

Gang Action and Shifting Patterns of Patron-Client Relations in Southeast Gowa 1958-1961

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Abstract—This paper describes the determination of Islamic Religion as an important factor in the process of forming patterns of patronage relations in the Southeast Gowa region. The teachings of the Islamic religion with the aim of applying the Islamic Shari'a which was present through the Gang forces under the leadership of Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar had changed the social order that had taken place before. Community chaos caused by gang action has shifted the government's position as a patron for the Southeast Gowa community in the period 1958-1961. Similarly, the *Gellarang*, local elites do not fully have the same role as patron for the people subordinate, when gangs more powerful than himself in society in Southeast Gowa. Social insecurity that arises has shifted the social position of local elites as patrons in society. The teachings of Islam with the aim of the application of the Islamic Shari'a championed by the next gang underlie Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar as the main leader of the gang emerged as a new patron for the Southeast Gowa community

Keywords—Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar, Gang, Social Insecurity, Patronage, Islamic Law

I. INTRODUCTION

The period between 1958-1961 was a period that was remembered by the people of South Sulawesi, especially the Southeast Gowa community. During this period, the community experienced various conditions that were quite alarming. In addition to the difficulty of the economy caused by the lack of demanded-varieties of food crops and the number of agricultural commodities produced, the Southeast Gowa community is also faced with the emergence of *horde/ momoc/ gurilla* action in this region [1]. Until 1960, these two problems turned out not to burden the Southeast Gowa community. Another problem that is challenging to the next community is the emergence of various acts of theft that occur in the community. The rise of this theft is principally very detrimental to the community and increasingly adds to the burden of life of the people who inhabit Southeast Gowa.

In the mid-20th century in Southeast Gowa, more or less could be used as a reference in seeing the pattern of changes in patronage systems or patron-clients in this region. Although the main elements in the process of forming patron-client relations patterns tend to be the same, the formation process remains little. [2] define Patron-Clients as a system of interpersonal relationships involving unequal strengths where one individual (protector) provides clear

material benefits and a contingent for individuals or groups in return for their support. The study of patron-clients generally refers to the definition, but furthermore [3] provides another explanation that patron-client relations are not only emphasized on the pattern of relationships that use is only based on material aspects, but also further (patron) impose a pattern of use of influence and resources to provide protection, profits, or both to people who are more lacy (clients), the next, the client repays the gift by providing support including personal services to the patron.

As explained by [4], that Scott's explanation is specifically considered to have suitability in explaining the pattern of patron-client relations in South Sulawesi. The pattern of patron-client relations in South Sulawesi is based on the surrounding socio-cultural conditions such as: coating of social status, coating of power, coating of wealth, social insecurity, kinship units, and social security. The pattern of patron-client relations is not purely based on mere patterns of economic use as patron-client practices occur in rural communities in Thailand [5].

Some important factors that support the formation of patron-client relations patterns in the South Sulawesi region, especially Southeast Gowa, are not only based on several factors that have been explained. Determination of religion, especially (Islam) is one of the constituent elements in the pattern of patron-client relations that is quite significant in this region. In an effort to explain the changes in the forming factors of the Patron-Client relationship pattern in this region, the analysis provided was not to explain in its entirety related to all important factors as explained by Ahimsa. Analysis of changes in the process of forming patron-client relations patterns is explicitly emphasized in the strong determination of religion (Islam) as an important factor in the formation of patron-clients in the Southeast Gowa region. Therefore, the important question raised- how is the determination of religion (Islam) an important factor in the process of forming patron-client relations patterns in this region?

II. RESEARCH METHODS

To analyze the determination of religion (Islam) in the process of forming patterns of patron-client relations in the Southeast Gowa region, the use of approach is historical-causality. This approach is used to see the pattern of causal relationships between the strength of religious determination

(Islam) and the process of forming patron-client relations patterns in the Southeast Gowa community. The method used in supporting historical-causality analysis is the historical method. Historical-causality analysis rests on the wealth of sources used in supporting under certain of analysis. The main source used the contemporary archives obtained from the South Sulawesi Archives Institute. Some important files used are: *Gellarang* Report, Specter Report, Archive of *Goteng Butter* and Malakadji People's Deputy Letter.

