



Increasing the Role of the Sultan in Local Politics: Case Study of the Role of the Sultan of Tidore in the Policy Making Process for the Special Capital Region of Sofifi in North Maluku Province

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze and identify the increasing role of the sultan in the democratic era in the context of building his role in society and his role as an informal leader in influencing formal institutions. The approach used in this study is a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach was chosen in this research because it is able to explore in depth and detail a social phenomenon and human problem. The results of this research show that in increasing his role, Sultan Husain Syah placed greater emphasis on symbolic roles to build a positive image in society. This increased role then allows him to influence the role of formal institutions by dominating their roles and ideas in a policy-making process. In this case, it is the policy making process for the Special Capital Region of Sofifi in North Maluku Province.

Introduction

In developing countries, there is a tendency for people to abandon traditional values and are trying to become a modern society. In conditions like this, society is in a transition position between abandoning old values towards newer values. However, in this transition, there are old elites who are still trying to maintain their influence - even though social, cultural and political conditions have changed, such as the encouragement of wider citizen participation in politics.

A shift or transition towards democracy such as political liberalization also occurred in Indonesia after the New Order. This is proven by the implementation of decentralization policies as Van Klinken (2007) argues that regional autonomy is the cause of the return of traditional leaders such as sultans. Their role is starting to emerge in the dynamics of local politics in Indonesia because decentralization has provided a new space for them to appear in the public sphere more than before. In his research, Van Klinken stated that there were at least 23 Sultanates or Kingdoms that emerged after the New Order. However, the emergence of a sultanate or kingdom at the local level does not necessarily restore their hegemony and be able to raise the profile of their sultanate. Most of the sultans who reappeared failed to build their political power due to social changes in society which tended to be unsympathetic to the kingdom which was considered the embodiment of feudalism.

Based on this explanation, the current democratic era provides space for old elites such as informal leaders to act as royal leaders or sultans in the past. However, it does not rule out the possibility that those who are unable to adapt or are still using old methods that tend to be feudal will gradually be eroded by the changes occurring in society so that the obedience that previously existed will slowly be lost in the flow of democratization. In these conditions, a sultan as an informal leadership entity is required to follow the development of democracy, namely by using more dynamic methods to influence society, for example approaching the

community as a channel for aspirations or so on in order to build a positive image before the community. Apart from that, the prestige of their social background as sultans makes them highly respected in society and makes them have social capital that is different from other elites.

One of the sultans who seems capable of playing a new space in regional autonomy and trying to adapt to democratization is the Sultan of Tidore in North Maluku Province. In North Maluku, there are four Islamic Sultanates that form the Moloku Kie Raha alliance or the union of four kingdoms. The term Moloku Kie Raha describes four authorities in Maluku, namely: Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, and Jailolo (Amal 2007; Djafaar 2007). These four Sultanates also experienced ups and downs or dynamics that were almost the same as other sultanates or kingdoms in Indonesia, especially after the New Order.

In recent years the role of the Sultan of Tidore has been prominent. The Sultan of Tidore is considered capable of increasing his role in the political dynamics in North Maluku, one of which is by intervening in policies set by the government. This policy is a plan to establish a New Autonomous Region (DOB) as the capital of Sofifi since North Maluku was expanded into a new province on 12 October 1999 in Law No. 46 of 1999. This law also designated Sofifi as the capital of North Maluku Province. However, because there was no supporting infrastructure, the capital of North Maluku province was temporarily placed in Ternate City.

However, Sofifi's status as the provincial capital is still not certain. The ratification of Sofifi as an autonomous region is still at an impasse, due to a moratorium from the central government and the Sultan of Tidore Declaration Number 01/KT/2010 issued by Sultan Djafar Sjah which contains a rejection of the Sofifi DOB. The influence of the Sultan of Tidore to reject Sofifi's DOB discourse is difficult to control. Even though the Sofifi DOB has received support from the Sofifi community and the regional government, Sofifi's status as an autonomous region has not been granted by the central government because of this rejection. Even the efforts made by the central and regional governments to communicate persuasively with the Sultan of Tidore could not result in a decision to make Sofifi an autonomous region. Until finally Sofifi's status received approval from the Sultan of Tidore, but in a different format, namely that the Sofifi DOB was not implemented but was designated as a Special Capital Region which did not have the same authority as capitals in general.

In the explanation above, it can be seen that the presence of democracy provides freedom for anyone to participate in the political process regardless of social status and background. However, on the other hand, the development of democracy can also provide space or opportunity for the old elite, namely the sultans, to return to playing their role in political dynamics, both in society and the government at the national and local levels, especially since they have a social status that makes them respected by society. The Sultan of Tidore is one of the sultans who is considered capable of playing this role. The important role of the Sultan of Tidore, which re-emerged in the early days of the Reformation, was actually able to survive and increase its influence in the political policy process in North Maluku, namely the formation of the Sofifi New Autonomous Region (DOB) which resulted in the establishment of Sofifi as a special capital region without the formation of an autonomous region.

Based on these problems, questions arise that must be analyzed, namely why was the Sultan of Tidore able to increase his political role so that even though he was only an informal leader, he was able to intervene in the policy-making process for the Special Capital Region of Sofifi? In general, this research aims to understand aspects of local political dynamics other than elections (namely the role of an informal leader) regarding the role of the Sultan as a leader of informal institutions in the political policy process in North Maluku. Or at a more specific level, this

research aims to find out why the Sultan of Tidore was able to increase his role as an informal leader who intervened in the policy-making process for the Special Capital Region of Sofifi, North Maluku Province.

