

# The Challenges of Expansion, Ethnicity and Religion toward Tourism Development in Indonesia

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**Abstract:** *The discussion in this paper revolves around the occurrence of struggles, claims and reproduction of ethnic and religious identities in local political dynamics as part of what is called the expansion of involution. There are many areas in the division, but in fact they are lack of public services and public safety. The expansion revolves around the interests of local and national elites without paying attention to the social structure and social system that takes place in the community, so it has no readiness. The term involution was also popularized by Clifford Geertz when discussing agriculture in Indonesia and Southeast Asia which was defeated by the green revolution (agricultural modernization) which was synonymous with the use of machine tools in agricultural processes and insecticide drugs in its growth. The term involution wants to describe how many new regions and officials are in the expansion areas but lack public services and attention to the people who should be brought closer to the government, as the will of expansion as part of political and economic decentralization. This study aims to answer questions and explain the problems related to the expansion problem that occurred in Terate, North Maluku, as an expansion area. The question is how the influence of ethnicity in the expansion conflict, what is the role of religious elites and political elites in the expansion conflict that has occurred for eleven years, from 2001-2012. To answer the above questions, this study is based on in-depth interviews with community leaders, religious leaders, women activists, politicians, academics, and bureaucrats in the North Maluku. The data obtained were analyzed using qualitative explanative analysis, so the relationship between factors in the expansion conflict was illustrated.*

**Keywords:** *tourism, political revolution, expansion, democracy, ethnicity, religion toward tourism*

## 1. Introduction

Ethnicity and religion toward tourism are two entities which until now, when the world is stepping on the modern era, even postmodernism will become one of the most effective glue and tension between elements in society [1]. Ethnicity and religion toward tourism are two entities that are like double-edged swords. Creating integration as well as creating disintegration among community members [2]. Especially if ethnicity and religion toward tourism are narrowly understood (narrow religion toward tourism and ethnicity), it will easily encourage the spirit of resistance movements based on certain ethnicity and religious sentiments. This is why in some areas issues of ethnicity and religion toward tourism are still said to be vulnerable and profitable. Vulnerable regarding the possibility of inter-ethnic conflict [3]. It will beneficial because have an impact on cultural associations and accommodation.

The expansion area will be much longer and provide other facts. There are officials, but often there is no order and service. In other languages poor service and security because each official is busy with his own affairs [4]. Affairs strengthen positions and expand power. This is a risk of expansion, which is the basis of its thinking is power not public service. Power can be obtained by various mechanisms such as building ethnic and religious sentiments [5]. This pattern was once said as a politics based on flow, religion toward tourism and ethnicity, although it has been widely criticized because in terms of placing the priyayi category. It is considered that fails to explain the categorization of ethnicity and religion toward tourism [6]. But for the case of ethnicity and religion toward tourism as a sect, it seems that explanation can still be considered to answer the question: is the pattern of power politics based on ethnicity and religion toward tourism still going on in Indonesia? More specifically, are ethnicity and religion toward tourism still going on in the politics of expansion?

Governor M. Thaib Armayn was appointed by the Ministry of Home Affairs to defeat Abdul Gafur, who won the election for Governor of North Maluku but “failed to become Governor” because he lost the Constitutional Court hearing on suspicion of fraud in the North Maluku Governor Election.

In 1999, December in Ambon, there was a bloody tragedy at the Al Fatah Mosque which resulted in huge inter-ethnic and religious riots that were heard throughout Indonesia and even internationally. Many victims fall from the conflicting parties (Islam versus Christianity). Each side formed a army (militia) war. Christians form the Christ Army. Islam formed Mujahid army. There were no less than 5,000 victims from two sides. Houses were burned and damaged by almost half of Ambon city. Even arson and killings were carried out in areas such as Jazirah Hitti, Leihitu, Soya and its surroundings. Dozens of worship house were damaged where religion toward tourism prohibits destruction and bloodshed in God's house.

Actually Ambon is an exotic province. This island, which is surrounded by beautiful beaches but finally covered in blood because of the conflict that was originally trivial; between the public transport drivers and local thugs who want to beg the public transport drivers. The driver and the thug happened to be of different ethnicity and religion toward tourism, then they threatened each other and even killed each other. Two sides were crushed and battered to kill each other. Pela gandong fell into disarray as had no roots in society at all. The conflicts between ethnics and religion toward tourisms have made Ambon a scary and worrying province. Fear strikes the locals. Immigrants were forced to refuse for coming to the spice island which is rich in cloves, nutmeg and pepper. Fresh blood once flowed profusely on this island of a thousand spices, Ambon was of course not the only area that was hit by bloody violent conflicts. Sambas West Kalimantan is another example. West Waringin City and East Waringin City in Central Kalimantan are another example. Even Palangkaraya is an example of the occurrence of ethnic violence which is also terrible. Sampit is a terrible place for Bugis, Buton, Makasar and Madurese immigrants. Fresh blood and possessions are two things that have never escaped the impact of violent conflicts that have occurred in an area.

