

Conflict Between Local Leagues in District Expansion in Central Sulawesi: Case Study in Banggai Islands and Parigi Moutong

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Abstract

This research aims to outline the process of prosecuting expansion as a demand for regional autonomy in Banggai Islands Regency and Parigi Moutong Regency, explaining the comparison of horizontal and vertical conflicts in the implementation of regional autonomy in Banggai Islands Regency and Parigi Moutong Regency, and analyzing the involvement of local figures in expansion and conflict resolution in Banggai Regency Parigi Moutong Islands and Regency. This research uses historical methodology by collecting (heuristics), source criticism, and classifying and analyzing various social problems in the conflict and molibu culture of the Kaili community, Central Sulawesi. This research analysis uses a case study approach. The theories used in analyzing the results of this research are decentralization theory, regional autonomy and conflict theory. The research stages use historical methodology with four essential stages: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The results of the research found that the conflict that occurred in Banggai Islands Regency was a conflict over the placement of the capital city, which should have been in Banggai City and then moved to Salakan Peling Island, while in Parigi Moutong Regency, it was a structural conflict in the Donggala Regency DPRD with the Gempar Parigi Moutong Group.

Keywords

Regional Autonomy; Expansion; Conflict

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1. INTRODUCTION

Research on expansion in Central Sulawesi has yet to explain much about horizontal and vertical conflicts in contemporary political history in Central Sulawesi. Local political development in Central Sulawesi began with reforms in Indonesia in 1999. Decentralization efforts in Central Sulawesi began after 1999, marked by regional expansion. The first regency expansion in Central Sulawesi Province was Banggai Islands, Morowali and Buol Regencies based on Law Number 51 of 1999. Parigi Moutong Regency was expanded in 2002 based on Law Number 10 of 2002. Expansions in 1999 and 2002 did not run smoothly but faced obstacles, so the community carried out prosecution movements before the



emergence of this law. This movement is essential because it triggered expansion and sometimes massive social conflict, making it an exciting story episode in the historiography of Central Sulawesi.

The theory of regional autonomy is relevant to the study of conflict in the expansion of Central Sulawesi Province. According to Turner and Hulme, quoted by Ratnawati in Karim (2003: 77), those in power are the people in the area. Regional autonomy is interpreted by Ratnawati (2003) as community autonomy, not just regional government autonomy or local elite autonomy (Karim: 2003).

Political scientists have conducted studies discussing conflict during expansion in Indonesia. One exciting study about conflict in expansion was conducted by Neneng Sobibatu Rohmah entitled: "Elite and Regional Expansion; Conflict Between Elites in the Formation Process of Banten Province", which was published in the CosmoGov Journal: Journal of Government Science (Neneng Sobibatu Rohmah, 2018). One of the advantages of this article is its ability to show expansion in Banten Province. The case of police shooting at a group defending the capital of the Banggai Islands and the closing of government offices in Parigi Moutong Regency by a group demonstrating the expansion of Parigi Moutong from Donggala Regency are important cases in the history of regional expansion in Central Sulawesi Province. After expansion was achieved with Law No. 51 of 1999 (article 11), the capital must be moved from Banggai City to Salakan City.

The sociocultural move of the capital changed in a revolutionary (not evolutionary) way, especially the incident on February 28 2007 with four victims from the Banggai Islands Regency community. Based on several approaches, this is evidence that the country cannot manage the shift from communal conflict to collective violence. The case of the Banggai Islands on February 27 2007 is proof that the State cannot properly manage cases of communal conflict in the area. The beginning of the conflict in the Banggai Islands (Juraid et al., 1991); Jar'an Abd. Fatah, 2000); Ria Mardin, 2000); Rambe Hero, 2003; Reinhard Nainggolan, 2007; Wilman Darsono, 2006) starting with the emergence of article 11 of Law Number 51 of 1999 as a regulation for the establishment of Buol Regency, Morowali Regency and Banggai Islands Regency, in article 11 it is stated that "no later than five years after the inauguration of Banggai Islands Regency, the capital city in Banggai was moved to Salakan." According to Banggai City data, the emergence of article 11 is considered to be a "ghost article" deliberately created by Banggai authorities who were not born in Banggai City at the time and who happened to have access to the central DPR even though no single page of the document for the expansion was available. supports this article, but suddenly, article 11 appears as a trigger for conflict.