There are quite a lot of studies regarding royal politics and the development of democracy. These studies explain that business leaders in the world experience conditions or are faced with conditions that require change. These studies state that the development of democracy actually weakens the position of a King or Emperor, therefore they are required to adapt to the development of democracy. Because in the modern state system which tends to be democratic, the role of these kings will become narrower and even disappear altogether (Smith, 2012; Zallum, 1990; Berry 2001). Meanwhile in Indonesia, there are many studies that discuss the shifts that occurred in royal leaders in Indonesia. The underlying cause for this is because since the colonial era, work and the sultanate in Indonesia have been controlled for colonial interests. Entering the era of independence, the position of kings and sultans became increasingly cornered because of their closeness to colonialism so that their powers were taken by the state, except for the Sultanate of Yogyakarta which was given privileges by the state. However, there are still royal leaders who are able to maintain hegemony over society. (Ricklefs, 1981; Onghokham, 1985; Magenda 1991; Van Klinken, 2007; Bubandt, 2004).

Use of Theory

This research uses positive social identity theory from Nishizaki (2004) and is supported by the theory of informal institutions from Helmke & Levitsky (2012) to find out how the Sultan of Tidore as the leader of informal institutions was able to increase his role. With this enhanced role, he was then able to intervene in government policy, in this case the establishment of the Sofifi Special Capital Region in North Maluku Province.

The use of positive social identity theory in this research focuses more on the relationship between the Sultan of Tidore and society. The implementation is by analyzing the process of the Sultan of Tidore in increasing its symbolic role in society, namely tangible symbols (corporeal) and intangible symbols (incorporeal). Meanwhile, the theory of Informal Institutions analyzes the position of the Sultan of Tidore as a leader or elite of informal institutions who tries to influence the policies set by formal institutions by using his capacity, namely the domination of the role and power of ideas in the New Autonomous Region (DOB) policy-making process which is replaced by Special Region policy-making. The capital of Sofifi in North Maluku Province.

Analysis regarding the increasing role of the Sultan of Tidore, divided into four parts. The first and second parts discuss the symbolic role of Sultan Husain Syah in building his positive image in society by producing symbols. The third and fourth sections analyze Sultan Husain Syah's position as a leader of informal institutions that can influence formal institutional policies.

Methods

This research is based on qualitative research methods. Increasing the role of Sultan Husain Syah through the production of symbols, as well as his dominant role in formal institutional policies. The data in this research is based on interviews with various parties involved in the process. Such as the public, academics, journalists, and formal institutional leaders and elites. Secondary data obtained from media coverage, archives/documents, academic journals, and interviews with local experts were also used to refine this research.

Results and Discussion

Production of Tangible Symbols (Corporeal) Sultan Husain Syah

From the results of this research, the use or production of tangible (Corporeal) symbols does not appear to be dominantly used by Sultan Husain Syah to increase his role in society, because Sultan Husain Syah in his capacity as a sultan no longer has a formal position or position in a government that has power. So the use of this symbol is rarely found. This is because the use of corporeal symbols places more emphasis on government elites who have authority over policy agendas in the form of physical symbols, for example infrastructure development. However, Sultan Husain Syah showed a different role by trying to be a voice for the aspirations of the community, and trying to provide intervention or input to policy makers, namely the government, so that development could be carried out.

As stated by journalists who have covered every agenda of Sultan Husain Syah during visits or meetings with the public. According to him, people are more likely to see it from the perspective of who is behind the development. This tendency arises because of their view that the birth of policies originates from aspirations expressed through the sultan, who they think is respected by the government. So that the aspirations brought forward can then be considered and executed (Interview with Muhammad Wildan, Sentra News.id journalist, 24 November 2023).

Meanwhile, from the government side, in this case the Deputy Mayor of Tidore Islands, Muhammad Sinen, also delivered a statement confirming the process. According to him, the government's closeness to the Sultan of Tidore cannot be separated. This is because the Tidore Sultanate had a big historical contribution to the formation of the Indonesian state, so that from a government perspective, especially the Tidore Islands City government, views the sultan as a highly respected figure. Muhammad Senen also confirmed that several policies from the government, for example infrastructure development in the form of road repairs and so on, were the result of proposals made by the sultan. However, we are processing the proposal according to the applicable mechanism (Interview with Deputy Mayor of Tidore Islands, Muhammad Senen, 25 November 2023).

From this statement it can be seen that the production of tangible (Corporeal) symbols does not seem to be used too dominantly by Sultan Husain Syah in increasing his role in society. This is because Sultan Husain Syah, in his capacity as Sultan, does not have a formal position in government and is not an elite who leads power, so the use of this symbol is rarely found. However, the sultan's role as a liaison for community aspirations can apparently intervene in infrastructure policies that have a direct impact on the community.

Even though Sultan Husain Syah did not directly use the role of tangible symbols by making physical development policies in the form of facilities or infrastructure, the public perceived that the infrastructure development policy was the result of their aspirations which were channeled through the role of the Sultan of Tidore, namely Sultan Husain Syah. So it can be concluded that the use of tangible (corporeal) symbols is one of the roles used by Sultan Husain Syah, although not directly in making infrastructure decisions or policies.

