

Sultanate Elite Political Dynasty in Local Politics in Bima Regency

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Abstract

Changes in the political realm after Indonesian independence in 1945 have changed the political system, especially the aristocratic political system, into a democratic political system. This happened in the Bima Sultanate at the local political level. Therefore, the elite of the Bima sultanate had to participate in this change, and in fact after the political changes, both the old order, the new order and the post-new order, it turned out that the elite of the Bima sultanate was still able to maintain its political existence in Bima district. The aim of this research is to analyze the existence of the Bima sultanate elite in local politics in Bima district after the New Order which prioritized political liberalization. This research was carried out in Bima district, West Nusa Tenggara province, the time for conducting the research was from March 2023 to May 2023. This research used qualitative research methods with descriptive analysis type. Primary data in this research is through an in-depth interview process with relevant informants, and secondary data in this research is through book studies and history. The data obtained will be analyzed using a constructivist structuralism approach, as well as the concepts of habitus, capital and domain theory explained by Pierre Bourdieu. The results of this research show that the existence of a habitus of power and accumulation of capital resources owned by the elite of the Bima sultanate in the political realm prioritizes political liberalization, so that in practice the elite of the Bima sultanate in post-New Order local politics in Bima district is able to be achieved and maintained.

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Abstract

Perubahan ranah politik setelah kemerdekaan Indonesia tahun 1945 telah merubah sistem politik, terutama sistem politik aristokrasi menjadi sistem politik yang demokratis, hal itu terjadi di kekuasaan kesultanan Bima pada tingkat politik lokal. Oleh karena itu, elit kesultanan Bima harus ikut pada perubahan itu, dan faktanya pasca perubahan politik itu, baik orde lama, orde baru, dan pasca orde baru ternyata elit kesultanan Bima masih mampu mempertahankan eksistensi politiknya di kabupaten Bima. Tujuan dari penelitian ini, adalah menganalisis eksistensi elit kesultanan Bima dalam politik lokal di kabupaten Bima pasca orde baru yang mengedepankan liberalisasi politik. Penelitian ini dilaksanakan di kabupaten Bima provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat, waktu pelaksanaan penelitian dari bulan Maret 2023 sampai bulan Mei 2023. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan tipe analisis deskriptif. Data primer dalam penelitian ini melalui proses wawancara mendalam dengan informan terkait, dan data sekunder dalam penelitian ini melalui kajian buku, dan sejarah. Data yang diperoleh akan dianalisis dengan pendekatan strukturalisme konstruktivisme, serta konsep teori habitus, modal, dan ranah yang dijelaskan oleh Pierre Bourdieu. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa keberadaan habitus kekuasaan dan akumulasi sumber daya modal yang dimiliki oleh elit kesultanan Bima dalam ranah politik yang mengedepankan liberalisasi politik, sehingga dalam praktiknya elit kesultanan Bima dalam politik lokal pasca orde baru di kabupaten Bima mampu di raih dan dipertahankan

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article will discuss the involvement of the Bima Sultanate elite in local politics, especially their ability to maintain power after the New Order. Post-New Order power experienced a political change from a centralized atmosphere to a decentralized system. This manifestation of decentralization makes local politics stronger and more competitive. Especially the return of the nobility in local politics.

The beginning of the reform made the old noble elite with nuances of feudalism return to the regional election contestation. As stated by Gerry Van Klinken (2007, in Davison et al) who shows that the return of the sultans occurred in West Kalimantan and North Maluku. Klinken stated that this noble movement formed a group to demonstrate their existence in politics. Especially the regional election political arena is increasingly open.

This political arena is an opportunity for the return of traditional local elites to regional elections. As happened with the elite of the Bima sultanate who wanted to return to power at the local level. Through the Bima district regional election contest.

The Sultan of Bima during the reform period took part in the practical political stage, namely Sultan Bima XVI; Sultan Ferry Zulkarnain or Dae Ferry. But in the 1994-1998 period he began serving as deputy treasurer of the DPD II Golkar Party, Bima Regency. Through this party, Dae Ferry was also elected as a member of the District DPRD. Bima 1997-1999. Also, in 1998-2003 Dae Ferry was mandated by Golkar as Deputy Chair of DPD II Golkar Bima Regency. Finally, through the Golkar party, Dae Ferry's participation in the legislative elections resulted in him being re-elected as a member of the Bima Regency DPRD for the 1999-2004 period.

Dae Ferry became a member of the Bima Regency DPRD in the 1999-2004 period, there were changes and expansion of the Bima Regency area to create a new administrative area, namely Bima City, through Law no. 13 of 2002 concerning the Establishment of Bima City in NTB Province. This situation led to Dae Ferry's political position as chairman of the Bima City DPRD for the 2003-2004 period in the format of forming a new region.

Improvement of the political system at the beginning of reform which acquired the involvement of the people as a political force, which ultimately gave birth to political liberalization. This is regulated legally which is enforced through Law no. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. Through this law, there was a change in the regional head election process, namely that the leader was elected by the people. This is considered a form of democracy that originates from the sovereignty of the people. With these changes in electoral political competition, Golkar considers that Dae Ferry, which is a breed of Bima noble elite which has a cultural symbol in the social position of the Bima people, both in the Bima City and Regency areas, will be able to compete on the new model of electoral political stage.

Based on this context, Dae Ferry was considered to have political prospects to win electoral politics in the Bima Regency Pilkada for the 2005-2010 period, so Golkar nominated Dae Ferry-USman AK to fight against the incumbent H. Zainul Arifin in the Bima Regency regional elections. The Dae Ferry-USman AK pair who carry the motto "Tohomp Ra Ndai, Surampa Dou Labo Dana ". Which means; "Don't put my interests first, but the main thing is the interests of the people ". The philosophy of the motto is a reflection of the philosophy of the Bima Kings in the process of exercising political power over the people during the time and era when the Bima Sultanate was still in power, precisely the pre-independence period (Usman, 2005, p. 12). In the end, Dae Ferry won the regional election contest.