Above all, it can be said that new areas for certain groups of people are known as migrants. The migrants due to local transmigration factors, mass transmigration (bedol desa) or even just moving places to earn a living in daily life. Ambon, Ternate, East Kalimantan, West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan are locations that have become destinations for population movements from their home regions. Actually population movement is not synonymous with mass (communal) violence that has occurred since 1998 in Indonesia, because population movements in Indonesia have occurred long before 1980, to various regions in Indonesia, such as Lampung, South Sumatra and even Papua. However, since 1999 it seems that population displacement has become a serious problem regarding Indonesia population. The terms immigrant and native become new vocabulary for population issues

and regional conflicts. Conflicts in several regions in Indonesia, as stated by Gerry van Klinken and Nordoth are often related to issues of economic and political resources in a region. An area that previously seemed to be a territory of a certain ethnic and religious authority then developed into an ethnic power with a certain religion toward tourism so that the ethnic groups that were previously in power were competed in the struggle for territory; both political and economic.

Apart from population movement problem within a region (province), the problem of regional expansion is another problem that has recently become a serious problem in the archipelago. In the archipelago itself up to 2009 there have been many divisions at the district/city level in Indonesia. Until 2009, no less than 400 districts/cities had just been formed in Indonesia. The division area is one of the areas with the potential for mass violence. Some areas of violent conflict are old areas. But population growth is one of the reasons. Sambas in West Kalimantan is the most obvious example of the increase in population from Madura, where in some areas with a more established economic position, it affects the economic and political cycles as well as the religious composition of the local community.

Ambon is very clear about the population growth and the changing socio-economic and religious conditions. From being predominantly Christian to be balanced. The population is Muslim 45%, Christian 55%. Such conditions affect the political behavior and social behavior of the Ambonese people for years have been in a position of "without competitors" because there are no competitors, Ambon is the "ruler" as well as the "owner" and even the sole "heir" of the Spice Islands. However, everything has changed since the transmigration program for bedol village and the migration of people from other provinces such as Sulawesi, Java and Kalimantan. The competition finally took place there and competitions don't always end in good results. Often defeat brings wound and resentment. The wound and resentment that make riots often the problems result of competition between ethnicities and religion toward tourisms at the same time.

The current condition of North Maluku in terms of public health, for example, will also provide another and truly heartbreaking story, even though it has become a new region, the conditions are terrible. Consider this health problem in North Maluku, for example. They were stricken with a deadly and terrible disease called leprosy. As stated by the Head of Disease Prevention and Management, North Maluku Provincial Health Office that of the 535 sufferers in the province, 19 percent were children.

This number is the highest nationally because in each region the number of children suffering from leprosy is only 5 percent of the total number of sufferers. The problem of leprosy in children is a more serious problem. So far, we have focused more on treating patients with non-productive age, and often forgetting child sufferers.

Quoting data from the North Maluku Provincial Health Office, the Head of the North Maluku Health Office explained that in 2012 there were at least 103 leprosy sufferers. They are children with the highest number of 41 sufferers, found in North Halmahera. The other districts, South Halmahera (15 patients), West Halmahera (14), Ternate City and Central Halmahera with 6 sufferers each, Morotai Island (5), and Tidore Islands 2 patients.

Leprosy activist in North Maluku explained that the high number of leprosy sufferers in North Maluku is generally due to an unhealthy lifestyle. In addition, the community understanding of leprosy is still low. "There are still many residents who are ashamed to go to the hospital." he said. Aman also revealed that North Maluku is an endemic area for leprosy. In fact, it is the region with the highest distribution rate in Indonesia. Almost all areas in North Maluku are found with leprosy.

Evidence of the deadly existence and terrible disease above is a fact in the field that the health condition of the people in North Maluku is not good. This is as said by the Head of

the Health Office of North Maluku and activists in reducing leprosy in North Maluku, Aman Bakar. Then where is the location of regional expansion to improve the welfare of the community becomes doubtful.

## **2. Theoritic Perspective in Research**

The theory used in understanding the North Maluku case was identity politics which is addressed to the ethnicity and religion toward tourism of the people living in an area. Ethnicity and religion toward tourism are the glue of identity which is still trusted in various local political struggles so that many parties use these two entities for their political interests. Ethnicity and religion toward tourism "play" in the struggle for certain political positions that are closely related to political figures in the region [7]. Ethnicity and religion toward tourism are then reproduced in the political struggles of expansion which are part of decentralized life in Indonesia. The two different entities in the political field are still an important part of the construction of identity politics that has developed since before the 1950s, as Cliffordz Geertz found in the religious cases in Java at that time and in the African region (Morocco and Sudan) at that time, concluded *Islam Observed* (1960) and in *After the Fact* (1957).

Bonds of religious solidarity and political affiliation have occurred over a long period of time. Religion toward tourism of Java (1957) which was written based on the research in the village of Pare (East Java) describes the problem of religious and political affiliation, in addition to the cultural and social affiliations that occur. The three sections of society that described as *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi*, at that time provided an explanation that in society there was a segmentation of social and political groups which was later elaborated, about parties based on religious ideology and ethnicity. There are Muslim-affiliated parties such as Masyumi, NU, which tend to be embraced by Javanese, nationalist parties affiliated to the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) which are adhered to by the Javanese, and some fairly wealthy peasants, the socialist party (PSI) which some have embraced. mostly educated Indonesians and ethnic groups outside Java (Sumatra), the Parkindo party affiliated with Christians and Eastern Indonesia in particular.