The figures who gave rise to this article are mentioned in the testimony of Iwan Zaman who directly mentions the names of a small group of figures, namely the "Trio Malingong brothers", for example, Irianto Malingong, Suleman Malingong, Israfil Malingong, Harman Pandipa, Darman Pandipa, Zainuddin Soti, Hasgoro Lampajoa, Abdi Sahido, and several other people among them, now

(read 2007) the Local Political Elite in Bangkep; they are authorities in the Executive and Legislative institutions as REGENCY, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, Chair of the Honorary Council of the DPRD and Chair of the Joint Faction in the Bangkep DPRD (Irwan Era). Then, in the 1960s, the Banggai Regency was formed with the capital in Luwuk and continued to undermine Banggai's position as the former capital of the Banggai Kingdom and its traditional rights (Haliadi, 2007). After true autonomy was created and the Banggai Islands were formed as an autonomous district in the reform era, the capital was moved from Banggai to Salakan. This is what Hasdin Mondika means: "the painful wailing of weak souls whose rights have been taken away," meaning that the State has taken away the people's rights, customs, and history of the Banggai people.

Likewise, in the case of the expansion of Parigi Moutong Regency from Donggala Regency in May 1999, there was a wave of public hearings conducted by the community to the Regent of Donggala, the Donggala DPRD, and the Governor of Central Sulawesi. In mid-June 1999 in Parigi District, the GEMPPAR organization was formed, and an action was carried out to close the Agency and Regional Offices for approximately 1 (one) week. This was done so that the Government could immediately concentrate on the formation of the Parigi Moutong Regency (Haliadi et al., 2012). Conflict between officials and community groups is usually the trigger, and the main perpetrators are influential figures, so the theory that fits the reality argument is actor theory. Political actor theory states that "Political actors are an important part of the desired change process because they are a small number of people who have qualities who succeed in achieving high positions in the social order so that social and political power can be fulfilled by their presence." (Brian Mc Nair, 2003).

A study looking at expansion in Central Sulawesi was carried out by Haliadi and Leo Agustino entitled: "Local Political Thought: History of the Formation of Central Sulawesi Province" in the *Cosmogov Journal* in 2015 (Leo Agustino and Haliadi, 2015: 345-376). This research is the basis for looking at expansion at the district level. Haliadi and Leo Agustino's article clearly explained the expansion of Central Sulawesi Province in 1964 from Central North Sulawesi Province. This article does not explain expansion during the Reformation period which began in 1999. The aim of this research is to explain the process of prosecuting expansion as a demand for regional autonomy in the Banggai Islands Regency and Parigi Moutong Regency, explaining the comparison of horizontal and vertical conflicts in the implementation of regional autonomy in the Islands Regency. Banggai and Parigi Moutong Regencies, as well as analyzing the involvement of local figures in expansion and conflict resolution in the Banggai Islands Regency and Parigi Moutong Regency.

By focusing on horizontal and vertical conflict as well as relevant thought frameworks such as regional autonomy theory and political actor theory, this research aims to provide a deeper understanding of conflict dynamics in the context of regional expansion in Central Sulawesi. By paying

attention to specific cases such as the events in the Banggai Islands and Parigi Moutong, this research seeks to reveal patterns of conflict and interaction between various parties involved in the process of expansion and implementation of regional autonomy at the local level.