Dae Ferry's dominance as a representative of the elite of the Bima sultanate in local politics in Bima district was the beginning of the emergence of a political dynasty in the area. Even the elite of the Bima sultanate won the last regional election contest for Bima district in the 2020-2025 period, namely Dae Dinda's wife or Dinda Damayanti Putri, SE.

The phenomenon of the presence of the imperial elite on the local political stage after political liberalization actually did not only occur in the Bima Regency. However, theoretically the sultanate's elite can only appear on the local political stage through two channels, namely privileged regions and regions that contest direct regional elections, and both routes have legal-formal legitimacy which is promulgated in the form of regional government regulations. For the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY), it has provided absolute space for the elite of the Jogja Sultanate to exist on the local political stage, namely that the elite of the sultanate will become regional heads based on their race. The provisions of Yogyakarta as a special region are in accordance with the mandate of the law. No. 13 of 2012 concerning DIY Specialties.

The context of the direct Regional Head Election route has forced the imperial elite in every region other than Jogja, such as Bima Regency, Bima City, Gowa Regency and others, to appear competitively on the electoral stage with non-noble political elites or new elites. The involvement of the noble elite through the regional elections which was followed by the Bima sultanate elite in the Bima district regional elections in 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2020 always placed the noble elite as winners. To make understanding easier, the author will explain it through the following table;

Regional elections		
Elite name	Period	Vote acquisition
Sultan Bima XVI; Dae Fery atau Ferry Julkarnaen ST	2005-2010	44.58 % (from 4 candidates) WIN
Sultan Bima XVI; Dae Fery atau Ferry Julkarnaen ST	2010-2015	60.77 % (from 4 candidates) WIN
Wife of Sultan Bima XVI; Dae Dinda	2015-2020	40.11 % (from 4 candidates) WIN
Wife of Sultan Bima XVI; Dae Dinda	2020-2025	44.5 % (from 3 candidates) WIN

Source; processed from KPU data

Based on the facts above regarding the election of the elite of the Bima sultanate in local politics in the ongoing regional elections of Bima district, it shows that there is a practice of power that is in the nature of a political dynasty. Therefore, the author will analyze using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Primarily, this writing will be related to Bourdieu's three concepts, namely; Habitus, Capital (*Capital*), and Arena (*Field*). The generative formulation can be understood through this simple picture: $\{Practice\ of\ power = (Habitus \times Capital) + realm\}$. With this theoretical framework, the author will identify capital that is used as a political tool to continue the practice of power in the local political realm, resulting in an elite political dynasty of the Bima sultanate in the Bima district regional elections.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

The approach uses qualitative methods by presenting specific descriptions of situations, social arrangements or relationships (Neuman, 2006). A qualitative approach that includes several investigations that help researchers understand and explain social phenomena. According to Bogdan and Taylor in Moleong, qualitative methods are research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of written and spoken words from people and observed behavior. According to them, this approach is directed at the setting and the individual as a whole, so in this case it is not permissible to isolate individuals or groups to variables or hypotheses, but needs to view them as part of a whole.

In this research, we try to look at the habitus and capital accumulation of the elite of the Bima sultanate in carrying out power practices in the regional elections of Bima district. This research was carried out using descriptions to obtain information. In this case the researcher connects and looks for cause and effect between several variables to be studied. For this reason, researchers need a theoretical framework and concepts that researchers will use to help analyze and answer questions in this research. This research was carried out by collecting and identifying data through in-depth interviews (*in depth interview*) and direct observations in the field of people or parties involved in the problem accompanied by documentation data so that researchers can obtain the information needed. Data were analyzed by conducting interview methods, collecting primary/secondary data, classifying data according to theoretical variables and then analyzing the

results based on findings from variables both habitus formation and capital accumulation. Researchers process data and information sourced from field research, from sources and from literature studies. In general, researchers apply general analysis steps found in certain designs. These steps include: organizing and preparing data, initial introduction of data and information, coding and classifying data, presenting data, then interpreting findings. The results of these interpretations can be compared with existing literature and theory, respond to questions and/or provide suggestions for improvement (Cresswell, 2016: 261)

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The election of the Bima sultanate elite in local politics was the result of a dialectic between habitus and capital accumulation in the regional elections. Therefore, the author explains things that are related to the theoretical construction used. Firstly, the author looks at the genealogy of the elite power of the Bima Sultanate as a process of habitus formation. And secondly, it is related to capital accumulation as a driving resource to achieve and even maintain power in the format of a political dynasty. Also, thirdly, analysis of the power practices of the elite of the Bima Sultanate. That is ;

1. History and Formation of Elite Habitus of the Bima Sultanate

The Bima Sultanate has an expression to describe the self-image of a Sultan as the ruler of a country in the Bima region. The expression was created through a metaphor as *Think about it* (The one who shelters and protects) is the ideal reflection of a sultan who personifies himself as the "Shadow of God on Earth". In Bima a sultan is called by "ruma", but ruma also has another meaning, namely "Allah". The meaning of "ruma" as "Allah" is not in the context of analogizing the oneness of God and the Sultan as creators and created creatures, but rather to give sacred value to a sultan as the Khalifah of Allah on Earth. The ruma call for the sultan in Bima is symbolized by the addition of the word "Dae" in front of the sultan's name as his nobility title, for example Sultan Bima XIV; *Days Muh. Salahuddin* (Tajib, 1995, p. 15).

This philosophy of the sultan as the leader and owner of the highest power in Bima has influenced attitudes in determining actions in every national political change and revolution in Indonesia. One of Indonesia's political revolutions was to declare itself a sovereign and independent country, precisely on August 17 1945. Through this revolution, Bima, which is part of Indonesia's territory, had to adapt to the modern political and government system constructed by Indonesia. Thus, the elite of the Bima Sultanate as a reflection of the caliph must appear on the modern political stage with a new regional government administration system in order to exist on the local Bima political stage.

After the Indonesian political revolution, the national political elite set a new regional government system model to be implemented in the state maintenance process in each region. The administrative model of the district government was established through the mandate of UU No. 1 of 1945 on the Regulation on the Position of District National Committees (KND). The regulation of the Law, is a derivative of Vice President's Information No. X about giving legislative duties to the Central National Committee.