In addition to written sources, oral sources are also used to support various deficiencies found in written sources. In-depth interviews with people who have experienced and been directly involved in contemporary events are important sources to this paper. The categories of key informants are individuals who live, engage, and witness during the event. The number of key informants was 10 people spread across four different sub-districts, namely: sub-districts Bungaya, Biringbulu, Bontolempangan and Tompobulu. These four sub-districts were administratively the Southeast Gowa region in that period. Criticism of oral sources is done by triangulating data from information obtained from key informants.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Gang Conquering Malakaji

What is meant by Gang is a group of herds or militias wearing blades and machine guns (rifles and pistols). The main leader of this gang was Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar [1]. In carrying out its activities, this gang is not always led by Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar, but by people who are trusted by their circle. For Southeast Gowa people, the term gang is also synonymous with *gurilla* or specter. On May 1st, 1958, gang troops entered the Malakaji area. They objected to invite the community to join with them to support the implementation and establishment of the Indonesian Islamic State (NII) under powered by Darul Islam Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI TII) [6]–[8].

In the Southeast Gowa region, the gangs built their power base in the forest with a guerrilla warfare system. As an effort to attract community support, the gang carried the message of Islamic teachings which was familiarly known as the Application of Islamic Sharia [9]. In addition to carrying the message of Islamic teachings, the gang also reduced and even took over the role of the government to carry out its functions in society, because the government system was considered contrary to Islamic Sharia.

The weakening of the function and role of the government became clearer when Beta Karaeng Serang as a Wedana or Southeast Gowa Coordinator and his apparatus left Malakaji. This administration was unstable to the apparatus. In carrying out administrative functions, the gang do not have the authority to carry out their functions and roles in society, on one side gangs do not have mandate from Wedana, on the other hand, the gangs are not able to deal with the strong pressure of society. As an effort to overcome these conditions, then on May 14th, 1958, the gang and the village chief along with the head of the

department and the community leaders scattered in the Malakaji region agreed to make a letter of request to the Wedana namely Beta Karaeng Serang, so that the *Gellarang*, village heads and service the government that is still in Malakaji can carry out government tasks while taking over the function as wedana or Southeast Gowa Coordinator.

The application submitted by the *Gellarang*, the head of the department and the Malakaji community leaders was responded by Beta Karaeng Serang as Wedana Malakaji on June 10, 1958. The response given by Beta Karaeng Serang was to make the application as an attachment for the next sent together with the letter made by Beta Karaeng Serang addressed to the Head of the Gowa area in Sungguminasa with a copy of the Jeneponto Sector Commander in Jeneponto and the Gowa District Police Commander in Sungguminasa on June 14th, 1958. The letter made by Beta Karaeng Serang explains as follows: 1) that Beta Karaeng Serang has received letters from *Gellarang*, heads of departments and community leaders. 2) Beta Karaeng Serang as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator approved the proposal submitted by the *Gellarang* provided that they were able to account for the provisions of the Malakaji area and surrounding areas were safe and did not get interference from armed gangs. 3) that gangs carry out acts of charity as a substitute for taxes imposed on the people every day. 4) that the application submitted by the DI / TII Regiment Commander must be fulfilled and if not fulfilled, then they will burn the entire City of Malakaji. 5) that actions taken by the gang are not justified. 6) confirmed the petition filed by the *Gellarang*, heads of department, and the elders of the people based on that they have to seek refuge, as from May 1 state apparatus has left Malakaji City. In addition, their lives have been threatened if they do not comply with all requests from the mob. 7) Request the government to place the Armed Forces to eradicate the gangs in the city of Malakaji and surrounding areas and to restore the integrity of the government.

The letter sent by the Southeast Gowa Coordinator to the Gowa Government was received by the Gowa government on July 15th, 1958. On this letter, the Gowa Government replied specifically address to the *Tumabitjarabutta Karaengta* by explaining as follows. That a copy of the letter needs to be sent to the Governor of Sulawesi/ part of the Makassar Security Department, the Regional Coordinator Regiment in Sungguminasa and the Southeast Gowa Coordinator in Sungguminasa. That should be known as necessary and with the note that their application does not need to be considered, because it is deemed to have been made under the influence of the mob. For this reason, what needs to be done is to put back guard posts from armed state equipment as requested by the Southeast Gowa Coordinator previously submitted.