2. METHODS

This research employs a historical methodology, utilizing the oral history method or historical interviews alongside historical archives. The interview method aimed to gather insights into the expansion of the Banggai Islands Regency from key informants, including Irwan Zaman, Hasdin Mondika, H. Ahmad Sombali, Syarif Uda'a, and Hideo Amir. Additionally, various books addressing the Banggai Islands have been referenced, such as Ria Mardin's "The Mystery of the Disappearance of the Hero in Tanjung Pemali," Rambe Heroes' "History of Education in the Banggai Islands (1942-1999)," Reinhard Nainggolan's "Democracy in Local Wisdom," Wilman Darsono's "Earning a Fortune in the Swinging Waves," Irwan Zaman's testimony on the implementation of the law, and works by Haliadi on Banggai Local History and New Society with Old Wisdom. The sociocultural interpretation of Law No. 51, Article 11, concerning the transfer of the capital from Bangkep to Salakan, was also submitted to the Constitutional Court. Finally, Haliadi, et al., authored "History of Parigi Moutong Regency," examining social problems and conflict within the Kaili community in Central Sulawesi.

This research adopts a case study approach, collecting data through observation, oral history interviews, document analysis, and other methods. The study focuses on two districts in Central Sulawesi Province, namely Banggai Islands District and Parigi Moutong District. It employs a political and anthropological approach, integrating political theories on decentralization and regional autonomy with anthropological theories on conflict.

The methodological stages encompass four key phases: Heuristics, Source Criticism, Interpretation, and Historiography. During the Heuristics stage, the research team conducts Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with stakeholders from indigenous communities, local government, educational institutions, and cultural organizations in the selected districts. These discussions aim to gather comprehensive insights into autonomy and conflict issues. Subsequently, in-depth interviews are conducted with community leaders and officials at various administrative levels to obtain firsthand information on regional expansion and conflict.

The archival research involves static and dynamic archives, including expansion documents and published materials such as newspapers. The Source Criticism stage involves internal and external criticism to ensure the authenticity and validity of sources. The Interpretation stage assigns meaning to the critiqued sources, facilitating the construction of historical facts. Finally, the Historiography stage involves writing chronologically and synchronically, diagnosing the chronology of events leading to

expansion and analyzing the causes of conflict within social spaces. This structured approach aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the historical and sociopolitical dynamics surrounding regional expansion and conflict in Central Sulawesi.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Banggai Regency to Banggai Islands and Banggai Sea

There exists a contradiction between the contemporary and historical narratives of Banggai as a local historical dynamic in Indonesia. On the one hand, spanning from 1999 to 2013, Banggai was fragmented into three smaller districts (Banggai Regency, Banggai Islands Regency, and Banggai Laut Regency), whereas historically, the Banggai Kingdom stood as a significant and imposing socio-political entity in the eastern region of Sulawesi Island. Demographically, in 1920, Banggai's population numbered 76,633 individuals. A decade later, in 1930, the population surged to 95,515. By 1961, this figure escalated to 144,879 (Masri Singarimbun et al., 1980: 229; Volkstelling 1920; Volkstelling 1930). This demographic transformation signifies a substantial increase from approximately 76 thousand individuals to 144 thousand over a span of about 40 years, nearly doubling the population. Such dynamics underscore the remarkably high mobility levels within the Banggai populace, warranting policies conducive to such mobility. Consequently, local history underscores the imperative of attending diligently to local dynamics, particularly in historical narratives underpinned by comprehensive historical analysis and methodological rigour. By comparison, population trends indicate a continuous ascent, with figures reaching 181,698 in 1971, 268,203 in 1980, and 347,335 in 1990.

The historical backdrop of the regional expansion of the Banggai Kingdom traces back to the Dutch Colonial period, as well as the subsequent Old Order, New Order, and reform eras in Indonesia. The evolution of expansion during the colonial era in the Banggai region unfolded as follows: In the early 20th century, specifically around 1908, the Dutch East Indies partitioned regions in Indonesia into two primary categories: those directly governed (Rechtsreeksbestuursgebied or Governementslanden) and those not directly governed (Zelfbestuurslandschappen or Vorstelanden). The directly governed areas were further subdivided into *Afdeelingen* and their sub-division, *Onder Afdeelingen*. The Central Sulawesi region, inclusive of the Banggai Islands, fell within the jurisdiction of the Governor of Makassar, encompassing *Afdeling Oost Celebes* and *Afdeling of Midden Celebes*, along with *onder afdeling-onder afdeling*. During this period, *onder afdeling Kolonodale* and *onder afdeling Banggai* were encompassed within the *Afdeling Oost Celebes* region, with the administrative center situated in *Bau-Bau* on Buton Island.