The regional government system initiated by the state has experienced dynamics in its implementation efforts. Especially, regarding the acceptance of the new system in areas that have been controlled by kingdoms and Sultanates for centuries. But at that time, the state was able to convince the sultanate rulers that the regulations had a purpose in accordance with the concept of unity, namely the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Finally, at that time almost all regions of the Sultanate expressed their attitude to join the Republic of Indonesia. Including the Bima Sultanate, precisely on November 22 1945, it issued the Sultan's Decree or Dae Muh. Salahuddin towards the Republic of Indonesia as a form of loyal love for the Indonesian nation (Ismail, 1996, p. 8).

The constitutional system in the administration of regional government, which was constructed by the central government in the post-independence period, has led to a restructuring of political institutions in the form of a more modern and democratic

bureaucracy and parliament, as well as a widespread distribution of power based on the concept of a modern state. Thus, the areas controlled by the Bima Sultanate began to fade the nuances of feudalism and inclusivism of the nobility (the Sultanate Family). This situation is being faced by the elite of the Bima Sultanate in terms of weakening the existence of power that they have had so far, especially during the pre-independence period of Indonesia.

The waning of imperial power has provided a stimulus for more active participation from the Bima Sultanate family in efforts to maintain the political existence of the aristocracy, especially the response of the XIV Sultan of Bima; Sultan or Dae Muh. Salahuddin and his son, namely Abdul Kahir II as TKR commander for the Bima and Dompu regions towards the Chairman of the KND; Ishaka Abdullah. The response of the Sultanate elite was shown through the arrest of Ishaka Abdullah, even though the appointment of the KND chairman was a constitutional mandate carried out by the central government.

Chairman's arrest ND in the Bima area which was carried out by the sultanate elite, because it was considered by the Bima sultanate elite as a threat to the local Bima political scene which reduced its political existence. Due to this arrest, various social organizations identified as progressive elites who support the democratization of Indonesia met with the Sultanate elite who tend to be conservative to explain the existence of the KND as supporting the state in the regions in implementing democratic government, and de jure the KND has constitutional legal legitimacy. . Finally, the arrested KND Chairman was released by the Bima Sultanate with various conditions. One of the conditions that is of concern to the author is that the existence of the KND in carrying out assistance tasks in regional government needs to be fully controlled by the sultan and it is necessary to elect a new KND Chairman who must be in accordance with the appointment of Sultan Bima (Tajib, 1995, p. 38).

The dynamics of the Sultanate elite and the progressive elite in Bima during the Indonesian government's efforts to implement a democratic and sovereign regional government system, saw Dutch infiltration with NICA troops and their allies. The presence of NICA troops in Bima was an attempt by the Dutch East Indies to regain control of Indonesia, especially Bima. However, the Dutch East Indies government's control over Bima was done through diplomacy. Finally, it has made it difficult to implement a regional government system according to the wishes of the center, and has changed the initial orientation of the attitude of the Bima Sultanate in accordance with the values of sovereignty as stated in the Sultan's proclamation on November 22 1945.

The change in Sultan Bima's orientation was indicated by his pragmatic political stance to support the existence of NIT (State of Eastern Indonesia) as a federal state initiated by the Dutch East Indies government in 1946. The actualization of the federal state movement initiated by the colonial government began with a meeting of local rulers of the eastern Indonesian region (including Sultan Bima Muh. Salahuddin) with the Dutch East Indies government in Malino, Gowa, South Sulawesi, and the meeting was called the 1946 Malino Conference. Subsequently, the Dutch East Indies government again held a meeting of rulers or kings through the Denpasar conference, and finally in December 24, 1946; The State of East Indonesia (NIT) was proclaimed as a federal state under the control of the Dutch East Indies (Ardana, 2005, p. 24).

The existence of NIT confirms that Sultan Bima ignored the wishes of the constitution which was oriented towards implementing a regional government system in accordance with the mandate of Law no. 1 of 1945. Because, on February 27 1947 the Dutch East Indies government formed the Sumbawa Island Federation (FPS) as part of the implementation of the NIT government in the Sumbawa Island area. FPS has a membership consisting of Bima, Dompu, and Sumbawa. Meanwhile, the chairman of the FPS is led by a sultan through an agreement between the kings on the island of Sumbawa, who calls himself the Council of Kings of Sumbawa Island (DRPS). Finally, the highest FPS leader agreed upon was Sultan Bima Muh. Salahuddin. After that, the FPS formed a DPRD whose election method was in accordance with the sultan's wishes. This is based on FPS regulations, that DRPS has

executive power DPRD has legislative power (Ardana, 2005, p. 36).

The presence of NIT and the FPS model regional government on the island of Sumbawa has become a political polemic between the Indonesian Government and the Dutch East Indies Government. In the midst of the political polemic between Indonesia and the Dutch East Indies, Sultan Bima Muh. Salahuddin again showed a conservative attitude in his political position as ruler of Bima so that he could always exist and survive on the political stage of power in Bima. Sultan Muhammad Salahuddin initiated an inauguration procession for Abdul Kahir II or known as Dae Putra Kahi as Jene Teke Bima (Young Sultan) to symbolically inherit the throne of the sultanate, which was rejected by the progressive-democratic elite, until finally the inauguration procession did not take place for reasons Abdul Kahir II is considered not to have the competence to lead.

After the failure of the symbolic inauguration of the young sultan by the elite of the Bima sultanate, on the one hand, there was an effort to resolve the political polemic between the Indonesian government and the Dutch East Indies government which finally agreed to hold a Round Table Conference (KMB) in The Hague in 1949. Through this KMB, it was forced by Indonesia to adopt a new state system, namely RIS 1949. And, the debate at the Bima local level occurred again, where the progressive-democratic elite voiced the disbandment of the FPS which still had strong absolutism from the sultanate elite in power in the Bima area and the Sumbawa Island government area (Pringgodigdo, 1950).

The demands of the current of change from the beginning to the end of the RIS at that time, made the elite of the Bima sultanate respond to the handover of regional authority on the island of Sumbawa on October 10 1950 to Muh. Jafar as head of government. The sultan's position of political power in leading Bima and Sumbawa Island was ultimately only occupied for 3 years (1947-1950). Due to this incident, Sultan Muh. Salahuddin began to be eliminated on the political stage of power at the local level.