From this theoretical brief explanation, it can be understood even though in the course of its history there have been many significant changes in terms of socio-religious grouping, that in Indonesia there has been a division of socio-political and religious affiliations that are so new that the so-called a new middle class in terms of religious and political affiliation. In religion toward tourism, a Muslim middle class emerged, called it the term "accommodative Muslim" and even regimeist Muslims to refer to the Muslim middle class who were included in the power circles of the late New Order era until the fall of the New Order. The categorization of "new *santri*" and religio nationality and ethnic nationalism are categorizations that have emerged since the 1990s in Indonesia to describe the journey of ethnic and religious politics as real forms of identity politics in Indonesia.

The issue of religious and ethnic identity has thus become a problem that has occurred since the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s in various manifestations. The 2000s were manifested in various problems of regional expansion that emerged since the Indonesian reform era in 1998. Expansion has become a new spirit in identity politics which often brings casualties and of course the assets of citizens who are both in a certain area. There are many cases regarding the problem of violence due to ethnic and identity in expansion. The people of South Tapanuli who had to end Mohammad Abdullah life history as Chairman of the House of Representatives (DPRD) of North Sumatra (Medan) because he was killed in the matter of the expansion of South Tapanuli is the clearest example. Burning the offices of the Mayor and Governor of Ambon is another form. Likewise, the burning of the sub-district Office in Kao Malifut is a form of anger over the expansion in North Maluku and the burning

of the NTB House of Representatives (DPRD) office is a form of public anger regarding the political expansion that is happening in Indonesia.

Two entities, religion toward tourism and ethnicity appear to have been part of Indonesian political life since the 1950s, as Clifford Geertz pointed out until the 2000s, when times have undergone many changes, especially in terms of culture and technology. But these two entities are still idols in Indonesian politics. Such a thing certainly raises many questions that require elaboration to provide an argument to what extent ethnicity and religious ties actually become part of politics, especially in the era of political expansion or decentralization that occurred in North Maluku province.

### **3. Research Methodology**

This research was a qualitative inductive research by taking a location focus in North Maluku Province, which was an area with very high political tension besides the tension of violence between community members was also so high. The bloody conflicts were part of their lives with trivial causes of problems, like the matter of watching football or about watching a music concert show.

This research focuses on political problems that have arisen in the expansion areas such as North Maluku, which was an expansion area since 1999 and until now there are areas that have not been completed because of this expansion. The issue of regional expansion then continues to become a political consumption when facing the Regent and City Election as well as the Legislative Election so much contested by each candidate with an ethnic and religious background in North Maluku.

This research was based on field data (observations carried out for six months), conducting in-depth interviews with various competent resource persons in the field of political expansion and its relation to religion toward tourism and ethnicity, conducting literature reviews of literature or the results of research that has been conducted [8] previous. The results of field findings and literature review were analyzed using a sociological approach; particularly the sociology of ethnicity and religion toward tourism which focuses on the analytic inductive perspective (thick description) as proposed by anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz) and Borislav Malinowsky.

### **4. Political reproduction of expansion based on ethnicity and religion toward tourism**

There is a stiff struggle between ethnicity and religion toward tourism as a basis in the expansion region. This research shows that in North Maluku, North Halmahera and West Halmahera districts, the behavior of local elites (Regent), politicians and even some community elites creates a hypnotic “dramaturgy” about the basis of ethnicity and religion toward tourism to stay afloat or move into a new area. Reproduction of ethnicity and traditions that have been practiced for years is reproduced in the conflict between the two regions which has not ended until now, even though it has been ten years or even 12 years (from 1999 to 2010). Not too much research has focused on the analysis of ethnicity and religion toward tourism in the expansion process as an important part of the conflict. There are some who study the issue of ethnic and religious conflicts in expansion such as (Rizal Panggabean, 2002), when studying patterns of collective violence in Indonesia from 1990-2003, but not specifically the problem of expansion.

Drama about ethnic and religious sentiment becomes a byword in the society who support or oppose the new territory. West Halmahera was reproduced as an area with ethnic backgrounds of Jailolo, Bacan, Tobelo and Tobaru rather often and even often constructed it would be difficult to join areas with different ethnicities and with different traditions. The historical reproduction of ethnics and religion toward tourism has become part of the

problems that have arisen in the expansion of North Maluku to date. Constructions about ethnicity and religion toward tourism also develop in everyday dialogues in society.

In markets, land transportation, sea transportation and crowded places such as football fields (because people like to play and watch football), the reproduction of ethnicity and religion toward tourism is almost perfect. How is the reproduction that Jailolo is the "origin" of ethnicity in West Halmahera which spreads to six villages in North Halmahera with the capital in Tobelo. Jailolo is important to mention because it is the first sub-district before the expansion occurred in West Halmahera. In addition, in Jailolo there is a kingdom (Sultanate of Bacan) which is considered the origin of the Halmahera people. Therefore, we still have to become one with West Halmahera, regardless of the community. And the reproduction that has been developed is impossible for the Jailolo and Bacan ethnic groups to move to an area that is not their homeland. His homeland is West Halmahera not North Halmahera. Reproduction of ethnicity and religion toward tourism on the football field is not uncommon and has resulted in physical violence when there are inter-village or inter-sub-district competitions. Starting from ordinary taunts then turned into inter-ethnic and religious ridicule which resulted in physical violence on one of the competing parties.