Secondly, in 1919, the Central Sulawesi region underwent further division into two *afdelings*. The *Donggala afdeling* comprised *oa Donggala*, *Tolitoli*, and *Palu*, while the *Poso afdeling* included *oa Poso*,

oh Paris, oa Kolonodale, and oa Banggai in Banggai. Thirdly, in 1926, the Banggai lanschaap was partitioned into oa Banggai Darat in Luwuk and oa Banggai Laut in Banggai, which was part of the Manado Residency. The Manado Residency in Central Sulawesi encompassed various regions, including oa Donggala (Banawa, Tawaeli), Palu (Palu, Sigi Biromaru, Dolo, Kulawi), Poso (Tojo Una-Una, Poso, Lore), Parigi (Parigi, Moutong), Kolonodale (Mori, Bungku), Banggai (Banggai Darat in Luwuk, Banggai Laut in Banggai), Tolitoli, and Buol. This historical context served as the basis for the delineation of the Banggai Islands expansion area in 1999. Fourthly, in 1938, Central Sulawesi comprised oa Donggala (Banawa, Tawaeli), Palu (Palu, Sigi Biromaru, Dolo, Kulawi), Poso (Tojo, Poso, Lore, Una-Una), Parigi (Parigi, Moutong), Luwuk (Kingdom of Banggai Laut in Banggai and Banggai Darat in Luwuk), and Tolitoli (Kingdom of Tolitoli). Fifthly, during the Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1945, the administrative structure underwent changes, with districts referred to as GUN and district heads as GUNCO, while the title of King was replaced by SUCO. Notably, the capital of Banggai was relocated to Luwuk during this period, a decision influenced by HSA Amir, who sought political legitimacy from the Japanese occupation of Luwuk. This legitimacy is evidenced by the Japanese-assigned name "Hideo" to his son, reflecting the authority of the Japanese rulers in Luwuk (Hideo Amir Interview, Sunday, July 23, 2017, in Luwuk).

Subsequently, the expansion of the Banggai region occurred across different political eras, spanning from the Old Order to the New Order and the Reformation period. This expansion was guided by legal frameworks such as Law No. 29 of 1959 and the Decree of the Governor of the Regional Head of North Central Sulawesi dated February 4, 1961, no. 01/Pem/1961. According to these regulations, the Banggai region was divided into two main areas: Banggai Darat and Banggai Islands. Banggai Darat comprised Luwuk District (including Luwuk, Batui, Kintom, Bonebabakal, and Balantak districts) and Teluk Tomini District (consisting of Bunta and Pagimana). On the other hand, the Banggai Islands region encompassed Banggai District (Banggai, Labobo Bangkurung, and Totikum districts) and Tinangkung District (Salakan, Buko-Tataba, Bulagi, and Liang districts), with its capital situated in Luwuk (Machmud, HK., 1986). Subsequently, under Law No. 18 of 1965 and the Decree of the Governor of KDH. Level I Central Sulawesi dated January 15, 1964, no. 25/1964, the Banggai Regency was established, covering various areas such as Labobo Bangkurung District (with its capital in Mansalean), Banggai District, Totikum, Tinangkung, Bulagi, Liang, Buko-Tataba, Batui, Bunta, Kintom, Pagimana, Luwuk, Lamala, and Balantak. This administrative structure mirrored the historical division during the Banggai Kingdom era, which comprised seven areas, each of which was Banggai Laut and Banggai Darat. Notably, the Banggai people recognized two major cities, namely Banggai City and Luwuk City, representing the Banggai Islands and Banggai Darat regions, respectively. However, significant sociocultural changes occurred following the capital relocation from Banggai City to Sandakan City,

mandated by the emergence of Law No. 51 of 1999 (Article 11). This shift, characterized by a revolutionary rather than evolutionary change, had profound implications, notably exemplified by the events of February 28, 2007, which resulted in four casualties from the Banggai Islands Regency community.