After the transfer of power, precisely on November 3, 1950, Soekarno came to Bima to meet with the sultan to ensure that the Bima Sultanate was an integral part of Indonesia, and finally in that year the era of the Bima Sultanate in terms of regional administrative power had ended. The reduction of the Sultanate's political stage was strengthened by the handover of the Sultanate's inherited land amounting to 933.3 hectares to the State and the elimination of the Sultan's authority to determine regional government structural officials. Thus, all administrative government activities were no longer under the authority of the Bima Sultanate. Thus, the Bima Sultanate in the early 1950s only had cultural power in this increasingly open political era (Abdullah, 1992).

Political openness and the loss of power from the elite of the Sultanate in Bima, has made the elite of the Bima Sultanate, which tends to be resistant in maintaining its political existence, both administratively and symbolically, need to carry out strategies to accumulate contextual political capital to maintain its desire for power in the new era of state administration in increasingly open political times. After that era ended, Sultan Bima XIV Muh. Salahuddin died or died in 1951, so the imperial family, represented by the sultan's eldest son, namely Sultan Bima

Activities and involvement in modern politics placed the nobility, namely Sultan or Dae Putra Kahi as a Member of the Transitional DPRD for Sumbawa Island and was elected through the PIR party (Greater Indonesia Party) in the 1957 elections, the executive leader of the Swapraja Bima region and the regional head Dati II Bima which began since 1954-1967. When the elite of the Bima sultanate existed in local politics at that time, the Indonesian state again experienced significant political changes.

Political changes in Indonesia occurred as a result of the fall of the Old Order regime and the birth of the New Order regime. Thus, the local Bima noble elite was marginalized from the stage of executive power in the new order. Because, Suharto's centralized policy in terms of selecting regional executive leaders from the military group was in accordance with the interests of the regime at that time. This situation has forced the local elite of the Bima

nobility to shift to a different political level. Sultan Abdul Kahir II, as a local noble elite, had long adapted to the New Order era through political participation according to the domain and style of the New Order constitutional system. Dae Putra Kahi or Sultan Abdul Kahir II and other families followed the pattern of the new system, which ultimately placed noble elites as members of the NTB Provincial DPRD, DPR RI, there were also those who became bureaucrats at the NTB Provincial level during the New Order period, to be precise from 1967 until 1987 (Syamsuddin).

The author analyzes the pre-independence period of Indonesia, where the power of the aristocracy system was the reality of the object structure that operated in the social space of the Bima Sultanate's power, and this system survived and was applied for centuries. The application of the aristocracy system in selecting the sultan was always based on the will and word of the king (a system of appointment of the breed), without struggle through a competition process. In the aristocracy system of the Bima Sultanate, it was also accompanied by a constructive ideological concept, which positioned the elite subjects of the sultanate and their breed as caliphs, and in the Bima language it was termed the House (God's Shadow) on the face of the earth. Therefore, there is internalization of the structure of the object towards the object, thus forming thought schemes, ideologies and beliefs. In this context, it can be interpreted that the position of the object structure is the realm of power of the aristocracy system, while the subject is defined as values (perceptions, thought schemes, mental structures), and these values are referred to as habitus possessed by the elite of the Bima sultanate.

The concrete manifestation of the habitus of the elite of the Bima Sultanate regarding the determination of the domain of power of the identified aristocracy system is the perception and thought scheme formed by the elite of the Sultanate, namely the feeling of full power; high authority, disposition of his caliphate as the shadow of God on earth, and existence of power as sultan supported by an appointment system. Thus, the terms thought schemes and perceptions become the values in naming the elite habitus of the Bima Sultanate. This means that during the regional elections in the reform era, the elite of the Bima Sultanate had the ambition to appear again in local politics. This is in line with Bourdieu's theoretical perspective that Habitus is the structure of the subject's dispositional system which is structured by an objective structure.

Habitus also guides individual agents to develop these dispositions in response to the objective conditions they face. The elite habitus of the Bima Sultanate, which was formed in the realm of power of the aristocracy system, had to adapt to the realm of change. The new realm marked by independence in 1945, which ultimately gave birth to the Indonesian constitution to regulate local power, was Law no. 1 of 1945 concerning the Regional Indonesian National Committee. The new realm is the realm of power that is slightly more open and democratic or post-independence. This adaptation is in accordance with Bourdieu's theoretical perspective that habitus can act as a form of response to the structure of objects, so that political existence as the local ruler of Bima is maintained.

2. Capital Accumulation of the Bima Sultanate Elite

The Bima Sultanate, which represents an aristocratic political system, has provided space to concentrate various types of capital. The concentration of capital by the elite of the Bima sultanate was because the rulers during the aristocratic political system had absolute power in running the government in Bima. Thus, the existence of the elite of the Bima Sultanate who participated in the practice of power had various types of capital. Therefore, the author will identify the capital typology of the Bima Sultanate to make it easier for elites to participate in power relations in the political arena based on Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical perspective.

Capital according to Pierre Bourdieu's perspective is something that is not only material but can also be non-material. Capital is the basis for each person to determine their position in society. The more capital a human has, the better their position will be in the arena

of struggle. Capital is divided into four types, namely: economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Each capital has its own role in an arena.

2.1. Heritage Land as Economic Capital

Bourdieu's perspective is that economic capital is a resource that can be a means of production and a financial means. Economic capital is not only related to money but can include means of production, materials and assets that can easily be passed on from one generation to the next. This economic capital is a type of capital that is easily converted into other forms of capital.

The author sees that the context of economic capital in the struggle for power has a fairly central position in the realm of power politics, especially in the realm of post-New Order politics, because post-New Order politics prioritizes political liberalization as the basis for the direct regional election process. In direct elections, elites are required to have economic resources capable of moving political machines in the struggle for power, such as money for campaigning.

