reflected. It can be seen from the formation of the pemekaran pemekaran of North Buton regency who is tasked to make all the preparations needed for the process of forming a new area. The political stories of the newly created autonomous regions in Indonesia, the mobilization process of the press period, also indicate that the expectations and wishes of pemekaran are the aspirations of the people, the establishment of the North Buton Regency
also adds to the long list of stories. Demonstrations and meetings with the Muna Regency government as the Regency of Induk also continue to be done which in the end resulted in the approval of these expectations. A northern Buton district expansion fighter says:

“At first we were forced to do a demo in large numbers to demand the government be approved immediately to expand”

At the end of 2003, after the blessing of the parent regions was obtained, the mobilization of the period also moved towards the Province of Southeast Sulawesi to urge that seg era be approved by the Provincial Council of Southeast Sulawesi and subsequently to be proposed by the Governor of Southeast Sulawesi. Similarly, the parent regions of the DPRD and the Governor of Southeast Sulawesi Province also agreed to the expectations and demands to expand the North Buton district. A short time to conquer or devastate the Provincial Government and and Provincial DPRD indicates that at this level the expectation of the expansion of North Buton Regency does not meet the other interests that challenge it.

After the blessing of the Central District and the Provincial Government of Southeast Sulawesi was obtained, the whole efforts of the North Buton community were of course aimed at destroying the Central Government. All efforts are taken from mobilizing the masses to demonstration in the Parliament building to the political lobbying of the expanding figures included in the North Buton Regency Formation Committee. Work to convince the Central Government are thus made very inte n shifts since the proposed expansion of North Buton approved by the Provincial House and proposed by Southeast Sulawesi governor at the end of 2003.

Of course, mass mobilization and political lobbies preaching to the Parent Government, Provincial Orders and the Central Government do not become the overall effort to produce a new Regency. The important and very important
thing that will determine whether or not an area be divided that is associated with some conditions that must be met an area to be expanded. Regarding the expansion of North Buton Regency, a study is conducted to assess the extent to which the new Regency candidates are ready for expansion. The Center for Potential and Professional Development Jakarta is an institution selected by the Central Committee of North Buton Forming to conduct the study. According to the rules that became the absolute requirement of the division at that time i.e. PP 129 of 2000 then conducted an analysis of several indicators.

The review was conducted in 2006 exactly one year before the North Buton District was established under Law No. 14 of 2007. The results of the study stated that North Buto Regency is feasible to be expanded.

Table 3.1 Score of Feasibility Analysis Result of Regency of Capital of North Buton Regency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Minimum Graduation Score</th>
<th>Candidate Score of North Buton Regency</th>
<th>Worthy/Not</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Economic Capability</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>525</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Regional Potential</td>
<td>1,380</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Social politics</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Area of Area</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Etc</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,235</td>
<td>2,540</td>
<td>Well worth it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mass mobilization, political lobbying and academic studies to convince the Central Government and the Parent Government that the North Buton Regency is ready to be formed is not all the story behind the birth of this district. The stories mentioned above are not sufficient to answer why the new District is trapped in a complex conflictive puddle momentarily after its birth by the approval of the Central Government. There are other stories that color the birth process of this district, a story that indicates that the parent district is not sincere to give birth to new district babies, as well as stories that will show that the future baby district candidate will be divided into two factions with different dreams about where later the home as a center to grow and develop named the capital will be built.

First, regarding the political position of Muna Regency as the parent region in the process of forming the North Buton Regency. Seeing how difficult the process undertaken by the committee of the establishment of North Buton regency to obtain the blessing of this parent regency, indicates the reluctance of parent regions to separate. Because the contribution of candidate regions to be expanded to the finance of the parent region through the potential of its natural resources. The parent regency certainly feels the need to maintain its almost all income source not to say its entire budget of income and its learning is dependent on the Central Government.

With the financial condition completely dependent on the Central Government, then the position of North Buton regency when it was so important. Of course, not the PAD donations directly obtained from the candidates who want to split this self, but the logic of the transfer of the center of the transfer amount to the area determined by looking at the area, the population that will add to the burden of costs to be borne by the region. Thus, the larger the area and the
greater the population then the central transfer will grow too. In short, the separation of North Buton Regency will have an effect on the financial of Muna Regency which has been accustomed to obtaining a large general allocation fund. For reasons that smelled of the budget above can be explained why in the process of forming the District of North Buton experienced a rather complicated obstacle in obtaining the blessing of the parent region for splitting.