Based on the research findings, it is evident that the country has struggled to effectively transition from communal conflict to collective violence management. The case of the Banggai Islands on February 27, 2007, serves as a stark example of the state's inability to address communal conflict adequately in the region. The roots of the conflict in the Banggai Islands can be traced back to the inception of Article 11 of Law Number 51 of 1999, which regulated the formation of Buol Regency, Morowali Regency, and Banggai Islands Regency. This article stipulated that the capital of Banggai must be relocated to Salakan within five years of the inauguration of the Banggai Islands Regency. The emergence of Article 11, regarded as a "phantom article" by Banggai City officials, was perceived as a deliberate act by non-native Banggai authorities with central DPR access despite lacking supporting documents for the expansion. This article, purportedly triggered by a small group of individuals including the "Trio Malingong brothers," exacerbated tensions within the region. These individuals, now influential local political elites in Bangkep, hold key positions in the executive and legislative institutions. This incident mirrors historical mistakes, such as the Dutch-led capital relocation from 1908 to 1938, which divided the Banggai Kingdom into Banggai Land and Banggai Laut, and the arbitrary Japanese-era capital transfer from Banggai to Luwuk. Additionally, the formation of the Banggai Regency in the 1960s further marginalized Banggai's status as the former capital of the Banggai Kingdom. The subsequent capital shift from Banggai to Salakan under true autonomy represents, according to Hasdin Mondika, a grievance against the state's encroachment on the people's rights, customs, and the esteemed history of the Banggai Kingdom. This historical context underscores the deep-seated complexities and unresolved tensions contributing to the conflict in the Banggai Islands.

3.2. Parigi Moutong Regency: Seeds of Expansion Since 1963

One of the interesting phenomena in the 1960s in Central Sulawesi was the draft expansion by the Mutual Cooperation Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD-GR) in 1969 of Central Sulawesi Province into nine Regencies and Cities (Resolution Number 1/DPRDGR/1966). Theoretically, Benedict R. O'G Anderson, in his book *The Power of Words*, stated that: "...and it cannot be denied that, in some ways, the Colonial regimes in Vietnam and Indonesia also contributed to the progress of those who were colonized. However, what is clear is that the nation's participatory interests were almost completely ignored and suppressed by the colonial authorities." Post-colonial phenomena in Indonesia are generally the impact of colonialism, such as the emergence of disobedience movements and autonomy (liberation towards one's own destiny), including expansion, which was launched by local

politicians in the 1960s.

The struggle for regional autonomy to expand autonomous government at the district level during the Old Order era was also never realized in Central Sulawesi, especially in Donggala for Parigi Moutong Regency. This Postcolonial Period in Indonesia was assessed by Benedict R. O'G. Anderson: "...and it cannot be denied, in some ways, the Colonial regimes in Vietnam and Indonesia also contributed to the progress of those who were colonized. However, what is clear is that the nation's participatory interests were almost completely ignored and suppressed by the colonial authorities" (Benedict R.O'G. Anderson, 1990).

The background to the expansion efforts in the 1960s was driven by the formation of North Central Sulawesi Province based on Government Regulation number 151/1960 dated December 13 1960 concerning the formation of the Provinces of South Southeast Sulawesi and North Central Sulawesi (Andi Mas Ulun, 1992). Then, the Donggala and Poso Level II Regional Regency autonomous regions were expanded into 4 autonomous regions, namely: Donggala Level II Regional Regency in Palu, Poso Level II Regional Regency in Poso, Tolitoli Level II Regional Regency in Tolitoli, and Banggai in Luwuk. Since then, efforts to create new districts and Central Sulawesi Province have been made by local figures, especially nobles and local politicians, such as the prosecution of Parigi Moutong Regency by important local politicians, including Andi Pelawa Tagunu, Ahim Dg. Rahmatu, Arsid Pasau and others.