Until September 4th, 1959, the condition of Malakaji City and its neighborhood had not changed. The government vacuum and the absence of state tools in Malakaji City make people seek protection and secure themselves. Given these conditions, one of the Malakaji people's representatives on behalf of Badjidu sent a letter of application to the

Chairperson of the Gowa Regency Regional Government Council in Sungguminasa. The contents of the letter can be simplified as follows: 1) if Beta Karaeng Serang is not willing to return to lead the Malakaji area, then the King or Head of the Gowa region should pick a leader who can work together competently with the people in Malakaji to carry out their duties in taking over the government in the region that. 2) If there is no expert in the Gowa government to be placed in the Malakaji area to lead the government, then we propose someone who can carry out the task as intended is Ahmad Munassar's brother. He is currently the secretary of the Head of Jeneponto-Takalar. This request should be considered an interim government to accelerate the return of government in the Malakaji region.

On December 17th, 1959, the City of Malakaji has changed especially in its efforts to develop or repair vital infrastructure in the region. This change occurred due to the growing strength of the Indonesian People's Army (TRI) which had repelled the mob forces in the Malakaji region. When TRI together with community members are able to compensate for the strength of the gang, then the next is to build infrastructure such as highways, army dormitories and others. The main problem is still remaining, Beta Karaeng Serang has not reoccupied to carry out its duties again as a Wedana or Southeast Gowa coordinator.

To accelerate the return of government in the Malakaji area were an important issue at the time. In addition to the lack of government administration as well as the absence of state equipment in Malakaji City and the most important is the non-return of Beta Karaeng Serang occupying his position as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator or Wedana based in Malakaji, the *Gellarang* also took the initiative similar to what was done by Badjidu's brother as the Malakaji People's Representative. The *Gellarang* in the Malakaji region made a request addressed to the Head of the Gowa Region in Sungguminasa with several other copies stating that the *Gellarang* encouraged Ahmad Munassar to replace Beta Karaeng Serang as the Wedana or the Coordinator of the Gowa Landmark to carry out government activities in this region.

The request submitted by the Badjidu brothers and the next *Gellarang* was received by several parties. Some parties who responded to the request included Ahmad Munassar and Deputy Chairperson of the Gowa Tjongdang Transitional Regional Government Council Daeng Rani. The response given by Ahmad Munassar was explained in a special letter addressed to Badjidu, that in principle Ahmad Munassar did not object to what had been proposed by the brothers of Badjidu and the *Gellarang*. However, in this context, that the city of Malakaji is part of the Gowa region, then Badjidu should encourage the Gowa regional government to decide on the matter. If the Gowa regional government agrees or not at the suggestion of the brother of Badjidu, then Ahmad Munassar is absolutely not minded. In principle, he is just waiting for any decision to be issued by the Gowa regional government.

The next response was given by the Deputy Chairperson of the Gowa Transitional Regional Council, namely

Tjongdang Daeng Rani. In his letter which was sent to the people of Malakaji and the delegation of Ahmad Munassar in Jeneponto explained that the vacuum problem of the government in Malakaji City had basically become the concern of the Gowa Regional Government. This matter has also been raised in plenary session II conducted by DPRDP Gowa held in June. From the results of the plenary and various considerations held by the Regional Government of Gowa, the decision is that the vacuum of the Malakaji regional government will be resolved as soon as possible by the authorities. As an effort to complete the various intended purposes, the Malakaji community is expected to be patient and pray about this.

B. Snatching Southeast Gowa Coordinator

Until 1960, the City of Malakaji was still left behind by state apparatus including the Official Southeast Gowa Coordinator or Wedana who was then held by Beta Karaeng Serang. The government vacuum is caused by several things, namely the domination of the Malakaji region by forces or DI / TII. In addition, the previous government system was considered to be less pro-people, resulting in disharmony between the community and the government in Malakaji. Therefore, when the state equipment had not returned until 1960, then in the community there was friction related to how to restore the government system in the Malakaji region.

In this context, some parties in the community mutually reinforce their respective proposals about whether Beta Karaeng Serang is still feasible or not to return to office to lead the Southeast Gowa region based in Malakaji City. A person named H. Nai was a resident of the Malakaji community on September 4th, 1959 trying to gather several village heads including *Gellarang* Garing, *Gellarang* Rappoala, *Gellarang* Lembaiia, *Gellarang* Lemoa, *Gellarang* Malakaji and community leaders named H. Maruf. In the meeting discussed about how to restore the government in the Malakaji region and propose or nominate other figures who can replace the position of Beta Karaeng Serang as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator. Therefore, the results of the meeting included sending a letter to the Gowa Regional Government to immediately replace Beta Karaeng Serang as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator. Moreover, that Malakaji region urged to get leadership in carrying out its government activities. In addition to the activity of sending the letter, several groups of people who were opposite to Beta Karaeng Serang had previously held a demonstration in Sungguminasa by bringing demands that Beta Karaeng Serang be replaced as Southeast Gowa Coordinator.