Various ways are carried out by parent regions to bypass the establishment of North Buton Regency. After the issuance of the decision of the Muna District Legislative and the decision of the Muna Regent in 2003 to approve the proposed establishment of the North Buton Regency and other decision decisions at the provincial government level as an administrative requirement required by law, the Muna Regency government performed another maneuver. Realizing area expansion is a great idea that is fought by the community including the elite Kulisusu who want the capital of the District of the new division will be located in Ereke Kulisusu Sub, then the parent regency government encourages the districts to be expanded added to 9 districts. With such a strategy, the capital of the Regency will be located in Buranga as an area in the middle of the nine subdistricts. It is hoped that the three new sub-districts will be added as the coverage of the future candidates for the northern Buton Regency to become a force that will balance the power of three Kulisusu sub-districts to oppose Ereke’s determination as the capital. But the idea was not able to bypass the continued expansion of the northern Buton political elite. The hope of the Mother District that the determination of the location of the capital will be a polemic that will inhibit and of course will prove that North Buton not yet ready for spreading does not happen. The formation of the new District continued to be intensively strived, of course, with various demonstrations and political lobbying.
at the regional and central levels until it finally forced the Main Regency to give up the birth of North Buton. However, the Regent of Muna Regency at that time wanted the location of the capital to be located in Buranga Bonegunu District which is different from that of the elite and of course the Kulisu community ie Ereke.

Second, regarding the determination of the location of the capital of North Buton Regency. One of the most prominent issues during the establishment of the Regency was with respect to where the capital would be located. The capital city is considered as an important thing to be won because of the various advantages attached to it. The shadow of the center of development, better infrastructure if diban d ingkan with regions outside the capital, as well as other advantages gained when being close to him would be the main motivation that triggered the current polemical polemic division. For that polemic determination of the capital when the process of forming a region is commonplace.

Six Subdistricts that become candidates for the district administration to be formed are divided into two factions. The first group is the Kulisu group that wants the district capital located in Ereke consisting of three sub-districts namely Kulisu, North Kulisu and Kulisu Barat. The last group is the group that wants the location of the capital located in Buranga consists of three districts of Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba. The kulisu group stands with the claim that Ereke is the oldest area that became the forerunner to the birth of another District in northern Buton. Another thing that became the foundation of the Kulisu group is a historical romance which ultimately placed Ereke as a region superior to Buranga or any other area in North Buton. This is further reinforced by the role played by the community and the elite of Kulisu in the formation of the North Buton Regency, including those who speak the most sacrifices in
the process of birth (this will be explained in the next section in the next section). Meanwhile, the group that wants the capital to be located in Buranga is adamantly refusing Ereke as the capital and applying Buranga as the capital because of Buranga’s ideal location in the middle of North Buton Regency. Of course, these two groups have calculated well the benefits to be gained by being placed as the capital based on their wishes.

Differences understand about the determination of the location of the capital, which was also boarded by the lack of the relief from the Mother District to split up in the end is merely a complicated process that must be passed by the North Buton Regency. Exactly on March 2, 2007 North Buton Regency was born after it was decided through Act No. 14 of 2007 with Buranga as the capital. Birth which can be easily noted by the authors turned all the processes are complicated and filled with various divisions did not desire amaikan which therefore can only hamper the process of birth. The process of formation that accommodates the interests of one group, of course the group that wants Buranga as the Capital and ignore the Kulisusu group demands. The process that is not accommodative to the real group of groups is different from the determination of the location of the capital that eventually succeeded in trapping Buton Utara District in a conflict that can be called complicated because it never found a solution.

**Buranga vs Kulisusu: Who’s against who?**

The location of the capital of North Buton Regency is a complicated issue that spawned two different demands among the community and local government of North Buton Regency. The sharp contrast of the community that supports the implementation of Law Number 14 Year 2007 with local government can be easily described by the puffs caused by mass action that burned the Regent and DPRD offices on
Ereke on 24 September 2011. Smells that seemed to explain the peak of patience will not dipedulikannya demands pemfungsian Buranga as the capital has been exhausted. The shouting, shouting, and sharp weapons that became a horrific sight were the right picture to explain how the mass of the mass emotions that came from the three sub-districts of Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba that day. All regularly move towards the northern part of Buton Utara district with the center of government as a target to be destroyed. The rest of the mass media have recorded very well the end result of the action. (The results of interviews with A as one of the observer acts of the Law on the establishment of North Buton Regency.

The conflicts of the capital in the northern district of the island of Buton can be called a rather complicated conflict. Such statements if the truth could find to pay attention to the duration of the interminable conflict even tend to dwell on the spot. Although the conflict never again reached the point as late as the end of 2011 which ended in the burning of some office facilities, but the conflict never found the best solution. This makes the conflicts of the capital seem to be settling below the surface which at any time may come to the surface in a form that is even more extreme than before.