Sultan Husain Syah's Production of Intangible (Incorporeal) Symbols

In the results of this research, the use of intangible (Incorporeal) symbols was the most dominant thing used by Sultan Husain Syah to increase his role in society. As according to Nishizaki (2004), intangible goods are not only material matters but also cultural, social and spiritual matters. Therefore, the results of this research analyze the production of intangible

(Incorporeal) symbols in several aspects, namely the cultural, social and spiritual aspects used by Sultan Husaian Syah in enhancing his role.

Cultural Aspects

In the cultural aspect, Sultan Husain Syah is said to be very active in every event, cultural procession or custom. This is because the position of a sultan today has shifted from previously being a formal position to an informal position in government. As Van Klinken (2007) argues, the sultans in Indonesia today do not represent themselves as dictatorial rulers, but they stand in the name of culture or customs, identity, local communities and the common good.

As explained above, the production of intangible symbols in the cultural aspect was the most dominant role used by Sultan Husain Syah. This can be seen in his statement as follows.

"Even though my position as sultan is currently in the Tidore Sultanate, it is no longer a formal institution like in the past. However, the traditional structure or government of the Tidore Sultanate still exists and is maintained in every region of the sultanate even though its duties and functions have been replaced by the local government, but their role in terms of culture or customs still exists and cannot be replaced. And I regularly attend traditional events or cultural festivals that they hold. Likewise, at every traditional sultanate ceremony, I routinely invite them to come to the Tidore Sultanate palace. Because without them the system in this sultanate would not be able to run as it should" (Interview with Sultan Husain Syah, 18 November 2023).

As explained above, a similar statement was also conveyed by academic Mansyur Djamal. According to him, the traditional apparatus under the Tidore Sultanate is still connected to this day. This enabled Sultan Husain Syah to play a role, especially in the cultural aspect, by mobilizing the imperial apparatus spread throughout the Tidore Sultanate.

In addition, as explained by Nishizaki (2004), the key factor here is the fact that festivals and ceremonies bring people together. This physical act of gathering, if carried out consistently, can help regenerate what Durkheim called a "collective conscience", an emotionally charged sense of belonging to a social group. In the case of various celebrations, this shared emotional bond is further intensified. Thus, all the incorporeal symbols created by Sultan Husain Syah function as a unifier of society.

During his time as Sultan of Tidore, Sultan Husain Syah held events aimed at building the culture and identity of the Tidore Sultanate. One of the events created is the Tidore Anniversary Festival which is held by the sultanate every April 12. This activity involves all levels of society both from outside and in all areas that historically belonged to the Tidore Sultanate.

The Tidore Anniversary Festival is an effort to explore, develop and preserve the historical cultural heritage of the Tidore Sultanate as well as introduce and promote Tidore with its cultural arts, history and natural resources as a tourism attraction. This area, which is ± 910 years old, if viewed from a historical perspective, has very strategic historical value, with added cultural nuances that have grown deeply rooted in the community, making this event quite special (Hirto, 2023).

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that these cultural activities or rituals attract many people to attend and watch. This is included in Hirto (2023) which graphically explains the public's attraction to holding the Tidore Anniversary Festival activities as follows:

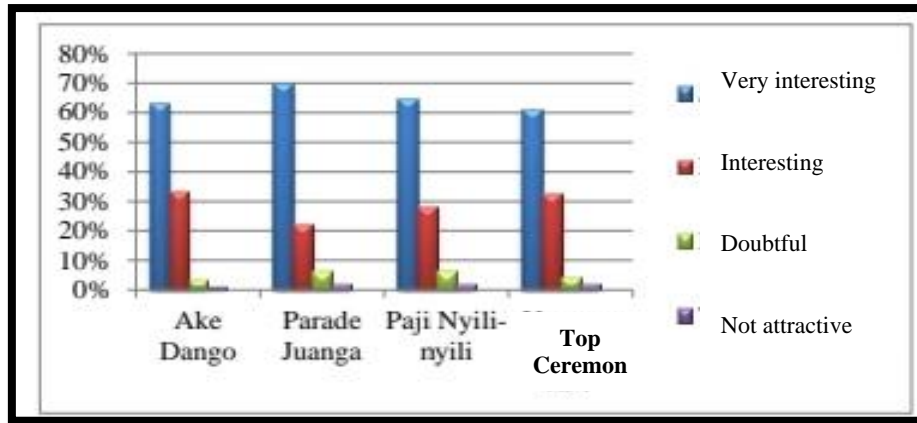


Figure 1. The attraction of the community in the Tidore Anniversary Festival activities

Source: Graph of community attraction in Tidore Anniversary Festival activities, Hirto (2023)

Judging from the graph, it can be seen that the level of public interest in the Tidore Anniversary Festival activities is more than 60%.

From the explanation above, it can be seen why intangible (Incorporeal) symbols in the cultural aspect were very dominantly used by Sultan Husain Syah, because of three factors, namely: (1) The government structure of the Tidore Sultanate is tied to culture or customs; (2) Even though there has been a shift in function from previously being a formal government apparatus, the role of culture or customs still remains in the structure or apparatus of the sultanate; (3) The structure or instruments of the sultanate still exist and are maintained today; (4) Community character that still upholds customs.

Social Aspect

Sultan Husain Syah also used incorporeal symbols in a social aspect. This can be seen in his role in building relationships or closeness with other elites, for example political figures and state officials to high-ranking military officials and ulama. This relationship was marked by the giving of honorary titles by Sultan Husain Syah to these elites. The following is a list of honorary degree awards in recent years.