At that time, the condition of Parigi Moutong in the 1960s was still in a state of change from the regional authority resulting from the change from Swapraja Parigi to Assistant/Liaison to the Regent of the Donggala Regional Head in Parigi. There were four Wedana officials who had been Wedana in Parigi: R. Datau, Ruda Lamakarate, Ramli Noer, and Manupil. Meanwhile, those who have served as assistants to the Regent/Respective Liaison: Dj. Lembah, Mochtar Tadjji, MWBorman, Sahid Tjobo, H. Andi Ada Tagunu, Efendi Dg. Pawara, and Tumange (Technical Team and Presidium of the Parigi-Moutong Residents' Friendship Forum, 2000: 6). They served as officials in Parigi, Donggala Regency, as employees in the Old Order and New Order governments in Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi Province. Due to the remote access of the Parigi Moutong community to Donggala as the main area, community leaders are fighting to expand the Parigi Moutong area from the Donggala district into its own autonomous region.

The struggle to expand Parigi Moutong Regency since the 1960s was carried out by political parties in Donggala Regency at that time. In 1963, the Chair of the Committee was APTagnu and Secretary H. Marasobu, both from the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI). The first meeting was for the struggle to expand Parigi Moutong Regency in 1963 until the Central Sulawesi Province DPRD-GR resolution was formed in 1966 regarding the proposal of Central Sulawesi Province into 9 districts: Donggala, Poso, Banggai, Buol/Tolitoli, Parigi Moutong, Pamone-Lore, Tojo /Una-Una, Bungku-Mori,

West Banggai, Banggai Laut, Dondo, and Buol (Resolution of the DPRD-GR, number: 1/DPRD-GR/1966, dated February 16 1966). Before this resolution was adopted, the people of Parigi Moutong had tried to fight for it through political organizations since June 8 1963, demanding Parigi Moutong Regency as stated in the DPRD-GR Resolution. In the same year, namely in 1963, there was a delegation from the Prosecution Committee to appear before the Assistant Minister of Home Affairs for Sulawesi and Maluku Archipelago Affairs at the hammer on July 25 1963. Then, on August 12 1963, the Parigi-Moutong Regency Prosecution Committee took place at Toraranga Parigi Square.

Furthermore, according to Halim Kariming, on June 13 1966, the continuation of the prosecution was carried out in Jakarta with the reform committee consisting of D. Daly (D. Daly was a District Commander (Dandist) of the Parigi Police) as advisor, Abd. Halim Kariming as secretary, A. Pasau as treasurer, and respective spokespersons: Dantje Borman, Rusdi Toana (Rusdi Toana and Abd. Karim Mbouw, 1980: 28.), and Ahim Dg. Rahmatu. The task of the delegation to Jakarta for the first time was to go to Palu to: Request administrative support for the formation of Parigi Moutong Regency, request support for the departure of the Parigi Moutong Regency delegation to Jakarta, Demand several things that could help prepare for the realization of Parigi Moutong Regency such as development issues, representatives of the former Parigi District in Donggala Regency DPRDGR and there is a BPH member from the former Parigi District. This delegation was received by RH Ticoalu, representing the Governor, Dd.M.Lamakarate, Regent of Donggala Zainuddin Abd. Rauf, Chair of the Central Sulawesi Province DPRD-GR, and KHZ Betalemba Chair of the Donggala Regency DPRD-GR. On July 12, 1966, the delegation left for Jakarta, led by Chairman Dantje Borman and Secretary Abd. Halim Kariming, treasurer A. Passau, Advisor D. Daly, Saleh Boring, and Ahim Rahmatu. Their departure was financed by CV. John Sibi's Handy Jantra. This team's long march in Jakarta on August 3 1966 met the head of the Decentralization autonomy division of the Ministry of Home Affairs Slamet Mulyono, the next day he met Colonel Gatot Suwagio in the Department of Home Affairs as Director of Regional Autonomy, then on August 8 1966 he met Soemarman, Secretary General of the Department of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and on August 15 1966 it was received by PSII figure Mr. Ishak Moro, member of the Central DPR-GR from Commission B (OTDA). This delegation did not have time to meet the Minister of Home Affairs and the Chair of the Central DPRGR because they were on duty outside the region. Efforts to send the committee to Jakarta did not end there, but the committee formed a second delegation on September 18 1967, led by Chairman Arsit Pasau and Secretary Abd. Halim Kariming, members D. Daly and Saleh Barung. This second delegation was financed by Andi Sose who bought copra in Parigi Moutong from the Copra cooperative at that time. They met Mahmuddin Noer, Director General of OTDA, also on September 30 1967, met Ishak Moro, member of the Central DPRGR, and on October 2 1967, met Police Brigadier General Domo Pranoto, Chairman of Commission B of the Central