The aristocratic political system during the Bima sultanate's reign in the Bima region, made the Bima sultanate control the territory completely. In fact, territorial control made the Bima Sultanate control a lot of land in the Bima region. Based on data from the sources above, it shows that the Bima Sultanate has economic assets; quantitatively large amounts of land. In fact, the existence of this land gave rise to the practice of inheriting, distributing it not only for the internal interests of the Bima Sultanate family, but the practice of distributing assets occurred for more collective interests; public.

The practice of distributing economic assets for collective interests is of particular concern to the author, because the Bima Sultanate lands given to the community are still structurally controlled by the Bima Sultanate elite through two types of institutions, namely traditional institutions that manage the Sultanate's customary lands and Islamic foundation institutions that managing waqf land.

In the context of customary land management managed by the Bima traditional institution, it turns out that the traditional institution in its history was an executive power institution that led the sultanate government called the Hadat Council, and after the end of the sultanate phase in 1951, the Hadat Council changed its name to a traditional institution which no longer has executive power in the era of a democratic and modern state, but functionally, the existence of traditional institutions only serves as a basis for preserving cultural customs and assets of the Bima Sultanate.

The practice of distributing land from the sultanate to the community which is managed by customary institutions is carried out by giving land to be cultivated and exploited by certain communities in each village of Bima district, especially to the Gallarang or Ompu (holding executive authority at the village level during the sultanate era), and the community traditional. In this regard, the author considers that land management practices by Bima traditional institutions are aimed at collective interests, especially traditional segments of society.

Apart from the traditional land managed by the Bima traditional institution, there is also Waqf land managed by the Bima Islamic Foundation. Historically, the existence of the Islamic foundation was a continuation of the Sharia Court or Sultanate Islamic Sharia Institution which was led by the sultanate's ulama. The management of waqf land in question is that the elite of the Bima sultanate donated their land assets for the religious and educational sectors. Therefore, religious schools were formed in the Bima region for the collective benefit of the Bima community.

Ownership of land assets owned by the Bima sultanate shows that the power of the Bima sultanate in the context of economic capital is in accordance with Pierre Bourdieu's perspective, that the elite of the Bima sultanate has economic capital which is used as a central basis so that the realization of their political habitus is actualized in the post-New Order arena of power at the political level. local Bima district.

2.2. Land management institutions as social capital.

The existence of the Bima Sultanate's Traditional Institution and Islamic Foundation as managers of the Sultanate's land assets (economic capital) in the Bima region amidst local political life which is no longer based on the aristocratic political system model, but the existence of these two institutions is still operationalized structurally as a support for building social relations between the nobility and the Bima people. As a consequence of the existence of an organization, social interactions occur. So, the author analyzes according to Bourdieu's thesis, that economic capital; the land assets of the Bima Sultanate can be converted into other forms of capital, including social capital; organization or institution managing the assets of the Bima Sultanate.

Based on Bourdieu's theory; that social capital is all types of relationships as resources for determining social position. According to Bourdieu, social capital is actually a valuable social relationship between people. This can be exemplified by some people who interact between classes within the social layers of society.

Social capital has a tendency to focus in order to avoid refraction of meaning. This focus lies in three important main things. *First*, the social capital possessed concerns institutions, norms, values, conventions, concepts of life, *codes of conduct*, and its kind. *Second*, the pattern of social capital management that is part of the analysis is of productive value for the creation of social cohesion (*social cohesiveness*). *Third*, the meaning of social capital is only in the context of interaction with the outside world which naturally requires negotiation and adaptation processes. So that in turn leads other individuals to carry out interpretive actions regarding the social capital they have.

The concept of focusing on social capital as explained by Bourdieu above, the author will explain how two structural institutions, both the Bima traditional institution and the Bima Islamic Foundation, are part of the social capital owned by the elite of the Bima sultanate. And these two institutions must fulfill the three requirements of Bourdieu's conceptual focus on social capital.

First, the author will describe the existence of traditional institutions as social capital owned by the elite of the Bima sultanate. Traditional institutions have a long history of existence, historically they were executive power institutions that led the sultanate government called the Hadat Council, and after the end of the sultanate phase in 1951, the Hadat Council changed its name to a traditional institution which no longer had executive power in the era of a democratic state and modern, but functionally, the existence of traditional institutions only serves as a basis for preserving the cultural customs and assets of the Bima Sultanate.

That the Bima traditional institution manages customary land assets in a structural and directed manner, and provides land to certain groups (*Mother; Good luck* as the ruler of the village head in the sultanate era), in Bima terms is *Dana Rowa* (land cultivated because of devotion to the sultanate). Traditional institutions are also recognized constitutionally, namely Perda no. 12 of 2001 concerning the Bima Traditional Institution. The author will analyze the reality of these traditional institutions in Bourdieu's theory of social capital.

The author analyzes that the existence of traditional institutions is able to improve social relations between classes, both aristocratic classes at the sultanate level and aristocrats at the village level, or between aristocrats and traditional societal classes. The existence of this institution is also strengthened by the existence of a clear organizational structure, and traditional institutions are bound by statutory regulations. In this context, what Bourdieu means is that the application of a social capital focus must have norms, institutions, and even a level of social cohesion between classes, because giving land to be managed by traditional communities has a productive value in its basic interests; economic fulfillment, thereby building social cohesion and social interaction between the elite of the Bima sultanate and traditional segments of society in Bima. Therefore, the

traditional institutions of the Bima Sultanate are categorized as social capital of the elite of the Bima Sultanate, because they fulfill the elements of focusing on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital.

While the existence of Yayasan Islam Bima as the social capital of the elite of the Bima sultanate. In its history in 1947, according to Sultan Muhammad Salahuddin's Information, the Sharia Law Body was formed with its wealth being the lands of the former Syar'iyah Court which used to be the guarantee of the Mosque Authority. The Syara Law Body is tasked with helping the Sultan in the field of religion and education. Because of this, religious schools were established in all corners of Bima land. Sara's Law Body also functions to raise and build mosques, divorce courts and zakat.