Table 1. List of Honorary Degrees Awarded by Sultan Husain Syah

Honours	Time
<i>Madofa State Seeds</i> (Dipertuan Agung Anak Negara)	May 8, 2015
<i>Capita Marinyoa</i> (Panglima Armada Laut)	25 June 2016
Ngofa Bangsa Imamulummar (Muslim Leader)	27 May 2017
<i>Capita Malamo Nyili Gulu Gulu</i> (Great Commander in the Far Region)	June 8, 2017
<i>Jou Major Kadato Kie Nyili Gulu-gulu</i> (Junior Officer of the Sultanate of Tidore in the Far Region)	January 27, 2018
<i>Ngofa Bangsa ma Guraci</i> (Best Noble Princess)	March 9, 2018
<i>Ngofa Tidore</i> (Anak Tidore)	April 12, 2018
<i>Halifatul Mukarram Ala Jabilitidore</i> (Representative of the Sultan of Tidore in Wilyah Jauh)	January 29, 2021
<i>Syaikhu Ngolo Ma Oti</i> (Pemimpin Armada Perikanan)	7 March 2022
<i>Capita Marinyo Nyili Gulu Gulu</i> (Naval Warlord of Tidore Sultanate of Far Region)	28 November 2022

Source: Tidore Sultanate Documentation, 2023

Judging from the list of honorary degrees awarded, it can be seen that Sultan Husain Syah not only built emotional closeness with these elites, but also tried to build ties between the elites and himself. Giving an honorary title can directly create attachments based on certain interests and may only be the personal interests of a sultan, thereby increasing his prestige. Apart from that, Sultan Husain Syah also built relationships with various other groups or elites. For example, political figures, public figures, state officials and so on

Apart from that, Sultan Husain Syah's capacity, who is also a member of the Regional Representative Council (DPD), makes it easier for him to build relationships with other elites, in this case political figures and state officials. Meanwhile, his relationship with the community is often seen in carrying out his functions as a DPD member. Namely implementing the DPD's agenda, for example recess or outreach to the community. This is certainly an added value for Sultan Husain Syah in increasing his role and influence through the use of incorporeal symbols, namely in the social aspect.

In society's view. They considered that the closeness that had developed between them and Sultan Husain Syah was not just because they respected the position of a sultan, especially in his capacity as a member of the DPD RI. This made him more trusted to convey their aspirations or complaints, most of which were realized after being championed by the sultan. As stated by community leaders as follows

"The relationship between the sultan and the community has been well established for generations and traditionally. This makes a sultan highly respected and respected by the people. Sultan Husain Syah is an example of a sultan who can play a role in society, indeed in his capacity he is also a member of the DPD RI, but for us as people who are also indigenous citizens of the Tidore Sultanate, this is actually good so that our aspirations are heard and can be conveyed to the government. So it was natural that we received his visit with something festive" (Interview with Ade Muhidin, 20 November 2023).

Spiritual Aspect

It cannot be denied that the sultanates in Indonesia often mixed traditional culture and Islam. Cultural and social aspects cannot be separated from and are connected to spiritual or religious aspects that are inherent in the traditions or customs of the sultanate. This is proven by the religious spiritual activities carried out by the Tidore Sultanate to always maintain the traditional values left by their ancestors.

There are four traditional activities that are still maintained and have special value for the Tidore traditional community. For example, the religious tradition where every year in the month of Ramadan, the people and the Sultanate of Tidore hold prayer rituals to welcome the arrival of Lailatul Qodar night and other religious celebrations such as commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad has become part of a religious tradition that still continues today (Arlina 2020).

The use of incorporeal symbols is also seen in a spiritual aspect. As explained above, the use of this symbol can be seen from the religious activities routinely carried out by the Tidore Sultanate, such as commemorating the night of Lalilatul Qodar and the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. Apart from that, Sultan Hsuain Syah also launched the Hijri calendar for the Tidore

Sultanate as a reference regarding the calendar and determination of 1 Shawwal and Ramadan which is based on ancient sultanate texts.

Domination of Sultan Husain Syah's Informal Leadership Role

As previously explained, Sultan Husain Syah was able to increase his role in society. This increased role then strengthens social capital so that it is able to influence or dominate a policy-making process made by formal institutions, namely the regional government. This of course cannot be separated from his position as Sultan of Tidore, even though currently the Sultanate of Tidore is no longer part of a formal institution and is only an informal institution outside the government.

The form of domination of the role played by Sultan Husain Syah in influencing the policy-making process carried out by the government can be seen from the regional government's policy-making process regarding the plan to establish the Sofifi New Autonomous Region (DOB). In this policy process, Sultan Husain Syah was a party that opposed the implementation of the policy plan in question. So the policy process for the formation of the Sofifi Capital New Autonomous Region (DOB) has reached a dead end. The reason why Sultan Husain Syah was a party opposing the implementation of the Sofifi DOB policy plan was based on the Sultan of Tidore's Decree Number 01/KT/2010 which was signed by the previous sultan, namely Sultan Djafar Syah, in 2010. This proclamation contained an express rejection of the regional government's plan to form a region. new autonomy over the capital Sofifi and emphasizes that Sofifi is an inseparable part of the City of Tidore Islands.

The rejection from the Sultanate of Tidore was the most discussed reason. As in Mansyur Djamal's academic statement. According to him, the edict given by the Sultan of Tidore to the government was not only a warning or warning, but was instructive in nature and required all indigenous peoples within the Tidore Sultanate to obey it. This is what then becomes a serious concern and obstacle for the government. Based on online media data processing with NVivo 12 Plus. Showing that 54% of the reasons for rejecting the policy of establishing Sofifi as a New Autonomous Region (DOB) by the provincial government were based on the decision of the Tidore Sultanate. This can be seen from the following image presentation. Meanwhile, other reasons, namely the moratorium from the central government, are only around 29.00% and the reasons for differences in development vision from the elites or institutions involved in this policy are only around 16.00%. As illustrated by the following data.