Conflict with a long duration and without a settlement indicates two things, first showing how far distance tun the demands of both parties are hostile so difficult to meet with an accommodative solution for both. Secondly, and most importantly the obscurity in seeing who the conflicting parties or actors are making it difficult to find the right formula for settling. In relation to the latter, of course, very interesting to be understood well. If the stronghold of the group that supports the capital in Buranga in accordance with Law Number 14 Year 2007 can be practically easy to recognize because this camp can be ascertained coming from
Subdistricts namely Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba. Students in cooperation with several community leaders are the main drivers of this camp. Nevertheless, the presence of a politician who supports this stronghold is undeniable. Politicians who from the beginning supported the buranga as the capital of North Buton Regency. His consistency is very reasonable considering he is a Bonegunu District community and is a Golkar party cadre who, since the area expansion effort, wanted Buranga to be designated as the capital.

The supporters of Ereke as the district capital showed little difference with the first camp. The most striking difference makes it difficult to argue that this conflict is a conflict between the Bonegunu, Kambowa and South Wakorumba communities against the Kulisusu community, which consists of three sub-districts. The blurring of identifying the stronghold of Ereke’s supporters as the capital is due by two things, first, in contrast to the Buranga stronghold where communities from three support districts reacted massively to various demonstrations, Ereke’s support community tended to be silent and unresponsive. This can be easily understood because the Ereke camp benefited from the policy of the local government of the North Buton District which runs the government’s activities in Ereke. Second, said the aspirations of the people as if in mystification by the government of North Buton as a justification for policies run akfitas governance and development in the civic center with a mengatakan Ereke in accordance with the aspirations of the people.

Given the facts offered by Ereke’s stronghold, it is interesting to find at least two questions. Firstly, does the Kulisusu community want and force the capital to be transferred from Burek to Ereke. Secondly, if the policy on the construction of office facilities and the implementation of the government in Ereke is not as a result of public pressure
as stated by the government, then who is the actor behind the policy.

The Kulisusu people want and seek the capital to be placed in Ereke and make the Local Government an instrument to achieve it is an answer that can fit together the two questions. The silence of the Kulisusu community in responding to the demands and massive actions carried out by the Buranga supporters does not show that the Kulisusu people are not interested in the location of the district capital. This happens precisely because the policies taken by the local government has given them an advantage that they feel they do not need to do anything. The Kulisusu community has become the party won by the policies taken by the local government. On the other hand, for the Buranga supporters, the Government of the District which does not function in Buranga in accordance with the laws and regulations has harmed them.

The dark space which then provides a variety of questions is why the policy of the Local Government of the North Buton Regency on the issue of the capital since the beginning of the division has led to a polemic favoring the Ereke camp and ignoring the Buranga camp. The local government has various arguments about the policy to run the wheels of government in Ereke and ignore Buranga as the capital mandated in the Act. First, that Ereke is the capital that the people of Buton North have dreamed of since the emergence of the idea of pemekaran. Second, Buranga is never present in the debate as a candidate for the capital of North Buton Regency when it will be expanded. Thirdly, there is insufficient land for the construction of office facilities in Buranga.

The first and second arguments concerning the aspirations of the people from the very beginning of the idea of pemekaran were initiated and after the District of North Buton was formed is the argumentation most often displayed by Local
Government public sphere. Ereke’s determination as the capital at the beginning of the idea of the establishment of the Regency is reasonable to notice that the idea of expansion of the North Buton was proposed by the Kulisusu elite which was fully supported by the Kulisusu community consisting of three sub-districts. The presence of Buranga as an option is discussed by three other sub-districts outside the three sub-districts of Kulisusu did not have a meaningful place or even considered to be absent in the political work of the North Buton Regency unless they were supported by the Regent of Muna Regency as the parent region that hoped to be able to block the rate of expansion of the area.

The argument that Ereke is the ideal capital since the beginning of the division of this regency is not only understandable because area expansion is the idea of Kulisusu society. More than just an initiator, the Kulisusu people were the most sacrificed during the work of the establishment of the North Buton Regency. In addition to being the largest part in mobilizing the masses in demonstrations to demand the split, the figures of area expansion dominated by the Kulisusu elite, the financial resources to support the area expansion pemekaran are also from the Kulisusu elite. A well-known figure as the richest man in Kulisusu even Buton Uatara is willing to fund the establishment of North Buton (Lay, 2012). The figure who became the source of financial for every movement made to demand in the immediate rush of North Buton formation. The Buton North District Organizing Committee that practically moves only by relying on its financial support proves the centrality of this character (Interview with UM as one of the figures of pemekaran of North Buton Regency in March 2017). The brilliant political and economic investment, with which he succeeded in gaining political and economic benefits after the struggle for the expansion of the northern Buton was
fruitful. In addition to succeeding in making his nephew as the first Regent of the North Buton Regency, several people identified as his immediate family also held important positions in the governance structure of North Buton Regency. More than that this character has his family memorable managed to gain extraordinary economic benefits by winning government projects. Noted several close relatives included himself growing into successful contractors during the reign of the first Regent of North Buton. Such a family is dominant and succeeds in attracting various political and financial resources into the pockets of families which some figures consider to be the main contributor to defeat in the next period of elections.