DPRGR. The result of the efforts carried out by the delegation to Jakarta from the Parigi Moutong Regency Prosecutor's Committee was a bill proposed by DPRGR member Ishak Moro and friends on November 30 1968 number: C I-02/K/4035/DPRGR/1968, this bill was fully supported by committee with statement letter number: 035-B/1969 in which the committee urges the bill to become a law establishing Parigi Moutong Regency. According to Halim Kariming, prosecution activities in Parigi Moutong Regency stopped in the 1970s because local political actors were busy with preparations for the 1971 General Election (Pemilu) as the start of general elections during the New Order Era in Donggala Regency.

A political party that took the initiative from 1963 to fight for Parigi Moutong Regency until 1969 which resulted in the composition of the Parigi Moutong Regency Realization Committee as a result of a resafel made on August 12 1969 by Andi Pelawa Tagunu from PNI as chairman, four deputy chairs, respectively: Ahim Dg. Rahmatu (PSII), Arsid Pasau (NU), A. Nento (PNI), MP Latjado (IP-KI), JJ Kaparang. The secretary is held by H. Marasobu from PNI, and the secretary's representatives are two people, namely, H. Mochtar (PSII), Hr. Marasobu (IP-KI). The treasurer is held by HE Nelwan from PNI and the deputy treasurer is H. Mursalin. This committee has 40 members, each member: Jan Mohamad Kaleb (Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs number Pem/7/42976, dated December 30 1978), Hi. Din Kunciotutu, P. Mahdang, Go. Lamataiya, Intje Rase, Mochsen Tandju, Dantje Talago, Paimin Ghandaly, Sudarmodjo, BA., Andi Wakka, MA Lapu, Salmin Alamri, Masthur Rahmatu, JK Jusuf, Usmin Lawado, Salim Basagevan, Information Section: A. Rahim Alaydrus, Ismail Zain , Political Section: Bujuni, A. Rahim, Abubakar Nggilu, M. Larekeng, Abdul Halim Kariming, Achmad B. Musa, Financial Section: Ahim Dg. Rachmatu, Mansur Dg. Riu, Equipment Section: WE Mambu, ID Karandja, Nurdin Lahamudo, Ali Baha, Government Section: Andi Ada Tagunu, NJ. Norma Abubakar Nggilu, Liaison Section: JM Caleb, R. Boraël, Development Section: S. Hadi Sasongko, SH., D. Dally, Sularno, Abd. Rachman Bahasyuan, Sidhi Suara, and K. Hululo. If we look at the composition of this management from a political perspective, the important position on the committee was held by the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) because the winner of national politics at that time was the PNI.

Based on the sources described above, it appears that the initial struggle to claim Parigi Moutong Regency in Central Sulawesi Province was carried out based on political measures at that time. If we refer to the representative results of the 1955 General Election, the votes for Donggala Regency were won by the Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party (PSII) with 61,582 votes out of 146,549 permanent voters in Donggala Regency at that time, followed by Masyumi with 49,000 votes, Parkindo with 9,301 votes, PNI with 8,689 votes. , and NU. 1,610 votes (Alfian, 1971: 152-154). This situation is reflected in the political dynamics at the end of the Old Order and the beginning of the New Order in the 1965 DPRD-GR of Central Sulawesi Province, which was represented by 7 people from PSII, including Ahim Dg.

Rahmatu and the DPRD-GR of Central Sulawesi Province in 1970 were represented by 9 people from PSII, including Ahim Dg. Rahmatu comes from the East Coast. The PSII movement in the formation of Parigi Moutong Regency was not only carried out within the scope of Central Sulawesi, but also through the dynamics of PSII at the Center with Ishak Moro, a member of the Central DPR-GR who happened to come from Central Sulawesi, to create the initiative for the draft law establishing Parigi Moutong Regency.