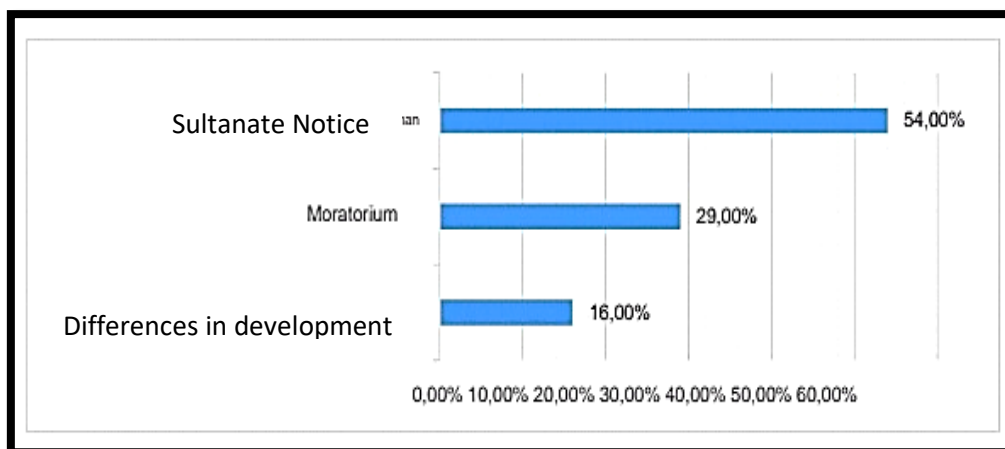


Figure 2. Reasons for Rejecting DOB Sofifi

Source: Online media analysis Using Nvivo 12 Plus (2023)

Meanwhile, on the other hand, the Tidore Islands City government continues to strive to ensure that the Sofifi DOB continues to be implemented because it is a campaign promise of the mayor and deputy mayor of Tidore Islands, Muhammad Ali and Muhammad Senen, in front of the Oba (Sofifi) community. They promised to fully support the provision of an autonomous region for the capital of Sofifi and this would be their priority if elected in the 2016 Tidore Islands mayoral election. However, this commitment or promise could not be implemented.

In 2019, the Tidore Islands City Government also explained that the reason why the DOB Sofifi policy plan had not been implemented was because there were two very basic things that caused the policy plan to not be realized. First, because of a moratorium from the central government, the policy planning process for the new autonomous region in the capital of Sofifi could not be implemented. Second, because there was an edict from the Tidore Sultanate which rejected this policy.

Meanwhile, in discussing Sofifi's DOB policy plan at the Tidore Islands City DPRD plenary meeting, no solution was found. This was because during the plenary session there was chaos which meant that the meeting had to be stopped.

One of the causes of the chaos was because the meeting was divided into two camps. Namely DPRD members who sided with the Tidore Sultanate Declaration, and DPRD members who sided with Sofifi's DOB policy. Apart from that, there was another cause, namely that a group of people on behalf of the Tidore tribe forced their way into and broke up the meeting (Awaluddin, 2016; Hasim, 2018).

A similar condition also occurred in the North Maluku Province DPRD institution, namely that there was a division between DPRD members who were for and against the Sofifi DOB policy process. Most of the DPRD members who opposed this policy were from Tidore who supported the Tidore Sultanate Declaration. However, the DPRD also encouraged the North Maluku provincial government to immediately resolve the issue of the New Autonomous Region (DOB) in the capital of Sofifi. However, on the other hand, the DPRD of North Maluku province also seems to have let go of the policy-making process for the Regional Autonomous Region (DOB) of the Sofifi capital, considering that the policy issue of the Sofifi DOB is not in the domain of the provincial DPRD, but is in the Tidore Islands City DPRD and the Tidore Islands City government because they are parent area of the Sofifi region. As stated by North Maluku provincial DPRD member Rahmi Husen as follows.

This fact illustrates that the influence of the Tidore Sultanate, in this case Sultan Husain Syah, was able to exert pressure which had a huge impact on the confusion over the status of the Sofifi DOB. In line with the statement by member of the Tidore Islands City DPRD, Ardinsyah Fauzi, who stated that the impact of the Tidore Sultanate Declaration resulted in uncertainty regarding Sofifi's status as a new autonomous area. This caused divisions to occur in the DPRD. Meanwhile, the Tidore Islands City government, namely the mayor and deputy mayor, has a dual attitude towards the Sofifi DOB policy. Because the issue of Sofifi as an autonomous region has only become a political tool during the campaign for the mayoral election. On the other hand, they support the Declaration from the Tidore Sultanate which rejects the discourse of granting Sofifi an autonomous region.

As a party who insists on pushing Sofifi's new autonomous regional policy process. The North Maluku provincial government is experiencing the same problem. Because it has not yet received approval from the Tidore Islands City government as the parent area of the Sofifi region. So the implementation of the policy process cannot be carried out. Despite this, the regional government is still trying to encourage the Tidore Islands City government to mediate

with the Tidore Sultanate to accept the policy process. However, the mediation process never took place.