An explanation of the free-rider above in addition to tell in detail the story of the beginning of the North Buton regency, more than that this phenomenon also implies that how big the role of the community Kulisusu (Kulisusu, Kulisusu West, and North Kulisusu) in the establishment of this district. The establishment of a district committee prepared as a group that will speed up the division of North Buton was not separated from the show of Kulisusu community power. The committee, which initially consisted of figures from six sub-districts (Kulisusu, Kulisusu Barat, North Kulisusu, Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba), became the instrument for Kulisusu society's achievement of placing the capital at Ereke. The result was when the community leaders of three sub-districts outside Kulisusu (Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba) declared different dreams about the prospective capital by proposing Buranga to practically exclude them from the committee (Interview via phone with Umran Matara in april 2017.

The presence of actors who are willing to allocate funds to fight for pemekaran, the formation of a highly visible committee read as a translator of Kulisusu community in-
erest even the idea of pemekaran North Buton District dreamed and begun by Kulisu community struggled is a fact that shows the role of Kulisu community in the formation of this District. Interesting facts to be traced further to reveal the explanations behind it. Why the role of Kulisu community is so great in the establishment of North Buton Regency, why not the exact opposite is the right question to reveal the story behind the birth of the above facts.

Fatka sequence above can be understood its presence if paying attention to various figures presented through data that comparing quantitatively Kulisu community with people other than Kulisu in this district. The Kulisu community, spread over three out of six total sub-districts in North Buton Regency, has advantages over other sub-district communities. In terms of number of people Kulisu is the largest part of the population of North Buton Regency. Kulisu people who usually identify themselves as people Ereke scattered in the Three Districts is the largest part of the North Buton community. More than 60% of the people of North Buton are Kulisu or Ereke and the rest are evenly distributed in the other three Subdistricts. The Kulisu community can be easily identified simply by looking at the similarity of the language they use that is the Kulisu language. This is so different from the other three sub-districts such as Bonegunu and Kambowa which use the same Kioko, Kambowa, Pongkowulu language but have a slight dialect difference, whereas the majority of Wakorumba uses the Muna language because it is near the Muna district so it is likely to be affected, plains of Muna Island. For clarity following the percentage of population distribution by District in North Buton Regency.

In addition to being the largest share of the population of North Buton, the rows of figures presented in other data also show the glory of the Kulisu community over other
areas in North Buton. Being the center of the Kalisusu Kingdom until it became the district capital during Dutch rule made Ereke more likely to develop than any other region in North Buton. In 2004 exactly two years before the division of Kulisusu Sub-district became the only area with banks and owned more than ten non-bank institutions in North Buton. In terms of availability of educational facilities, Kulisusu sub-district far leaves other areas seen from the number of schools and the availability of teaching staff. Similarly, in terms of availability of health facilities, Kulisusu area is better than other areas.

The numbers are more astonishing because it shows the distance between Kulisusu community with other regions is also shown from the data of vehicle ownership either 2, 3 or 4 wheels.

Table 4.1. Total ownership of Motor Vehicles in North Buton Year 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Number of Household Owners of Motor Vehicles 2.3</th>
<th>Number of Owners of Motor Vehicles 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kulisusu</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wakorumba</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kambowa</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bonegunu</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>North Kulisusu</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kulisusu Barat</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Academic Study of Candidate Formation of North Buton Regency

A very clear and strategic advantage can also be found in the number of Kulisusu people who occupy strategic government positions both in the executive and legislative spheres. At the
executive branch, in addition to the Regents and Vice Regents practically almost all SKPD in the structure the government of Buton Utara Regency is led by elites from Kulisusu society. Local legislative bodies do the same thing where the Kulisusu community in terms of number once again shows its superiority. Of the two election periods after the establishment of the North Buton Regency, the number of Kulisusu people elected as members of the regional legislature is much larger than the legislative members of the Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba communities. Here is a comparison of the number of legislative members coming from the Kulisusu community with Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba.