In 1966, in accordance with the Decree of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs Number: 41/Degap/66 dated 25 June 1966, 284.20 Ha of waqf land was handed over. Institutions that before 1908 were official government institutions of the Sultanate called "Lembaga Shara Law". On March 16 1968 this institution changed its status to "Bima Islamic Foundation". The source of funds comes from the "Molu Fund" (Maulud rice fields) amounting to 284.20 Ha. However, now the land has been reduced by the Regional Government for development covering an area of 46 hectares both in the city and in Bima Regency.

Since changing its status, the Islamic Foundation has carried out tasks including appointing mosque officials, developing Raudhatul Athfal Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, Tsanawiyah and Aliyah, totaling 48 schools spread across the city and Bima Regency, as well as Development of Converts. Islamic Foundation organizational structure is quite complete consisting of advisors, leadership elements consisting of chairman, deputy chairman, secretary and treasurer. Underneath there are sections such as the general section, financial section and social education section. Apart from these sections, the Islamic Foundation is also involved in managing savings and loan cooperatives and libraries called "Darussalam".

Based on the history of the existence of Islamic foundations and data that state that the Bima Islamic foundation has a function in a more collective context; society, so that it becomes a central part to categorize the Bima Islamic foundation as the social capital of the elite of the Bima sultanate. The existence of the Bima Islamic Foundation cannot be separated from the elite of the Bima sultanate, and functionally this Islamic foundation is able to provide space for social cohesion between the elite class of the Bima sultanate and the Bima community, because through the management of the waqf land, there is a social meaning that has productive value, especially in the development the Islam of the Bima community in general. That, in accordance with Bourdieu's focus on social capital, so the author categorizes, that the Bima Islamic Foundation is the social capital owned by the elite of the Bima sultanate.

Through the description above, both traditional institutions and Islamic foundations constitute the social capital of the elite of the Bima sultanate, the author considers that the elite of the Bima sultanate has fulfilled elements of contextual social capital for the benefit of the post-New Order arena of power which tends to prioritize political liberalization; through direct general elections. Thus, the embodiment of the elite power habitus of the Bima sultanate has a power base in the practice of power at the local level of Bima district.

2.3. Nobility and Academic Titles as cultural or cultural capital.

Cultural capital is the totality of intellectual qualifications that can be produced through formal education or family inheritance, such as the ability to present oneself in public, ownership of high-value cultural objects, certain knowledge and skills resulting from formal education, certificates (including bachelor's degrees). Another example of cultural capital is the ability to write, manner of demeanor and way of socializing which play a role in determining social position. Thus, cultural capital is a representation of intellectual abilities related to logical, ethical and aesthetic aspects.

Cultural capital is basically a belief in values (*values*) regarding everything that is considered true and is always followed by efforts to actualize it. Cultural capital does not

automatically become actualized in a reality that is beneficial for people who believe in it, and/or society in general. Cultural capital must be highly maintained, preserved, renewed and utilized.

Based on Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, the author will try to identify cultural capital which gives significance to the social position of the Bima Sultanate elite in relation to cultural capital which is closely related to the practice of post-New Order power relations. Therefore, in Bourdieu's view of cultural capital which explains various types of qualifications both through academic processes and family inheritance, the author considers that the existence of nobility held by the elite of the Bima Sultanate is a very strategic cultural capital, but the author will not limit the description. on the existence of other cultural capital, such as elite academic degrees in the sultanate, etc.

The socio-political order before it was codified by national law, that the Bima sultanate had personified the sultanate elite, especially the sultan or king as "*Room*", which has the meaning of God. Meaning "*Room*" as God is not in the context of the sole or the supreme creator in the person of a sultan, but as the meaning of the sacredness of a sultan who is the caliph or the shadow of God on the face of the earth. Symbolization "*Room*" a sultan or a sultanate elite family In the social sphere of society, Bima tends to be used in everyday life as "*Days*", then this Dae-an is a form of symbolization for his title of nobility, so ruma and dae must be attached to a sultan, while dae is attached to the sultanate family. So, in the context of the existence of this title of nobility, the writer will use the cultural capital analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's perspective.

The Bima Sultanate gave personification to the elite of the imperial family through the awarding of this title. The author will explain that the title must fulfill important elements in accordance with the cultural capital defined by Pierre Bourdieu. The elements referred to by Bourdieu, based on the author's interpretation, are:

- Inherited elements or acquired through processes,
- These elements continue to be produced, preserved, and...
- Elements of having value in the social structure,
- the element of recognition and belief in objects outside the agent.

Based on the existence of these elements, the author must qualify that the existence of nobility titles in the elite of the Bima sultanate must fulfill four elements as a sign that the title has value in the realm of power of the Bima sultanate in facing the current of modernization towards the liberalization of the class structure which prioritizes egalitarian values, then the sultanate continues to produce personifications of royal titles, namely the title Dae for the imperial family, as well as the titles Ruma and Dae for the title of a Sultan. So, the description of the existence of the title fulfills the elemental qualifications, related to something inherited, preserved and renewed by the Bima sultanate family through the personification of the title in the midst of state political life, which is no longer controlled by the aristocratic political system. Therefore, the elements of something that are inherited and preserved are sufficient/meet the qualifications as cultural capital.

Cultural capital commodities are not only something that is passed down from generation to generation, such as the nobility held by the Bima Sultanate. However, commodities produced through the academic learning process or a diploma, for example, are a form of cultural capital. The breadth of the scope of cultural capital commodities means that the author will explain that the academic degrees capitalized by the elite of the Bima sultanate on their race as a basis for strengthening cultural capital. In fact, Sultan Muda Bima XVII; Muhammad Putra Ferryandi S.IP has an academic degree as a historian of government science (S.IP), he is a student class of 2013, and completed his studies in 2017 at Padjadjaran University Bandung (UNPAD), and is currently continuing his studies in the government science postgraduate program at UNPAD. It turns out that an academic degree is obtained through an academic process, and is planned in an effort to

obtain that degree, and has a value orientation; improve leadership abilities, ultimately gaining authority or recognition as a historian of government science. So, the fulfillment of the four elements in academic degrees capitalized by Sultan Bima XVII is part of the cultural capital commodity, this is in accordance with Bourdieu's theoretical perspective.