Apart from that, the North Maluku provincial government is also mediating with the central government, namely President Joko Widodo and the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) to lift the Sofifi DOB moratorium. However, it turns out that this policy is no longer a priority for the central government due to various considerations, one of which is because there was rejection from the Sultanate of Tidore. The central government then suggested that the Sofifi DOB expansion policy be replaced with a Special Zone policy without going through the DOB process. In response to the wishes of the central government. The Governor of North Maluku, AbdulGani Kasuba, then mediated with the Tidore Sultanate in terms of equalizing perceptions regarding the policy plan to establish the Sofifi Special Capital Region without granting a new autonomous region. This policy plan was then welcomed by Sultan Husain Syah. This provides the fact that Sultan Husain Syah was able to play an important role and was successful in being a determinant in the political process in the government in North Maluku province, namely in the Sofifi Special Capital Region policy.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Home Affairs then made a visit to North Maluku with the aim of holding a meeting attended by Governor Idham Umasangadji's expert staff, chairman and deputy chairman of the Tidore Islands City DPRD and academic elements in Tidore Islands City, Bobato of the Tidore Sultanate, Youth Leaders and Community Figures. In the meeting. Asep Fajar Kuniawan, special staff to the Minister of Home Affairs, revealed that there was no agenda to form the Sofifi DOB. According to him, the existence of the Tidore Sultanate must of course be a matter of concern and not only remembering historical actors but how the legacy that has been implanted must remain and be maintained.

From the explanation above, it can illustrate that Sultan Husain Syah dominated his role as an informal institutional elite who could influence and change the role of formal institutions. As stated by Helmke & Levitsy (2012), the role of informal institutions dominates the political process in formal institutions. Apart from that, the powerlessness of formal institutions, which in this discussion are the North Maluku provincial government, the North Maluku provincial DPRD, the Tidore Islands City Government and the Tidore Islands City DPRD, are unable and effective in carrying out their roles and functions well in the policy making process for granting Autonomous Regions. New (DOB) Sofifi. So that the political process regarding this policy is actually dominated by the role of informal institutions, in this case the Tidore Sultanate. This explanation is in line with that mentioned by Helmke & Levitsky (2012) who explained that the changes experienced by informal institutions were caused by the weakness of formal institutions. This weakness can be seen from the ineffective role played by formal institutions, so that it can provide encouragement to informal institutions to play a dominant role in occupying the role of formal institutions.

Discourse on the Sofifi Special Capital Region Policy Process and the Power of Sultan Husain Syah's Ideas

As explained in the previous section, the Tidore Sultanate was able to dominate the role of government institutions in North Maluku province in the Sofifi New Autonomous Region (DOB) policy process. In this dominant role, it must be accompanied by ideas, so that it can strengthen the dominant role. In this section, we try to analyze the strength of Sultan Husain Syah's ideas or thoughts in the policy making process, from the previous policy process, namely the Sofifi New Autonomous Region (DOB) policy which was later changed to the Sofifi Special Capital Region policy.

Since the planned expansion of North Maluku province from its parent province, namely Maluku, in 1999, the debate regarding the capital of North Maluku province has begun to be discussed. This can be seen from the debate between the Sultanate of Ternate led by Sultan Mudaffar Syah and the government of Central Halmahera Regency, which at that time had its capital in Socio Tidore. At that time, the Sultanate of Ternate recommended Sidangoli as a candidate for provincial capital. This is because Sidangoli is part of the Sultanate's territory. However, the Central Halmahera government recommended Sofifi as a candidate for the provincial capital. Meanwhile, Central Halmahera and Sofifi are part of the Tidore Sultanate (Wijaya 2021).

Nevertheless, the Sultanate of Ternate is still trying to make Sidangoli the provincial capital. However, the regional government of North Maluku district and the central government did not agree to the request of the Sultanate of Ternate. The central government finally designated North Maluku as a province whose provincial capital is located in Sofifi through Law Number 46 of 1999. However, this law explains that the provincial capital of North Maluku is temporarily located in Ternate City, while preparing infrastructure development for the construction of the capital. Sofifi (Van Klinken 2007).

The North Maluku Provincial Government only started carrying out government activities in Sofifi in 2010 after 11 years of activity in Ternate City. This is because facilities and infrastructure such as government offices have been built in Sofifi, for example the office of the Governor of North Maluku province, although most of the government facilities are still in Ternate City. Despite this, the provincial government is still trying to propose a plan to establish the New Sofifi Autonomous Region to clarify Sofifi's status as the provincial capital. However, these efforts were hampered by objections which argued that Sofifi should not become a new autonomous region.

This rejection came from the Sultanate of Tidore, which officially issued the Sultan of Tidore Declaration to reject the planned policy of granting the autonomous region. The imperial edict contains an explanation consisting of three points. First, explaining that the application of local wisdom values to the indigenous communities of the Tidore Sultanate will become increasingly difficult if Sofifi is expanded as a new autonomous region. This is because granting an autonomous region could break socio-cultural relations if Sofifi becomes an autonomous region separate from the Tidore Islands region. Second, there is the problem of the sultanate's territory which is getting narrower day by day. This is because the Tidore Sultanate territories have been divided into several autonomous regions such as Central Halmahera, West Halmahera, East Halmahera and Papua. Third, emphasize to the North Maluku provincial government not to impose its will to designate Sofifi as a new autonomous region. If this continues, the provincial capital will have to move to another district.