**Table 4.2 Comparison Number of legislative members of North Buton Regency**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Number of peroid 2009-2014</th>
<th>Total period 2014-2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kulisusu</td>
<td>14 people</td>
<td>16 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Kulisusu</td>
<td>6 people</td>
<td>4 people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sequence of figures presented in the above data shows how superior and dominant the Kulisusu community is compared to other areas in North Buton. For that the presence of free-rider who became the main donor in financing pemekaran, the North Buton regency establishment committee containing figures dominated by the elite Kulisusu both the number and interests of all struggled can be understood fairly. The big question why the Kulisusu community is so dominant in the establishment of this District finds the answer. The above data answered by showing the superiority of Kulisusu community far above other community in this regency both in terms of population and economic ability so as to enable Kulisusu society take central role as well as dominant in forming North Buton Regency. Moreover, the dominance
shown by mastering almost all important positions both in the executive and legislative sections in the next section will be used to oppose and to deal with the policy of the Central Government about the location of the capital of North Buton Regency in order to realize the old dream of making Ereke as the capital. Moreover, the dominance shown by mastering almost all important positions both in the executive and legislative sections in the next section will be used to oppose and to deal with the policy of the Central Government about the location of the capital of North Buton Regency in order to realize the old dream of making Ereke as the capital. Moreover, the dominance shown by mastering almost all important positions both in the executive and legislative sections in the next section will be used to oppose and to deal with the policy of the Central Government about the location of the capital of North Buton Regency in order to realize the old dream of making Ereke as the capital.

**Center in Conflict Whirlpool**

The conflicts over the placement of the capital of North Buton Regency that confronts Buranga’s supporters as the capital city as stipulated in the Law with the Government of North Buton Regency can not simply be simplified as a community conflict with the government. This conflict should also be read and perfectly positioned primarily because this conflict positions the rule or the law as the object of contention. Therefore, this conflict is not merely a dispute between the people who support the Act for various reasons (Matara, 2016) on the one hand with the Local Government of Buton Utara Regency on the other hand refusing to implement article (7) of Law No. 14 of 2007 concerning the establishment of North Buton Regency.

Violent conflicts are being discussed after media reports of anarchist mass actions in demanding local governments to function Buranga as the capital in accordance with the Law’s
decree have in fact masked one other conflict. The real conflict takes place between the center and the region when Local Government decided to have a different dream with the Central Government about the location of the capital of North Buton Regency. The law as a power base owned by the central government can be said to function if the rules or laws are run by the local government with no exception. Therefore, the power of the central government over the regions can be seen from the regional compliance of various products of rules made by the central government. Conversely, the rejection of laws or rules as a product of the central government governing the course of government in the regions at least shows the inability of the center to discipline the region.

The concealment of conflict between the Central Government and Local Government in the conflict of placement of the capital of North Buton Regency can be understood because the location of the capital is not something extraordinary that should be disputed by the Central Government. Especially in consultations conducted by the Local Government of North Buton at the Central Government proclaim that the movement is based on the aspirations of the people of North Buton. However, the presence of people Bonegunu, Kambowa as well as questions concerning Wakorumba in fungsikannya Buranga as the capital mandated by the Act to make the position of the central government in this conflict is central. The central government is forced out and up on stage by its exposure conflicts between the community supporting the Law dealing with the Regional Government that defied the Law. The Central Government in an instant becomes an actor involved in the conflict because of the Law passed with the House of Representatives and therefore should be responsible for the policies it produces.
Rejecting the Will of the Center

The government’s inability to find the problems that undermine the lives of its citizens will undoubtedly intervene to succeed in providing an ideal solution to the problem. Recorded several attempts of intervention by lembaga institutions mentioned above in trying to resolve the conflict is over. Interventions ranging from direct descendency of the field to see the conditions of the conflict closer to the letter of reprimand to the Local Government of North Buton Regency. It is also augmented by various verbal warnings through the media. Recorded several times the Ministry of Home Affairs down the field together with the team from DPD RI to make direct observations. Meet directly with the people who support Buranga as the capital as well as the Local Government to see the issue of the capital clearly. The result public support for Buranga given a promise that will be promoted pemfungsian Buranga as Capital.

Intervention and insistence put forward by the Central Government in this case the Ministry of Home Affairs down immediately functioning Buranga as mandated by the Act responded openly by the Regional Government. Resistance is openly conducted by the Local Government of North Buton Regency by filing a judicial review of Article 7 of Law Number 14 of 2007 relating to the location of the capital of North Buton Regency. The result was rejected by the Constitutional Court, forcing the Regional Government to function Buranga as the capital. Therefore, the Local Government cleverly exploits the inability of the center to control the area at all times. The strategy of pretending to be obedient and expanding its powerful location in reducing central intervention over the conflict of placement of the capital of North Buton Regency.
1. Pretend to be obedient

The failure of the open resistance effort by submitting a judicial review of the law on the establishment of the North Buton Regency, raises awareness for the Local Government that changing the central policy by challenging the Central Government’s claim is not the right choice. In addition to being easily broken and proven to have failed, opposing claims is directly considered harmful because it will further reinforce the opposite position between the center and the region.