In addition to those who want a change of leader in Malakaji, not a few other parties are trying to keep Beta Karaeng Serang back to lead the Malakaji region as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator. Some parties who showed their loyalty to Beta Karaeng Serang were *Pemb.BODM* 024 Malakaji (assistant) named M. Saleh Rachim. He represented the military institution sent a letter in order to show his loyalty to Beta Karaeng Serang so that he would soon lead Southeast Gowa and serve in Malakaji City. The following is the substance of the contents of the letter

addressed to PDM 02 Gowa in Sungguminasa. That BODM 024 had heard about rumors that were evenly voice-distributed in the communities in Southeast Gowa which did not approve Beta Karaeng Serang as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator. Some facts compiled by this institution explain as follows: 1) it is not true that the people of Southeast Gowa do not approve of the person of Beta Karaeng Serang. 2) all the people expressed their loyalty, either directly or indirectly, except for Haji Ibrahim, a resident of the Malakaji Datara. 3) Haji Ibrahim did not approve Beta Karaeng Serang as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator because the person wanted to hold the position without being laden or wanting to appoint his own family as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator. 4) Haji Ibrahim is what influences the people to write a statement that does not agree with the head of the Gowa Region, but the people do not agree. Various facts that have been presented are obtained by BODM 024 Malakaji by seeking information from the public.

In general, the contents of this letter basically explained the community's loyalty to Beta Karaeng Serang as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator and immediately occupied his position and served in Malakaji. On the other hand, that the contents of this letter also explain that Haji Ibrahim himself is one of the many communities of Southeast Gowa and not become a reference in Serang Karaeng Beta restore to reoccupy his position as Coordinator of the Southeast Gowa. Therefore, this letter explains that they remain loyal to Beta Karaeng Serang and will continue to assist him in carrying out government activities in Malakaji City.

On March 12nd, 1960, a statement was also sent back to the Head of the Gowa District in Sungguminasa. This statement was made by community leaders in the Malakaji area, namely community leaders from Garing, Datara, Malakaji, Bontobudung, Tanete, Pappa, Lembangbunde, Lembaia, Rappoala, Bontoloe and Paladingang. They made the following statement: 1) that the reports made by Haji Nai a few months ago on behalf of the Malakaji people were incorrect. 2) explained that the people in the villages listed had never authorized Haji Nai to act directly or indirectly to provide reports as they are known now. 3) should be monitored by all reports submitted by Haji Nai to the Gowa Regional Government, because the Malakaji area is a collection of 11 (eleven) village heads. for that Beta Karaeng Serang was re-established as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator and immediately carried out his duties in Malakaji City.

Another statement on behalf of the employees of the Southeast Gowa Kawedanan in Malakaji addressed to Radja or the Head of the Gowa Region in Sungguminasa. Filling in his statement regarding his loyalty to Beta Karaeng Serang. The following is the contents of the statement as follows. 1) these employees considered that during Karaeng Serang's term as District Head was always disturbed by unfavorable statements. 2) a statement that is not good arises from an individual party in the name of the Malakaji people and intends to control Malakaji for himself. 3) Malakaji consists of eleven villages, so that if there are one or two villages that approve and act on behalf of the entire village, then that is not true. 4) while serving as Southeast Gowa

Coordinator, Beta Karaeng Serang is an honest person. 5) Beta Karaeng Serang should take office again as soon as possible and serve in Malakaji. 6) calling for conflicting reports to be ignored, because it is a sheep fight for the destruction of Malakaji. 7) should be determined as soon as possible Beta Karaeng Serang as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator and carry out its activities in running the government in Malakaji.