The Banggai Kingdom's identity has emerged as a focal point in legitimizing the New Autonomous Region (DOB) in the Banggai area, particularly Banggai Regency, Banggai Islands Regency, and Banggai Laut Regency. The expansion of Banggai Laut Regency, facilitated by Law number 5 of 2013, stemmed from the relocation of the capital of Banggai Islands Regency, as stipulated in Article 11 of Law Number 51 of 1999, which was perceived by the Banggai Laut community as a covert provision. This expansion signifies a concerted effort to reclaim the region's original identity and pride, which was displaced from Banggai Laut to Luwuk during the Japanese occupation under HSA Amir in 1942. Despite being a maritime kingdom historically, Amir justified the capital's relocation to Luwuk based on better land access, contradicting the kingdom's maritime heritage.

The Banggai Kingdom's identity remains a pivotal reference point, but the expansion of Banggai Islands, whether intentional or inadvertent, mirrors the spatial division imposed by Dutch colonial rule since 1919. This division separated Banggai into Banggai Darat and Banggai Laut, aligning with the Manado Residency, which was previously part of the Afdeling Oost Celebes area with Bau-Bau on Buton Island as its capital. Amir's elevation to Suco during the Japanese Occupation, coupled with perceived legitimacy from both Japan and previous Dutch authorities, facilitated the capital's relocation from Banggai Laut to Luwuk, marking the onset of the kingdom's identity betrayal within the socio-political dynamics of the region.

The subnational socio-political processes in the Banggai Region, anchored in the Banggai Kingdom's identity, carry significant implications for societal welfare. While the division of the three Banggai regions (Banggai Regency, Banggai Islands Regency, and Banggai Laut Regency) from Poso Regency initially aimed at fostering equitable power-sharing, local political figures leveraging the Banggai Kingdom's legitimacy have inadvertently stirred controversy and revived historical grievances. This became evident when the Banggai Traditional Council's bid to relocate the Banggai Islands' capital to Banggai, the kingdom's historical center, was thwarted by the withdrawal of files orchestrated by Hideo Amir, son of the HSA king. This action sparked protests from the Banggai community, led by Iskandar Zaman, a descendant of Banggai King Awaludin, who claimed ancestral rights to the kingdom. The Iskandar Zaman faction, advocating for the Banggai Kingdom's restoration, sought to establish the Banggai Laut Regency. However, despite their efforts, the faction faced limitations, and Hideo Amir

continued to exert control over the three Banggai regions from Luwuk, perpetuating the kingdom's contested legacy.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the research results and referring to the issues presented, important conclusions can be drawn regarding efforts to establish Parigi Moutong Regency from Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi Province. The beginning of the struggle began at the first meeting for district expansion in 1963, which was initiated by important political figures such as Andi Pelawa Tagunu and Ahim Dg. Rahmatu, Arsid Pasau, and others. The struggle took place from 1960 to 1969 and went through three important stages. However, these efforts were unsuccessful due to the strong influence of national politics, which weakened local political power in the 1960s. Even though politicians and the people of Parigi Moutong fought hard, PSII's dominance at the local and provincial levels became the main obstacle to the success of this movement. This conclusion illustrates the complexity of political dynamics in the formation and expansion of administrative regions, while also providing insight into the challenges faced by local autonomy movements at that time.

In further analysis, the influence of national politics on local dynamics becomes a key factor in determining the outcome of this movement. PSII's dominance at the local and provincial levels limited the expansion of the Parigi Moutong area despite support from the PNI nationally. The success or failure of this movement also reflected broader political dynamics, which influenced the formation and expansion of administrative regions in Indonesia at that time. Although efforts to create a Parigi Moutong District were unsuccessful, the movement still had an important impact in keeping the issue alive for future efforts. This conclusion highlights the complexity of local and national politics and the challenges faced by the regional autonomy movement in this period.

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