Therefore, imaging that the Regional Government has complied and accommodated the will of the Central Government is the most profitable ideal choice. This method, although still easily read by community groups that support Buranga as the capital, can at least reduce the pressure provided by the center. The Local Government benefits from the distance it is not easy for the Central Government to reach it at all times. The distance that when we talk about the North Buton District is even just sticking into the surface when the fires burn the Regent’s Office due to the conflict of the capital as the trigger, certainly much different when we talk about the city of Bandung or Tangerang which sting close to Jakarta as the center of the State Government where the areas will be very easy and quickly reached by the Central Government. In addition, the resources owned by the Central Government are limited in the sense that the power and attention of the Central Government is not always devoted to observing the conflicts of this capital city. Even if the Central Government decides to directly engage in the field and observe clearly the problems that occur in this conflict, it also does not escape the accuracy of the Regional Government. The area benefited by the presence of the center to the region is always official and therefore always preceded by the advance notice so that the Local Government has time to prepare everything to welcome the team assigned by the Central Government or a combination of other institutions.
Therefore, showing compliance when dealing directly with the Central Government and betraying it behind is a potent method. We can find many attempts by the center to pressure the Local Government to comply with the Law and immediately enable Buranga as its capital to be responded to in a very relaxed and complacent manner. Central Government letters with diverse traits that all illustrate the importance of the letter, earning such a friendly response from the Regional Government. Two interesting things from letters sent by the Local Government to the Central Government are at least: first, the contents of the letter proclaim that what the center wants to do has been done by the region and or will soon be implemented; secondly, all the letters actually designed, typed and signed in Ereke address Buranga, which is tens of kilo meters and never functioned.

Showing the mask of compliance which is a simple technique but has a very powerful effect in winning the battle about the location of the capital. The Local Government is well aware of the central government’s position in this conflict vortex. Due to the limited resources it has, the Central Government tends to be awaiting the reaction of the community to intervene in this conflict. Therefore, muffling the voice of the community groups that defend the capital in Buranga means dampening the voice of the Central Government. Therefore, to suppress the group that opposes the policy of the Regional Government about the capital means winning the fight.

This modestly compliant doctrine technique is so strategic, at least in terms of two things: first, in the short run the pressures provided by the central government are mitigated by showing compliance when the center engages in blatant actions or direct communication with the Regional Government to compel the area obeys the rules of legislation either through letters or meetings initiated by both parties.
Second, in addition to providing misinformation to the center so as to deal with the interventions it undertakes, moreover it succeeded in slowly suppressing the sounds of opposition that emerged from the Bonegunu, Kambowa and Wakorumba communities that hindered the local government’s dream to make Ereke as the center of government in this district. The slow but very effective effect of winning the battle over the capital’s position by the pretending to obey the Central Government is due to its ability to gain time. The Local Government with all its resources, including the strengths that support it, realizes very well how much resources the challengers have among the people of North Buton. Hence the long duration of the conflict will very easily destroy the power of the Local Government’s policy challenger if it is not accompanied by the optimal resources to finance a resistance.

The technique of pretending to be obedient has immense destructive power because it provides misleading information to the Central Government about how the position of the Regional Government in this case. Furthermore, misguided information makes the central government can not provide any further intervention than just give a warning or reprimand. Finally, the hope of a group of opponents of local government policy about the location of the capital of North Buton Regency which is fully dependent on the Central Government ended up as a hope because it does not come true. At this point the community resistance that refuses Government policy slack off and even lost his trail. At the same time, the presence of the Central Government in this conflict ended because of the loss of people’s aspirations at the lower levels.

2. Expand location

Since the beginning the Regional Government and the DPRD have attempted to move the capital of Buton Utara District from Buranga to Ereke. Through a series of policies
that are decided jointly, both institutions agreed to propose the transfer of the capital.

Two interesting things that are also full of engineering justified the birth of the proposal is the first, the aspirations of the people who represent each district in the District of North Buton on approval of the transfer of the capital from Buranga to Kulisu. Each Sub-District is represented by two people agreeing to move the capital to Ereke. The big problem is that the names of those who sign the agreement are not even the elite of the people who even in their own village are nothing to be called in the eyes. It is very clear that the two most daring and strongest sub-districts refuse to make Ereke the capital.

Secondly, the availability of land that will be used as the location of the construction of office facilities and infrastructure of the candidate of the capital city. In the document of the proposed transfer of capital from Buranga to Kulisu stated that the people of Kulisu Sub-district are ready to provide 300 hectares of land for the purpose of construction of office space facilities. The document contains a very complete statement of the willingness of the community to provide land for free. Even though the readiness of this land has been made long before the establishment of North Buton, but this document is also used as a complement to facilitate the transfer of the capital of Buranga to Ereke after pembe n tukan this district. However, the story of voluntary land provision by the community is illustrated only in official documents used by the Regional Government to convince the center to immediately approve the proposed removal of the capital. In fact, the community land used as the construction of office facilities in Ereke is obtained through sale and purchase transactions.