At a meeting in Akelamo on 19 August 2010, it was possible to illustrate that the issue of ethnicity has become a very serious matter in the local elites of North Maluku, for example, they said this: FP and AF said:

We are in here, will defend to the last death to remain residents of West Halmahera, rather than having to become residents of North Halmahera. Even so, we will be given a wad of comdev funds from PT NHM. We will not change our position to become residents of West Halmahera. Historically we are Jailolo and Bacan people. Our ancestors were Jailolo and Bacan people, not Tobelo. All of just a trick of political elites such as the governors and regents of West and East Halmahera, who use Jailolo residents to conflict with each other because they benefit from the continual conflict between the people. Our fresh blood is fine as long as it remains part of West Halmahera. Whoever invites us to join North Halmahera we will fight".

If we examine more deeply about the process of expansion and the transformation of regional and central power, it will be found that nothing is free and even has to sacrifice important things such as human lives and assets that have been collected. Even other living fields such as agriculture and fisheries. In many cases, such as in West Halmahera and North Halmahera, because people are always treated in "ethnic and religious politics", their lives are not prosperous and are stricken by poverty, but the community is unable to block forms of ethnic and religious politicization by local elite groups. The reproductive power of ethnicity and religion toward tourism in the politics of expansion is the local elite, including village heads, sub-district officials, local governments (regency and provincial governments). The community is the driver of the carriage of the elite who are often more fortunate in conflicts over the expansion areas.

If we want to examine the issue of what local officials (regents) are doing, we often get what in "expansionary political transactions" with fellow local and central elites. One of the means for the political transactions of expansion is ethnicity and religion toward tourism. Famous and quite effective because ethnic and religious sentiments are often part of it since its birth. The reproduction of the ethnicity and religion toward tourism birth becomes clear to play with the interests of local and central elites for profit. In the expressions of local residents, we often hear that the conflict area officials in North Maluku were "playing with their eyes". They play golf together and often meet, but the conflict in the six villages has not been resolved. There is a wad of money that is staying there. The community has really fallen victim to the regional elite politics.

If the reproduction of ethnicity takes place in spaces such as football fields and transportation, markets and centers of the crowd, the reproduction of religion toward tourism takes place in a space that is no less interesting. Mosques, churches and recitals are the most popular spaces to make religious constructions part of the sentiment of the community affected by the expansion. Mosques, churches and recitals are the lands that have been the center for the reproduction of ethnic and religious sentiments. Incidentally, in West Halmahera and North Halmahera the religion toward tourisms are Islam and Christianity, so churches and mosques are the most popular centers for constructing who they really are. Who they are and which groups are considered to be part of them and their political opponents are often instructed and reproduced in places of worship. Places of worship are not only for reading and bringing people to individual piety to God, as well as bringing people to certain political sentiments based on the importance of the construction of the religious elite and the political elite.

In a Friday sermon held in West Halmahera 17 August, the preacher constructed how the Sultan of Ternate is truly a religious practice that must be obeyed by the people of North Maluku. The Sultan of Ternate is a unifying figure and guardian of community security, as well as provider of community welfare. Therefore, before the Sultan decides whether the six villages belong to North Halmahera or West Halmahera, we don't have to follow what is the problem of the local political elites. The Sultan is the final determinant of expansion in North Maluku and has yet to decide. In the sermon prayer, the preacher specifically reads it to the Sultan of Ternate and his extended family who have led Ternate and North Maluku.

What can be read from the preacher at the mosque above? There is nothing else, except to give construction to the community that whatever happens in North Maluku must wait for the Sultan and it means that the Sultan is a "single" figure who is seen as having the most authority over the expansion issue in North Maluku. When people hopes for the Sultan were so high, the Sultan did not hesitate not to decide on the six villages that had 12 years of division conflict. Why is that, this is a big question for the Empress Sultan of Ternate (Muzzafar Syach), as a member of the Regional Representatives Council, while his wife Boki Nita is a member of the House of Representatives (DPR) from the Democratic Party. Really save a lot of important questions there. Isn't this politicking?

Another critical issue related to ethnicity and religion toward tourism are the tendency of ethnic behavior (ethnicity and religion toward tourism) that connects tribalism and chauvinism in relation to regional "power shares" about strategic positions in the region. In many cases in the expansion areas that occurred in Indonesia from 2001 to 2010, in fact the issue of who are the shares of power is quite an influential problem. Therefore, placing the position of the owners of power shares as a worthy subject for study will make the focal point of the conflict in the expansion areas more apparent due to the political factor of power. Certain ethnic and religious "power shares" will influence patterns of violence that occur in an area. North Maluku is one of the regions where collective violence is quite high, reaching 2,447 in the 1999-2003 period as stated by Rizal Panggabean.

This politics of power is often based on certain ethnicities. Even though it is sometimes based on religion toward tourism as a determinant. The Poso and Ambon cases are a more determinant religious issue, although some researchers and observers prefer to place the issue of "economic distance" from immigrant and indigenous people as the main problem. Meanwhile, North Maluku in the case of six villages (Bobane Igo, Akeshu, Akelamu, Tetewang, Pasir Putih and Dum Dum) was based on ethnic unity. The reproduction that I said in the early parts of this paper is a method built so that ethnic equality and unity become dominant in determining regional elections, whether North Halmahera or West Halmahera. The viscosity of this becomes the basis for the local political discourse of North Maluku from the provincial to the subdistrict level and even to villages.