On March 10th, 1960, a statement was also made by *Gellarang* and Malakaji community leaders. The statement made about the contra of the letter made by Haji Nai and wanted Beta Karaeng Serang to remain as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator. In general, the contents of the letter can be simplified as follows. That several *Gellarang* meetings held at the house of the Malakaji VAK-D2 commander basically did not reach an agreement and Haji Nai still insisted his will that Beta Karaeng Serang should be replaced. Considering the absence of agreement at the meeting and the sudden information circling about the rejection of Beta Karaeng Serang as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator as the letter made by Haji Nai in the name of *Gellarang* throughout the Malakaji region, the matter was not true. For this condition, *Gellarang* Malakaji who was accompanied by a representative of *Gellarang* Garing and *Gellarang* Lemoa faced the Gowa Regional Government. Next, also following *Gellarang* Rappoala and *Gellarang* Lembaia, also facing the same before Radja or the Gowa Regional Government and said that Beta Karaeng Serang should be returned to Malakaji as soon as the Southeast Gowa Coordinator. In connection with the letter that was sent by Haji Nai, basically he was the village head who forced his own will. He is personally in the name of all *Gellarang* in the Malakaji region. Moreover, Haji Nai should be removed from his position as the Head of the Village and immediately appoint another Head of Village.

C. Gang Action: Spreading Terror or Sympathy

Chaos that occurred in the region of South Sulawesi in the late 19th century basically had something in common with the context of the chaos at the end of the 20th century. The chaos or precisely the theft and robbery that occurred in the Kawedanan Malakaji area apart from being caused by high levels of poverty, these actions were also driven by the strong position of the mob in the community. From several static archival sources, the increase in theft and robbery in Southeast Gowa was very intense in 1961. For example, in the village of Bontoloe precisely in Kampung Gantarang, on January 27th, 1961 there were consecutive thefts and robberies. Brother Pare lost a horse and Senga lost two horses. Until this report is made, this case is still under investigation. The next case of theft or robbery was informed by *Gellarang* Rappoala through a brief report on July 24th, 1961, that robbery had occurred in his territory. This brief report is addressed to the Southeast Gowa Coordinator who was then held by Tjondang Daeng Rani. The robberies that took place in Rappoala, precisely in the village of Tjampagaya occurred on July 19th, 1961 at 1 pm. The victim named Jasang lost Rp. 25.- Another victim named Ruma in the same village lost 4 (four) chickens and 9 (nine) eggs. From this *Gellarang* Rappoala report, the

thieves or robbers were allegedly members of the S. Kuneng force of four to five people led by Hamid.

The theft and robbery in the village of Rappoala turned out not to have happened once, but it had happened many times. As a result of frequent theft and robbery in this village, the Tjampagaya community experienced fear. Like the Rappoala *Gellarang* named Bangko, on July 31st, 1961, he had fled to Bontoloe Village. He took refuge in another village because he received reports from residents that on Friday, July 28th, 1961 S. Kuneng's troops again visited the village of Rappoala in order to kill the *Gellarang*. On the basis of this information, he took refuge in Bontoloe Village precisely at the house of a Butter member named Tendeng. Such conditions are also experienced by people in the village of Rappoala, they are always threatened to be killed if they do not obey what is requested by the troops of S. Kuneng.

Cases of theft or robbery also occurred in Malakaji on September 3rd, 1961. This robbery victim named Sere, 45 years old, from Malakaji. He lost 4 (four) horses each of 7 (seven) years, 8 (eight) years, 1 (one) year, and 1 (one) month. Until this brief report was made by *Gellarang* Malakaji named Hamandja, the perpetrators of theft or robbery could not be identified.

Other cases of theft and robbery also occurred in Batupute (Sapaya) Village. This robbery occurred on December 8th, 1961 at exactly 9:00 a.m. night. The victim of this theft was a village police officer named Bora. He and his wife also became victims of the shooting of the robber. This husband and wife died. In addition to the two people, one of them named Gising was also a victim in the robbery case. Gising was kidnapped by robbers and has not been found. Another loss is Rp.1800 and one watch worth Rp. 1000 . The next theft or robbery occurred on December 27th, 1961, precisely at 12:00 noon. This robbery took place in Kampung Parang. The number of robbers in action as many as two people, but this robbery action can be foiled by Members of the People's Fence Operation (OPR) Sapaya. The robber was shot on the spot and died at the scene. On December 22nd, 1961 there was also a robbery in Lembaia. Stolen goods are 2 (two) horses aged 8 (eight) years or equivalent to Rp. 2250. Until this letter is made, the perpetrators of this crime cannot be found.