Nevertheless, the removal of the capital city was hampered by a requirement that required the occupation of the former
capital for 5 years before being transferred. Hence efforts to relocate the capital have not continued even though the Central Government has signaled approval (interview with the head of the field of regional administration of the Ministry of Interior, February 2017). The local government is reluctant to continue this effort because the consideration of running the government for 5 years means that it must also build an office area. Development of office area is feared will increasingly complicate efforts to move the capital in addition to budget considerations, the shadow of public denial will be greater, especially the people Bonegunu and Kambowa clearly into consideration.

The effort to shift or move the capital finally proved not the right way to fulfill the dream of making capital of Kulisu, therefore the alternative available as the last option is to expand the capital region. The choice of expanding the area of the capital is a strategic choice because in addition to facilitate the face of central government because the Regional Government remains to accommodate the central policy, especially regarding the location of the capital, at the same time expand the capital region also managed to shift significantly the construction of offices that must be done in Buranga to Ereke Kulisu. The technique of expanding the capital area is justified through the Local Government’s policy on spatial planning of North Buton Regency in 2012-2032. A great and powerful political compromise between the oak utif and legislative areas make this policy run without significant constraints. Therefore, in the context of the process, this policy is difficult to be explored because almost every process is done by the Regional Government so as not to spill the space of debate with the DPRD (interviews with former Chairman of North Buton Regency DPRD period 2009-2014 in March 2017. Through Local Regulation No. 51 of 2012 on the spatial plan of North Buton regency in 2012-2032, Buranga.
urban area is designated as an economic growth area with coverage throughout the Kulisu Subdistrict and Bonegunu Subdistrict in the east include Buranga, Wa Ode Angkalo, Eensumala, UPT Buranga, langere, and Koepisino. Thus, this policy succeeded in expanding the location of the capital, called Buranga, located in Bonegunu Sub-district to cover all Kulisu Sub-districts. Interestingly this policy extends the capital even further north even through one district. The distance of the capital defined under the Act extends for tens of kilometers. Buranga as the capital version of the Law on the establishment of North Buton district is 65 kilometers away with the office of the Bupati in Ereke Kulisu (Bonegunu District in Figures 2016). In short, this policy was made to deal with the failure to transfer the capital from Buranga Bonegunu Subdistrict to Kulisu, so that the centralization of office infrastructure development in Ereke Kulisu Sub-district can be done without significant obstacles from the center and the people in the region.
The policy of expanding the region of the capital is important seen from two things, *firstly*, on how the local government gets around the Kulisu community’s dream to make Ereke the capital as expected in the process of formation as well as after the formation of this District is an ambitious way. The expansion of the capital, which was originally only a speck in the North Bonegunu subdistrict, expanded to the eastward direction to all Kulisu sub-districts although the villages of Bonegunu Sub-district were physically composed of several islands known to be difficult to reach except by limited sea transportation does not even have access roads that connect it with other villages in the
District Bonegunu and Kulisu. Therefore, expanding the capital to include the villages of the eastern Bonegunu District more as a strategy to shorten the distance with Kulisu. Secondly, the policy succeeded substantively shifting the distant capital to Kulisu so that the construction of the regional government office in Ereke gained a clear footing. The logic of capital expansion is practically invisible because Buranga as the capital before the expansion was abandoned by leaving only a few government offices that had not been functional since its inception.

The birth of the regional policy on spatial planning of North Buton regency in 2012-2032 from the side of central and regional relations at least makes it easy for the Regional Government in responding to the central intervention in order to immediately function as Buranga as the capital. The expansion of the capital’s territory means that wherever the center of the capital is to be built does not violate the Law because it still accommodates the central policy that establishes Buranga as the capital. Hence the debate about setting Buranga as the capital according to provisions of Law expires. So, finding the name of Buranga which became the address of the Regional Government administration built in Kulisu Sub-district is not difficult.

CONCLUSION

The conflicts of the capital of North Buton Regency that held this district since some time after it was formed in 2007 is not just a conflict that confronts the Local Government as a policy maker with the Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba communities whose interests are defeated by it. Moreover, all the debates and contradictions about the location of the capital with the Regional Government as the main actors of defiance of the Act and therefore make it as the most highlighted actor in this issue, has managed to hide the actual conflict actors. Behind the glory Local Government
there are resources that are so strong support it. Kulisu community groups with many advantages that are very far when compared with the Bonegunu, Kambowa and North Wakorumba people who try to defend the Buranga capital according to the Law become the mind, the mind and energy for the Regional Government in this conflict.