Consider the political battles that occurred in 2013 related to the regional elections in North Maluku, where many pairs of candidates were present, up to six pairs of candidates, each representing ethnic and religious groups. Even though we know that the population of North Maluku is only 1,400,000, not up to 2 million. Pay attention to the pair of candidates for the Governor of Deputy Governor who want to fight in North Maluku. On March 27, 2013, Ternate (Antara Maluku) was announced by the General Election Commission (KPU) of North Maluku Province that there were six pairs of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of North Maluku for the 2013-2018 period to register with the local General Election Commission (KPU) to take part in this regional elections.

They consist of five pairs of candidates nominated by a coalition of political parties and one pair who go through independent channels. According to a member of the General Election Commission (KPU) North Sumatera, Aji Deni, said that in connection with the nomination of the Governor and Deputy Governor in Sofifi, until the deadline for the registration of the candidate for governor-deputy governor, Tuesday night (24.00 WIT or Wednesday 27 March dawn) at the local General Election Commission (KPU) there were six pairs who registered to fight. in the 2013 North Maluku regional election.

The six pairs are Abdul Gani Kasuba-Muhammad Natsir Thaib who are supported by the PKS, Republican, PDK, PKB, PKP and PPRN coalitions. Then the Namto Hui Roba-Ismail Arifin pair who were carried by the PDIP, PPN and Barnas coalition.

Furthermore, Ahmad Hidayat Mus-Hasan pair supported by a coalition of the Golkar, Hanura, PPP, PDS and PKPB parties, as well as the Muhadjir Albar-Sahrin Hamid pair supported by a coalition of the Democratic Party, PBB and PAN. The other two pairs are Syamsir Andili-Benny Laos, which is supported by the Gerindra Party coalition and 17 non-parliamentary political parties, and the Hein Namotemo-Malik Ibrahim pair who advanced through independent channels with the obligation to deposit more than 78 thousand votes in support.

According to Aji Deni, the General Election Commission (KPU) North Sumatra will verify all the required documents for the six candidate pairs for governor-deputy governor by referring to applicable regulations, for example regarding the validity of recommendations for political party support. If the pair that turns out to be the supporting political party also carries another pair, the General Election Commission (KPU) will carry out verification to the DPP of the relevant political party as well as to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights to ensure that the legally valid partner receives a recommendation. Meanwhile, specifically for independent candidates, the General Election Commission (KPU) will examine the validity of their support from the public and if there is a shortage, they will be given the opportunity to complete the shortage until the deadline of March 29, 2013, while for the announcement of prospective candidates who meet the requirements of 15-16 May 2013, he said.

The issue of ethnicity will be very important in North Maluku, because this sentiment is the dominant thing. This can be referred to because it will be related to the parties "managing" the conditions of regional wealth resources. Like the story in West Sulawesi and Poso as expansion areas and transmigration areas, the issue of ethnicity is very important. Certain ethnic entities will succeed in political processes if they are related to certain ethnic identities. The inter-ethnic linkages will make it easier for a person to be in an established bureaucratic level and last a long time before a "coup" by other ethnicities later occurs and becomes an influential ethnic group in a division. The kinship of ethnicity and religion toward tourism is a strong pattern in the people of West Sulawesi and Poso as reported by Lorraine V Aragon, which points to competition between local religious based on ethnicity and religion toward tourism, especially since the New Order nearly collapsed in 1990-1996.

North Maluku is an example that is almost the same as West Sulawesi and Poso. The Makian ethnicity is an ethnic group whose number is not insignificant, but in several years

throughout the history of North Maluku it has become a "ruler". The Makian ethnic group is a strong ethnicity in terms of work (hard workers, hard spirit for progress, better education than other ethnicities and because of this, they are economically and politically more fortunate than other ethnic groups). The problem was that the Makian ethnic group was finally considered to be one of the ethnic groups that became the source of conflict and riots in North Maluku when it moved to Kao Bay in 1999. The riots that befell the Makian ethnic group when they moved from the slopes of Mount Sei, which was predicted to have an eruption, was something that gave another sign.

In short, the issue of domination of ethnicity due to politics, bureaucracy, economy, even though the number of ethnic Makians is not significant (18,722 people in 1975 and 20,620 people in 1998) will become a serious problem, especially among the majority ethnic groups, Jailolo, Bacan and Tobelo-Tubaru. There the question arises, why is the Makian ethnic group until now considered the mortal enemy of the majority in North Maluku, Bacan, jailolo, Tobelo and Tobaru. The question we can ask why these few ethnicities can continue to survive in the government bureaucracy, in economic control, and in local politics cannot actually be ignored, because so far in ethnic politics we will meet what we know as tradition. Mainly the similarity of traditions often makes people feel comfortable and safe, rather than being in different traditions.

The traditions of fellow ethnic groups in political, economic and social behavior can easily be understood, making it possible for political and social cooperation. Moreover, the Makian ethnic group is also relatively the same religion toward tourism, namely as a follower of Islam so that it will be easier to accept traditions from Islam than Christianity in the Kao Bay area or Akeshu Gamsungi and Akeshu especially Tobelo, which is predominantly a Christian tradition. This is the problem of common traditions that made the Makian ethnic group become "slapstick" in the North Maluku conflict in 1999, which is even today.