The rise of theft and robbery that occurred in the Southeast Gowa administrative area is basically not fully addressed to the gang, but there are certain elements in the community who also take advantage of such conditions to obtain personal gain. People who take advantage of it are generally affiliated with the strength of the mob which was then considered in the community. The various acts of theft and robbery is an activity that is precisely counterproductive to the goal of the gang. Therefore, as an effort to attract public sympathy for the purpose of the movement built by the gang, then Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar imposed a cleansing on those who committed theft or robbery in the community, including those who acted in the name of the mob. Another significant action in recruiting people to join the gang is by providing religious services to the community, especially knowledge and knowledge of Islamic teachings [10].

Referring to the information of various key informants scattered in several sub-districts in the Southeast Gowa region, that theft and robbery was an activity carried out by another party in the name of a mob. Such conditions are very evident in some of the application of the rules established and implemented by the gang against the people in Southeast Gowa. Some activities that can be categorized as an effort to implement the Islamic Shari'ah are the application of Friday Prayers on Friday for men. Restrictions on the maximum amount of *panai* money in marriage. The amount of *panai* money that has been set is at least Rp. 25,000 and as high as Rp. 30,000. Other activities that also support the implementation of Islamic Shari'ah are the prohibition of slaughtering livestock for the community, because such activities are considered as wasteful and wasteful behavior is a prohibition in the process of implementing Islamic Sharia.

In relation to the implementation of Friday Prayers on Friday, this activity was strictly applied by the gang who were acting as the government in the forest. Friday prayer activities are mandatory and non-negotiable activities. As explained by Daeng Gassing, that the entire Sapaya community is obliged to run Friday Prayers on Friday. For people who do not perform Friday Prayer activities on Friday for any reason, the gang enforces strict punishment. Execution is a non-negotiable punishment for people found violating the rules of Friday Prayers.

In the Southeast Gowa region, in general the community is submissive and obedient to the gang. Community compliance with the gang is caused by fear of the gang, but some people in several villages in the Southeast Gowa region actually live side by side with the gang. In Sapaya Village, Bungaya District, the people in this area are quite cooperative with the gang. The surrounding community is quite enthusiastic in helping various activities carried out in the process of implementing Islamic Sharia in the community. In general, the Sapaya community also supports and joins the gangs in various activities in implementing Islamic Sharia. On this basis, the gang can live side by side with the Sapaya community.

The conditions as happened in Sapaya Village were also valid in several other villages in the Southeast Gowa region. Several other villages that are currently included in the Biringbulu sub-district, Bontolempangan and several villages in the Tompobulu sub-district, generally have conditions similar to those in Sapaya Village. The community tends to be cooperative with the gang. Cooperative communities with the gang tend to participate in the forest to strengthen the mob. In some villages and mainly in the Southeast Gowa capital, Malakaji, there the community tends to be uncooperative with the mob. Communities who reject the activities of the gang are generally affiliated with the People's Fence Operations (OPR) formed by the Gowa District Government in the face of mob actions in the community.

IV. CONCLUSION

The period between 1958-1961 in the Southeast Gowa Region, basically can be used to explain the change in

patterns of patron-client relations in this region. The emergence of gang action in this region is the beginning of shift in patterns of patron-client relations in society. Patronage patterns based on social status, which in this case are represented by Beta Karaeng Serang as Wedana or Southeast Gowa Coordinator with the community has undergone a shift. Such conditions also occur in smaller environment. *Gellarang* as a party who has a higher social status, power and wealth compared to the community under him, apparently no longer fully categorized as a patron in the construction of the Southeast Gowa community. The emergence of gangs has removed social security that can be attempted by parties with higher social status.

Gang action gradually shifts the supporting factors of the formation of previous patronage patterns that grow and develop in society. The emergence of fear as well as a feeling of security when joining the gang is an important element in the process of forming a pattern of patronage relationships in the next phase. The feeling of fear that arises in the minds of the next community shifts to the submission of society to the goals and teachings of the Islamic Religion which was brought and developed by the main leadership of the gang, Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar.

The emergence of mob actions that carried the mission of implementing Islamic teachings according to Islamic Shari'a was able to shift the social roles previously owned by local Elites. The teachings of Islam with the aim of the application of Islamic Sharia which the gangs fought for were entirely centered on the strength of the main leadership of the gang. The mission of applying Islamic teachings became the main attraction in the process of forming patron-client relations patterns in the Southeast Gowa community which was subsequently represented to the figure of Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar. In this context, the determination of the next Islamic Religion encouraged Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar to emerge as a new patron in the Southeast Gowa community.

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