As discussed in the section before, the desire to make Ereke at Kulisu as the capital has long existed even since the work of the establishment of the North Buton Regency was done. With the various advantages it has, Kulisu community seeks for candidates District in the north of the island of Buton is the capital of Ereke. However, the other agenda embodied in political maneuver by the parent regency makes the hope of establishing a new district as well as putting the district capital at home itself fails to be met perfectly. The district was established but the hope of making Ereke the capital failed to be fulfilled. Therefore, changing or opposing the central policy about the location of the capital is an alternative that can realize expectations that had failed to materialize before. The Kulisu community as a dominant society group that has various economic and political advantages over other community groups in North Buton controls the local executive and legislative hence the policy taken by the Regional Government regarding the capital of North Buton Regency all won the interests of the Kulisu community. By way of political compromise these two institutions substantif managed to move the capital from Buranga Bonegunu District to Ereke Kulisu District.

The intervention of the Central Government in the conflicts of the capital of this regency by putting pressure on the Regional Government is not absolutely obeyed by the regions. Mechanical pretend this docile very strategic in terms of the ability of n yes stall until the point where the power of the opponent completely drained even exhausted. Techniques
used by the Local Government is well able to reduce the resistance of the people who basically do not have the balanced resources to continuously able to make opposition. The extinguished noise caused by the resistance carried out by community groups in the area against the Regional Government directly extinguishes also the attention and intervention of the Central Government in the conflicts of this capital city. It is as explained right in a previous chapter that the unrest sparked by public opposition to Government policy that forces involved and intervene central course of the conflict. Therefore, extinguishing the resistance of the local people means extinguishing the intervention and pressure of the Central Government.

The following technique the author found in analyzing the capital’s conflicts in the northern district of Buton island as a way of getting around the intervention by the Central Government is expanding the location. This technique has in common with Scott’s study in analyzing the ways in which pre-colonial village communities avoided state coverage or pursuit. Both are equally focused on the location as a tool around the country. If Scott’s study of strategic and mobile location selection is so inaccessible to the state, then in this study the location is enlarged enormously. The difference is that in Scott’s studies the villagers flatly rejected the state’s claim to include them in the scope of state space with countless losses, so exploiting the distance and the terrain that is difficult to reach by the state is the best way. While in this study, the central claims about the location of the capital are not openly opposed despite being questioned. Further in this study avoiding the reach of the Central Government is not possible because the required conditions are not available as in the colonial period did not. Hence attempting to show the accommodating attitude of the central claim while substantially achieving its own interests is the most likely
step. Local government does not need to shift the location of the capital to where it wants, otherwise political compromise is done to expand the capital to cover the desired area.

It is interesting and an important finding in the context of regional resistance to the central assault is the utilization of the limitations of central state resources to control the area at any time. In the capital conflicts analyzed in the study showed that the success of the resistance by the Local Government lies in the ability to get around the limitations of central resources in controlling the region. This is in line with Scott’s study of pre-colonial village communities seeking to avoid the pursuit and coverage of the country. Besides equally utilizing the location as a tool to get around the state or the Central Government, the success of resistance techniques of both studies lies in the limited resources of the state or the Central Government. In Scott’s study the state does not have enough resources to reach traditional villages that are deliberately placed at great distances and difficult to reach the country. In fact, Scott’s state-avoidance technique was stated to survive just before the colonial period, after which the colonial impacts that doubled the power of the state made the gaps of the limitations obscured. Instead, in the study of the location of the capital of North Buton District as has been predicted by Scott avoidance of the state technique is impossible. Countries with very easy to reach every corner of his territory. However, reaching every area is not necessarily able to control it at any time. Therefore, utilizing the limitations of the Central Government in controlling the area by way of getting around is the best option.

Moreover, this study is interesting in terms of discussing the generally understood conclusions about the relationship between the center and the region. The central government, always described as an ever-superior entity over the region, finds no justification. On the contrary, the Regional
Government is able to provide resistance against the will of the Central Government which attempts to intervene in the conflict in the regions. At the same time, this thesis finds an interesting point about central policy which is substantially inconsistent with regional interests. The decision of the Central Government on the location of the capital was successfully countered by the region slowly until substantively the policy was successfully removed and therefore failed to be implemented.

REFERENCES
Review Results

1. Your number of characters exceeds the minimum requirement of 8,000
2. Clearer elaboration of the central and regional initial relations so that this conflict can occur, is there an unbalanced power relation behind it
3. Describe briefly and clearly why this research using a closed approach is not otherwise open
4. The form of confrontation between the center and the region is more clarified
5. Overall this research is quite capable but there are still some points of change so that the explanation is more balanced and comprehensive.