Ethnicity and religion toward tourism are also not immune matters from the symptoms of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN), from before the reformation to the reformation order even to the present order in 2009-2014. The corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) in the form of ethnic and religious unity coupled with political unity has made the symptoms of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) that occur from the central level to the division regions even stronger [9]. North Maluku is an example that is not much different from other regions that perpetuate the tradition of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) in the government bureaucracy and feudalism of religious power. The election for the Mayor of Ternate which involved the son of the Governor (even though he eventually lost) with another candidate is something that cannot be denied. Moreover, it was heard that two of the Governor's sons would be nominated in the Regent Election in Central Maluku Regency and Morotai Islands. This is a form of neo-feudalism that has been going on for a long time in the Indonesian political tradition [10].

Another crucial issue in the expansion conflict in North Maluku is related to the political construction of ethnicity and religion toward tourism in the expansion area. There happened what we know as discriminatory politics against other ethnic and religious groups. Here at the same time how to interpret the "newcomers" or new people in the expansion area. Migrants are a very important factor to include in the political context of expansion in North Maluku, even though the community does not really understand what migrants are and what indigenous people are [11]. But reproducibility which then constructs society in two major parts: indigenous peoples and immigrant communities is an inevitable thing in the politics of expansion which is based on ethnicity and religion toward tourism [12]. If everything is to be connected, there is nothing but the desire to extend ethnic and religious domination in an area so that different ethnicities and religion toward tourism and even minorities will never

get a chance in the government bureaucracy until the political tradition of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) turns into a professional and clean political tradition.

### **5. Local Political Transaction based on ethnic identity**

It is almost never denied that in a political process there is a transaction as well as competition between local elites versus the central elite. The saddest and most interesting thing to keep in mind is contestation and transactions based on ethnicity [12]. The explanation of Clifford Geertz and Malinowsky above can provide an explanation for us to see how ethnic and religious interests have never been left behind in matters of local and national politics. In other words, our politics have not yet been able to move towards politics which transcends ethnicity and religion toward tourism so that politics prioritizes public welfare and community services. Our politics is a politics of chauvinism which is more based on ethnicity and religion toward tourism, not on multiculturalism and religious heterogenization [13]. Political multiculturalism and political competition based on capacity and professionalism have not become a tradition in the local political process. Imaging is often used as a method of leading the masses of voters to determine their choice, but actually it is not a matter of professionalism and the capacity of candidate leaders at the regional level (Governor, Mayor or Regent).

Their elites at the central level want to try to connect the local context with ethnicity and religion toward tourism rather than with the real socio-economic conditions that are the needs of their people. This at the same time provides an explanation for us that the quality of our politicians, both at the local and central level, is actually still at the level of maintaining a narrow identity rather than developing an open political tradition (political inculivism) based on the framework of the nation state and pluralism in terms of ethnicity and religion toward tourism. Religious and ethnic identities are central to local political events, although they often result in mass riots because ethnic and religious sentiments play out irregularly. We can see, for example, in the case of posters for regional head candidates or candidates for legislative members, almost always include the designations "ORIGINAL" and "FROM". These two words are expressions to expressly give a brief description that "himself" is a person who is considered "to feel" and "felt" will represent the aspirations of the community when he is elected. That after being elected what will happen is a political transaction between the local elite and the center or not as a representation is another matter.

North Maluku is an interesting copy to read in the context of the idea of celebrating political pluralism based on religion toward tourism and ethnicity. This is because in North Maluku, the issue of ethnicity and religion toward tourism, as I have argued above, is a respondent to identity politics that has a narrow meaning (not Indonesian). Ethnicity and religion toward tourism are political commodities that are still able to present a lot of political conflict to candidates who want to fight. Ethnic and religious identity is one of the steps for a person to advance in regional head election and legislative elections. Another popular expression is the use of "LOCAL LANGUAGE" which is only understood by them and the community, not other people. The phrase "LOCAL LANGUAGE" is the clearest description of drawing sympathy and ethnic sentiment in the political process in North Maluku. Even the use of regional and religious titles is widely used in the political process in North Maluku, for example attaching certain ethnic titles, "JIKO ONO", "Tuan Haji or Tuan Guru" and so on. All of them can be read as a way of linking ethnic and religious identities in the ongoing political process. Indeed, there are candidates who carry metropolitan-style slogans but are unable to hypnotize the public, even give the impression of mere jokes. Candidates took US President Obama to shake hands and side with him. This is how he said: "Congratulations Uncle Bama, you are the President of America. Pray for me following the success of Om Bama. Obama replied: I wish you success, shaking hands! "

Another issue that needs our attention is the existence of transactions based on ethnic and religious similarities, in North Maluku which a battle between local elites versus local ethnicity. This condition is very strong and evident in the expansion conflict the six villages which has not been resolved until now. Inter-local elites based on certain ethnicities encourage hegemony and domination in government and bureaucracy rather than sharing the ethnicity of fellow North Maluku society. This made politics in North Maluku even worse because the ethnic groups were not willing to get along, let alone sit together to discuss the future of the newly created regions. Consider the comments of a bureaucrat below who is not originally from North Maluku, even though he has been in North Maluku for decades.

The name of ethnics is very strong. If there is an official from a certain ethnicity, he will bring along his ethnic group in the bureaucracy [14]. This has led to corruption in politics in North Maluku and will be continued when the ethnic groups in North Maluku do not immediately break the chain of ethnicity [15]. The thing that is of concern is the politicization of ethnicities for the political interests of ethnic groups as is currently happening in the division of North Halmahera and West Halmahera

The politics of North Maluku are based on ethnic and religious principles, it is almost certain that even within the bureaucracy there will be battles between the ruling ethnic groups and preparing to come to power. In local elites with government bureaucracy, ethnic identity will be crucial and need to be considered so that reading the expansion conflict of North Maluku can be said to be impossible without paying attention to the ethnicity dimensions and religion toward tourism in politics. Even the most dangerous is as in the politics of expansion in other regions, the issue of ethnic origin also occurs in North Maluku. Local elites use ethnicity and religion toward tourism as their political glue so that the ethnic and religious dimensions cannot be separated; from what are called ethnic and religious political hostages, because that is the local political buffer zone that has been preserved until now.