Based on the explanation above, the rejection of the Sofifi New Autonomous Region (DOB) policy process began when the Tidore Sultanate issued the Sultan of Tidore Declaration which was signed by Sultan Djafar Syah. This commitment to rejection was then continued by Sultan Husain Syah as a replacement for Sultan Djafar Syah who had died. This can enable Sultan Husain Syah to position himself as an important part of the policy process and can even influence decision making regarding these policies. The form of Sultan Husain Syah's influence can be seen in the decision making regarding the plan to establish the Special Capital Region of Sofifi by the Central Government whose policies are considered to be the same as the ideas and thoughts expressed by the Sultan of Tidore.

The central government's decision regarding this policy plan apparently gave rise to a polemic that caused divisions in each of these institutions. This creates pros and cons between regional government institutions. As shown in the following image.

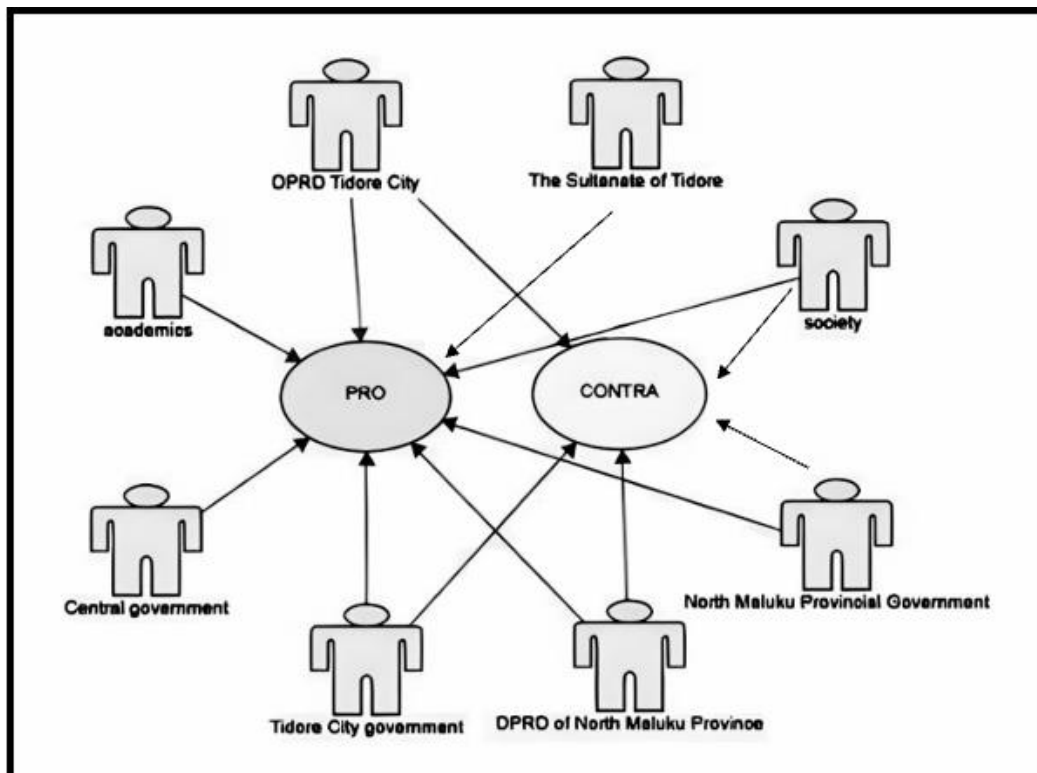


Figure 3. Pros and Cons of the Policy Process of the Special Capital Region of Sofifi

Source: Processed Author (2023)

The picture above shows eight categories that are mutually pro and con towards the Sofifi Special Capital Region policy process. These categories include the Central Government, Provincial Government, Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of North Maluku Province, Tidore Islands City Government, Tidore Islands City Regional People's Representative Council, Tidore Sultanate and Academics and Community. Apart from that, the picture explains the existence of inconsistencies that have caused divisions within regional government institutions and differences in views that occur within academic circles and society.

From this discourse, it can be seen that the Sofifi Special Capital Region policy process still raises pros and cons in all parts of the government in North Maluku Province that are involved in the policy process, except for the central government which initiated the policy plan for the Sofifi Special Capital Region and from the Tidore Sultanate. that supports the policy process. This provides justification that the policies issued by the central government have similar views to the ideas expressed by Sultan Husain Syah. Namely making Sofifi the center of government, and Sofifi still remains an inseparable part of the Tidore Islands City area without any process of granting an autonomous region.

The similarity in the policies of the central government and the views of Sultan Husain Syah is not something that can be seen as mere coincidence. However, these similarities are an accumulation of the dominant role played by Sultan Husain Syah in the policy making process. This is proven by the role of Sultan Husain Syah in the Sofifi Special Capital Region policy process. In this policy process, the Sultan of Tidore was able to position himself as an important

part in determining the policies planned by the central government. As admitted by Sultan Husain Syah, he stated that he had been invited several times to mediate with the central government regarding policy plans for the Sofifi Capital Region. The following is Sultan Husain Syah's statement.

"I was invited several times by the central government, namely Mr. Luhut Panjaitan and the Ministry of Home Affairs to discuss the policy of the Sofifi Special Capital Region. During the meeting we discussed the issue of accelerating Sofifi's development through the central government. Apart from that, in these meetings there was an agreement, namely the need for legal protection to be made by the government regarding the Sofifi Special Capital Region policy. "During the meeting, I conveyed to the central government that in drafting the government regulations it was also necessary to regulate the formation of a Special Kasawan Agency which must represent elements of the four sultanates in North Maluku" (Interview with Sultan Husain Syah, 18 November 2023).