2.4. Concentration of Symbolic Capital

This symbolic capital is in the form of accumulated achievements, status, awards and self-esteem. Symbolic capital is a type of resource that is optimized to achieve symbolic power. Symbolic power often requires symbols of power. This means that symbolic capital here is meant as all forms of recognition by a group, whether institutional or non-institutional. The symbol itself has the power to construct reality, which is able to lead people to believe, acknowledge and change their view of one's reality.

The existence of symbolic capital has the most central position in practice in a domain/arena. Therefore, the exchange of symbolic capital from every other form of capital (economic, social, cultural) is a cumulative exchange in determining the position of the elite of the Bima Sultanate in a fighting arena. So, the author will contextualize the existence of every capital commodity of the elite of the Bima Sultanate, namely economic capital (land assets), social (land management institutions), and cultural (degree qualifications).

The traditional institution of the Bima Sultanate, apart from having the function of controlling the assets of the Bima Sultanate, also functions as a basis for preserving cultural customs. Thus, in the domain of the function of preserving cultural customs, there is a shading in its connection with the existence of nobility. The contextualization of these two capital commodities can be viewed with the assumption that the mechanization of the function of traditional institutions as preservers of Bima cultural customs is deterministic to the existence of the elite nobility of the Bima sultanate. Through this assumption, the author sees the integration of two capital commodities, namely social capital (customary institutions of the Bima sultanate with the function of preserving cultural customs) and cultural capital (noble titles) integrated mechanistically in optimizing the symbolic capital of the elite of the Bima sultanate.

Understanding the optimization of symbolic capital based on the integration of the two capitals. So, it must be explained about the practicalities of preserving cultural customs played by the traditional institutions of the Bima Sultanate. Based on the information and secondary data found by the author, there are several traditional cultural practices that are still maintained, namely processions don't *worry* (Appointment of the Sultan) and *Hanta is Flowering* (Commemoration of the Prophet's Birthday). Therefore, understanding the determination of cultural customary practices (*tuha ro lanti* and *hanta ua pua*) on the existence of nobility titles is the basis for optimizing symbolic capital.

Cultural practices; procession don't *worry* or the inauguration of the Bima sultan and the annual ceremony it's *blooming* or the commemoration of the birthday which is still carried out by the elite of the Bima sultanate through the role of the sultanate's traditional institutions has a symbolic meaning, namely identifying a sultan as a representation of power, both customarily and religiously. As well as simultaneously reviving the collective memory of the Bima people regarding the position of a sultan. Thus, this context can be understood as an instrument symbol that provides a reference to the public regarding the elite of the Bima sultanate. However, to understand how optimal symbolic capital works mechanistically, the author must review the nobility variable regarding its significance in building local community perceptions. So that the combination of two capital commodities (both social capital; preservation of cultural traditions and cultural capital; nobility) can be converted into symbolic capital.

The interpretation of mechanization can be analyzed and explained clearly, so it is necessary to explain again in the sub-discussion regarding the meaning of nobility titles. In the previous discussion, it was explained that the sultan or king was "*Room*", which

has the meaning of God. Meaning "*Room*" as God is not in the context of the sole or the supreme creator in the person of a sultan, but as the meaning of the sacredness of a sultan who is the caliph or the shadow of God on earth. Symbolization "*Room*" a sultan or a sultanate elite family in the social sphere of society, Bima tends to be used in everyday life as "*Days*", then this Dae-ness is a form of symbolization of his nobility title, so the title room days definitely attached to a sultan, while the titledays attached to the sultanate family. For the amplification of data related to tuha ro lanti or the inauguration ceremony performed by the Bima sultanate's customary institution.

Optimization of symbolic capital from the integration of two capital commodities, namely social capital; traditional institutions that preserve cultural customs that are oriented towards identifying the position of the sultan through customary and cultural practices within the palace and cultural capital; The title of nobility which embodies the perceptions and actions of society which sacred the elite of the Bima Sultanate has a deterministic connection. Where the title is personified by the existence of traditional institutions through practice *It's okay* or the sultan's inauguration and practice it *bloomed* which strengthens the sultan's position as a representative of power has determined the existence of the title, even the title has a meaning that constructs the practice of making it sacred. Therefore, the mechanization of the formation of symbolic capital is based on the practices created by the existence of these two capitals, in accordance with Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical perspective. Namely the accumulation of prestige and self-esteem; the sacred value of the elite of the Bima sultanate which is a concrete manifestation of symbolic capital formed from other capital.

3. The Practice of Elite Power in the Bima Sultanate in the Regional Elections of Bima Regency

Theoretically, symbolic power must have symbolic attributes related to the system. In the form of myth, art, religion, language, science. The symbol system is in harmony with the symbol instrument. And this symbol instrument exists because of the existence of capital owned by the subject. What is more interesting is that Bourdieu shows (language, discourse, myth, etc.) that these instruments have a function as instruments of domination and as a function of dominating, both expression of ideology and power.

The symbolic power that Bourdieu talks about refers more to an aspect of various types of power, so he defines symbolic power as an invisible practice of power that can only be exercised with the involvement of people who do not want to know that they are the targets, or even that they themselves carry it out. .

This theoretical view shows that symbolic power has a position as an instrument of domination, then symbolic power must have a symbol system as a set of attributes symbol so that the continuity of power works euphemistically in the segmentation of the social layers of Bima society. So symbolic power works because there are symbolic instruments. On the one hand, symbolic instruments exist because of the existence of symbolic capital.