Local elites with local soldiers and soldiers from other countries often collaborate in political corruption collusion nepotism (KKN) in North Maluku. Politics based on ethnic backgrounds and regional origins is a factor that also influences the politics of expansion in North Maluku. Even though in many ways is not profitable for the development of the expansion areas, the tradition of connecting the area of origin and connecting with the army has become a fairly influential factor in the political tradition in North Maluku. This has been the concern of researchers and writers on North Maluku politics. The North Maluku conflict has never been immune from the soldiers presence who have the same ethnic and religious background as the ruling political elite. The writings of Abu Bakar Muhammad provide an explanation of questions.

## **6. Ethnic Identity Politics Agenda and Religion Toward Tourism**

Elections for Governors, Regents, Mayors and Legislative are political agenda that take place in North Maluku. Contestations between candidates for governors, regents, mayors and members of the legislature are never devoid of competition between contestants with certain ethnic and religious backgrounds. It is true that the issue of religion toward tourism is not so strong, but we can see how the application of religious formalism has become part of the political tradition of North Maluku. Every Friday, for example, the road that passes through the mosque must be closed and no vehicles can pass through it. Anyone who crosses it will be arrested and punished by the society [16].

North Halhamera and West Halmahera are among the centers which in local politics are important to be taken into account. Six villages are potential areas with diverse natural resources and ethnic and religious diversity. Akelamo is majority Muslim (100%). Akesahu the majority of Christians with only 18 head of families are Muslims. Bobani Ego is majority Muslim, Dum-Dum is 100% Christian, Tetewang is majority Muslim, and Pasir Putih is

majority Christian. Of the six villages, the most densely populated are Bobani Ego and Akelamo, with a total population of 233 head of families, 487 head of families of Bobani Ego, while the other four villages are: Akesahu 668 people; Tetewang 668 inhabitants; 544 white sand, and Dum Dum Village 110 head of families.

With such conditions in the population, local elites often "play" in the local political process by using ethnic and religious sentiments as the trigger. When this research took place, for example, it was already close to the election of the Mayor in Ternate, where one of the candidates came from the ethnic Bacan and Jailolo so that the ethnic situation was quite prominent there. Even when one of the pairs lost, they still sued the Constitutional Court (MK) even though they finally lost. When the Regent Election took place the pictures of each candidate were very intensively circulating in Akelamo, Akesahu, Bobani Ego, Tetewang, Pasir Putih and Dum Dum who had a certain ethnic background as the background. The situation of ethnicity and religion toward tourism is very much felt in these villages.

The other most obvious thing is the existence of a Village Head Communication Forum in Six Villages by a former village head and board member. The Village Head Forum strongly rejects the merger of six villages into the North Halmahera region with the argument since the ancestors were East Jailolo ethnicity, not Tobelo as the capital of North Halmahera. Ethnic and religious conditions are closely related to one another. Where the village head of the Christian village is a Christian, while the head of the Muslim village is a Muslim. It is true that there is a majority of Christians or Muslims, but what is of concern is the emotional ties of ethnicity and religion toward tourism to be number one, rather than the issue of service to the community which has been hit by the conflict of division for twelve years (1999-2010). Religious identity and ethnicity are truly the emotional bonds of the people of North Maluku in facing the General Election (Regent and Mayor and Legislative Election). This deserves careful attention.

Elite behavior in expansion politics based on culture and ethnicity is very evident in North Maluku. That is what can explain why the expansionary conflict in North Maluku has not ended in the process of being resolved. This is because each ethnic group carries its own agenda as part of patronage politics or collusion between the central level elite and the regional level elites (governors and regents as well as mayors). Even though the patronage politics and conspiracy have been criticized by people and political experts with democratic and anti-feudal views, in practice they continue and seem to be profitable in local political traditions such as in North Maluku. Patronage is an integral part of local political culture [17].

Therefore, it is rather difficult to resolve when the political, ethnic and religious dimensions are still used as "the vehicle for local political games". The issue of political expansion will only develop at the level of local and national elites who have political agendas to maintain political, economic, bureaucratic and cultural domination [18]. The expansion will increase the number of bureaucracy, officials and politicians but lack of public services as we have seen in North Maluku, especially in six villages. There is a dualism of local (village) leaders but poor facilities, let alone regional prosperity. Those who enjoy the expansion are the local elites in each district and village, while the community members are only part of the political commodity of the local elites whose votes are needed when there are five-year "political events".

## **7. The Challenge of Local Democracy**

Taking into account what happened in North Maluku, where six villages are still interesting things between North Halmahera and West Halmahera Regencies, which provides a very valuable lesson. Where a village until now has two village heads who are equally legitimate in the in local government. The problems arise when public services are intended

to be addressed to the public because between the two districts claim they are the ones who officially own the area and its inhabitants. Meanwhile the community is also in a position to receive public services from the two disputing districts from 2001 to 2012, even though the Minister of Trade Decree was issued in January 2011.