In the explanation above, it can be seen that Sultan Husain Syah played an important role in the Sofifi Special Capital Region policy plan. This important role is proven by his involvement in all policy planning processes for the Sofifi Special Capital Region. In fact, Sultan Husain Syah was able to dominate the role of regional government institutions, namely the North Maluku Provincial Government, the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of North Maluku Province, the Tidore Islands City Government, the Tidore Islands City People's Representative Council. This is in line with Helmke & Levitsky (2012) changes in shared beliefs and experiences, which are thoughts or ideas from informal institutional actors/elites influencing formal institutional policies. So, thanks to the idea of these actors/elites, they can maximize the role of informal institutions compared to formal institutions or institutions.

Conclusion

Sultan Husain Syah increased his role by using his symbolic role, namely creating tangible (corporeal) symbols in society through physical and non-physical development in the form of government policies. Although not directly, Sultan Husain Syah was able to rely on his capacity as sultan to influence the government to implement policies based on the aspirations received from the community. Apart from that, Sultan Husain Syah created incorporeal symbols which he did in three aspects, namely cultural, social and spiritual. In the cultural aspect, this is proven by maximizing the role of the sultanate's officials, who were previously regional heads, village and hamlet heads who also functioned as traditional leaders. Apart from that, Sultan Husain Syah also regularly carries out cultural activities such as the Tidore Anniversary Festival which attracts enthusiasm from the public to get involved in these activities. In the social aspect, this can be proven by building emotional relationships and attachments with other elites, for example high-ranking state officials, political figures and public figures. This is proven by the awarding of honorary imperial titles to these elites. Apart from that, Sultan Husain Syah also regularly builds relationships with all levels of society by holding regular meetings to build emotional relationships. Meanwhile, in the spiritual aspect, Sultan Husain Syah routinely carries out religious activities, for example, activities in the month of Ramadan such as holding Iftar with various groups of people, holding Lailatul Qodar night activities and launching the Hijri calendar regarding the determination of 1 Shawwal based on the ancient manuscripts of the Tidore Sultanate. Meanwhile, Helmke & Levitsky (2012) use the theory of Informal Institutions to analyze the role of Sultan Husain Syah as the leader of informal institutions in the policy-making process for the Sofifi Capital Special Region by dominating the role of the formal institutions involved in the policy process. So the draft will be decided by the central

government, having similarities with the ideas expressed by Sultan Husain Syah in terms of the Sofifi Special Capital Region policy in North Maluku Province.

The conclusion of this research is that the increasing role of Sultan Husain Syah in local politics is seen from his role in society with the use of symbolic capital. Apart from that, in his capacity as leader of informal institutions, Sultan Husain Syah was able to dominate the role of formal institutions in formulating policies that would be issued. So that the policies set by formal institutions are in accordance with the ideas desired by the sultan.

In theory, Nishizaki (2004) explains that a ruler can build a role using a positive image that makes him very influential or what is called a positive social identity. Nishizaki (2004) provides the fact that positive social identity forms the psychological basis on which an actor or ruler can build and consolidate strong dominance by using his symbolic role. In line with Nishizaki (2004) research, Sultan Husain Syah was able to build a positive social identity by using the role of symbols. The symbol created by Sultah Husain Syah is to be a liaison between the community and the government in building infrastructure, creating events and cultural activities that attract many people, building social relations with other elites, and creating spiritual or religious activities called Nishizaki. as a corporeal symbol and an incorporeal symbol. However, in his research, Nishizaki (2004) did not explain the social background of the actor or ruler who produced the symbol. This is what makes the difference in this research, where Sultan Husain Syah, whose social background as a sultan in society, means he no longer bothers to build a positive image because in society's view, the position of a sultan is highly respected.

Helmke & Levitsky (2012) in their research revealed that changes in formal institutions are caused by the stronger the formal institutions, the weaker the informal institutions, and vice versa, if the formal institutions are weak, the informal institutions will have a dominant role. In line with this research, this research also states that Sultan Husain Syah as an actor or leader of an informal institution, namely the Tidore Sultanate, was able to dominate the role of a formal institution, namely regional government. The form of role dominance carried out by Husain Syah can be seen in his role in influencing the policy process launched by the government, namely the policy plan for the New Autonomous Region for the Sofifi Capital City which was then replaced with the plan for the formation of the Special Region for the Sofifi Capital City. Apart from that, this research found that the form of domination of the role carried out by Sultan Husain Syah was not only by criticizing, intervening and mediating with the government. However, the dominant role played by Sultan Husain Syah also used the ideas and thoughts that he fought for. This is proven by his involvement in the policy making process for the Sofifi Special Capital Region. Where the policy process has similarities with the ideas championed by the sultan. This is in line with research from Helmke & Levitsky (2012) which states that the thoughts of informal institutional actors influence changes in informal institutions. Changes in formal institutions trigger changes in the role of informal institutions thanks to the ideas of informal actors.

Theory Nishizaki (2004) and Helmke & Levitsky (2012) theory regarding positive social identity and informal institutions have contributed to understanding why the Sultan of Tidore was able to increase his political role so that even though he was only an informal leader, he was able to intervene in the policy-making process of the Sofifi Special Capital Region. The important contribution of these two theories concerns the formation of symbols created by Sultan Husain Syah. Apart from that, Sultan Husain Syah played the domination and ideas as an informal institutional actor. In this case, he was able to play an important role and determine the policy process in formal institutions, namely the policy for the Sofifi Special Capital Region in North Maluku Province.

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