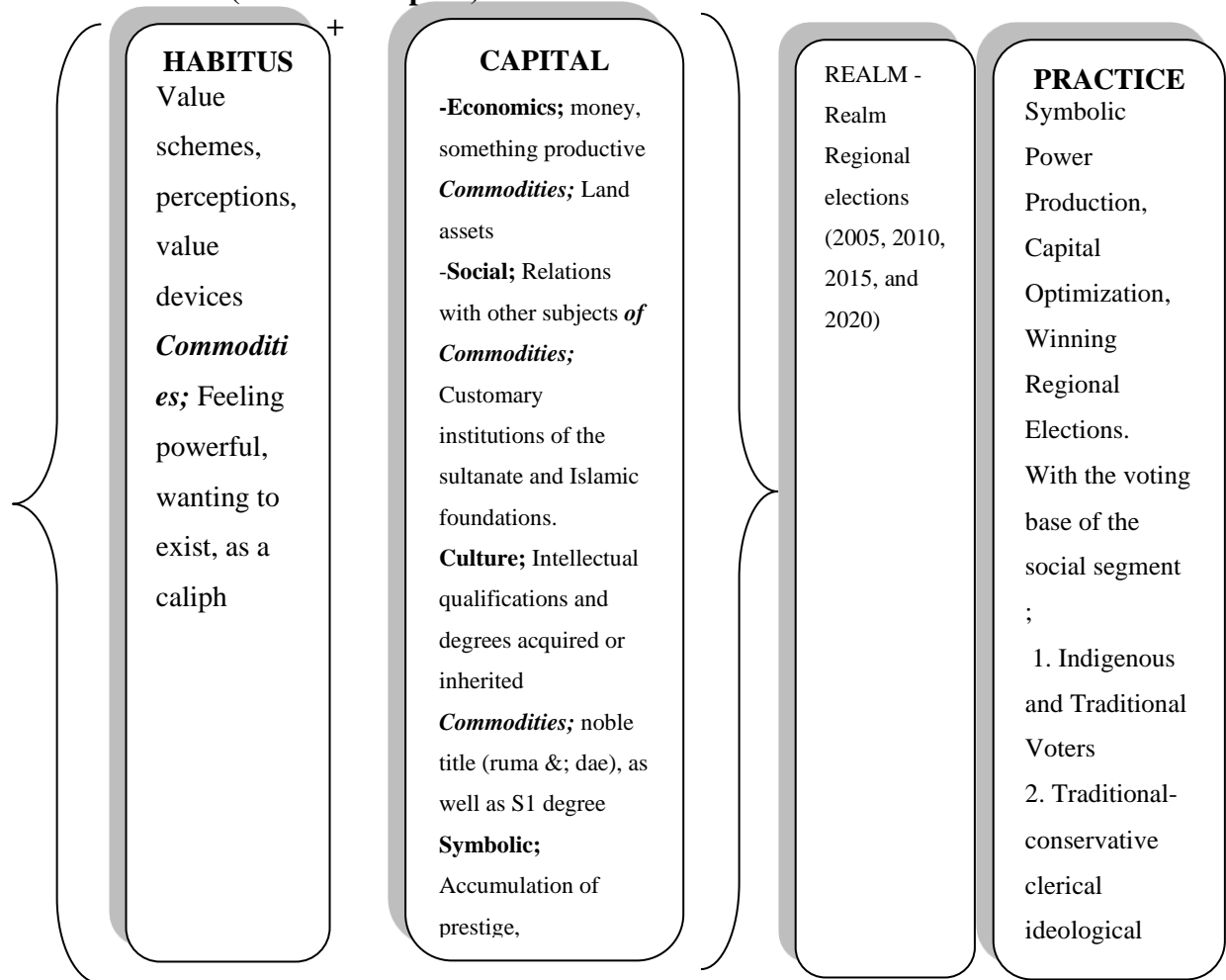
Statistically, the people of Bima district, based on 2017 BPS NTB data, are believers The Islamic religion adhered to by the people of Bima district has a percentage of 99.50%, while other religions are 0.50%. Based on this data, according to the author, the dominance of Muslim society would be equivalent to the presence of ulama. Thus, the context of the ulama's social layer has an influence in determining other social perceptions, especially the ulama's perception of the elite class structure of the Bima Sultanate.

In the Islamic community in Bima there is political polarization, where supporters of the elite of the Bima sultanate tend to adhere to the traditional conservative Islamic direction. This support comes from the existence of symbol instruments, namely symbolic capital which becomes a symbol system, and determines the birth of respect for the services of the elite of the Bima sultanate. This symbol system formed the habitus of the conservative Islamic ulama segment, because of the discourse about the goodness of the sultanate elite in building the Bima Islamic civilization. Thus, symbolic power based on a symbol system becomes an

instrument of domination in the social structure of society. Therefore, the elite of the Bima sultanate, through habitus; wants to exist and optimize its capital accumulation to be practiced in a realm that prioritizes the principle of utilitarianism by means of political liberalization which ultimately creates regional election politics.

The election of the elite of the Bima Sultanate to the realm of power after the New Order shows that there is a practice of power relations based on the existence of symbolic power in certain segments of society, and that symbolic power exists because of the existence of a symbol system, and the symbol system exists because of the determination of capital owned by the elite of the Bima Sultanate. So, the author will analyze using Bourdieu's theoretical framework, namely the practice of power relations in habitus, capital and domain as follows;

(Habitus x capital) + Domain = Practice of Power Relations



The results of the analysis of the power relations practices of the elite of the Bima sultanate show that the elite of the Bima sultanate own capital accumulation, and driven by the habitus of wanting to exist, so that in the realm of political power the Bima district regional elections are maintained, even the elite of the Bima sultanate becomes a political dynasty at the regional level. local by being elected for four consecutive terms.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research and discussions conducted by the author The Bima Sultanate, which represents an aristocratic political system, has provided space to concentrate various types of capital. The concentration of capital by the elite of the Bima sultanate was because the rulers during the aristocratic political system had absolute power in running the government in Bima. Thus, the existence of the elite of the Bima Sultanate who participated in the practice of power relations must have the complexity of capital to enter the realm of post-New Order power. Based on the author's analysis and findings, the elite of the Bima Sultanate has four types of capital, namely economic capital (land assets), social capital (land management institutions). Cultural capital (nobility and academic degrees), and symbolic capital (recognition of elite social position).

The election of the elite of the Bima sultanate to the realm of power after the New Order shows that there is a practice of power relations which is based on the existence of symbolic power in certain segments of society, and this symbolic power works euphemistically because of the existence of a symbol system, and the symbol system exists because of the determination of capital owned by the elite of the Bima sultanate. The practice of power relations takes place in a relational domain, but control of this domain can be transformed in the post-New Order structural realm of power which was realized through regional election politics. So, the elite of the Bima

Sultanate could be elected Regent in 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2020.

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