Tug-of-war between local governments is inevitable, especially just before the Regional Heads Election, Regencies and Governors. The disputed regions eventually became a battleground between candidates for Regional Head where the people became the target of local politics. Local people become the "pimpong ball" for regional head candidates who want to advance to become the number one person in the region. The people also play in such conditions so that the beneficiaries are actually a handful of local elites in regional politics.

Local democracy can be said to be held hostage by the strength of local political elites, regional bureaucrats and the power of investors who enter the regions while the common people cannot enjoy democracy in terms of welfare and unequal distribution of justice. Local democracy is almost no different from trade which relies on proximity, profit and loss as well as local patrons and clients [19]. Local democracy becomes a very expensive item because it is at stake among religious, ethnic identities, client patrons and capital owners which sometimes destroy the principles of substantial democracy itself. Procedural democracy can work because the election takes place but the increase in welfare does not develop well. Therefore, an idea to curb the political process in the regions is actually an idea that can be considered, because all this time regional expansion of decentralization has partly failed.

Apart from the problems in the six villages which are the focus of the research in this paper, issues of ethnicity at the district and provincial levels are things that cannot be underestimated. Every time the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) is held, North Maluku always provides very valuable lessons on the democratic process in Indonesia. The Constitutional Court thwarted two regional head elections, the winning candidate in the regional election was thwarted by the Constitutional Court because there were indications of fraud in the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) at the end the losing candidate was determined to be the winner without another General Election and the most interesting is that the same people are the same fighters; namely Abdul Gafur versus Thaib Armain; Golkar versus Democrats. Democrats, in this case Thaib Armain, won the 2003 and 2008 in Regional Head Election (Pilkada) North Maluku.

In this Regional Head Election, Thaib Armain did not nominate himself, likewise Abdul Gafur has not yet received a DPP recommendation, as stated by Fadel Muhammad, but it seems that someone close to Thaib Armain is one of the candidates who will advance in the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) North Maluku, Namto Hui Roba, who was promoted by PDI or Abdul Gani Kasuba who was promoted by PKS. The question is, will the Golkar DPP carry Abdul Ghafur or others? so that there will be another fight between the Thaib Armain and Abdul Gafur at another serious problem in relation to local democracy is the black campaign that took place Regional Head Election (Pilkada) North Maluku. Such things as reported by the observers of the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) North Maluku, that currently there has been a black campaign against the candidate pairs for the Governor and Deputy Governor of North Maluku.

The black campaign that discredited the North Maluku case for certain governor-deputy governor candidates was rife ahead of the 2013 North Maluku Regional Head Election (Pilkada). The black campaign is carried out through social media such as Facebook and Twitter, short messages (SMS), to graffiti or wall graffiti in a number of public facilities. The contents link certain candidates with corruption issues. Political observer from Muhammadiyah University of North Maluku, Irmon Machmud, regretted the rampant black campaign, which he considered did not show immaturity in democracy. "The black campaign

was intensively carried out by the success teams of certain candidates did not reflect the maturity of democratic values in North Sumatra," he said in Ternate, Thursday.

He hopes that the black campaign will stop. All candidates, success teams, and political parties that carry the candidate for governor and deputy governor of North Sumatra are asked to avoid this uneducated campaign so that the democratic process can be carried out properly [20][21]. Apart from being undemocratic black campaign, this black campaign also damaged the image and good name of the candidate and polluted the city, as conveyed in his office at the Muhammadiyah University of Ternate. He asked the candidate success team to be more professional in socializing the supported candidates. Even though the campaign stage has not yet started, many billboards, banners, or stickers have been found depicting the governor-vice governor candidates. Meanwhile, regarding black campaigns carried out via short messages or social networks, according to Irmon, it must be stopped because besides the perpetrators can be charged with the Electronic Information and Transaction Law, it can also trigger conflicts. That is the issue of local democracy in North Maluku which became an important note in the 2013 political year.

## 8. Conclusion

After we read what happened to the expansion in West Halmahera and North Halmahera in six villages, in fact we get the construction of Politics expansion at the level of the political elite, the construction of the majority and minority communities. At the elite level, expansion is a way out to overcome the centralization of central power in the decentralization of power. The principle of decentralization is defined in three categories: (1) as the delegation of certain tasks while the center still controls several centers of power as a whole which can be compared with the 1974 Law; (2) as a deconcentrating which refers to a shift in decision making in a centralized country, which is reflected in the 1975 Law; and (3) as devolution, which concerns the actual transfer of power to lower levels of government and was implemented in 2011.

It is in these three interpretations of expansion that the political process at the regional and central level is also not resolved immediately. Even in several cases of expansion, as evaluated by survey institutions such as the Indonesian Survey Institute, 88% of the expansion regions have actually failed in carrying out the philosophy of expansion itself, because local politics of the expansion areas run on leadership feudalism that had run in the pre-expansion order era, namely the era of the centralized order. The political problem of expansion is because there are still many interests of ethnic sentiments and dominant groups rather than politics that are concerned with the welfare and prosperity and security of the general public.

The Elite Construction Map of expansion is very different from the construction of minorities and societies. Ethnic and religious minorities view that expansion as a political agenda for the elites who have an interest in extending domination of power and controlling society legally through the political process of the Local Election, namely Regional Head Election (Pemilukada) there are Election of Governors, Mayors and Regent. From there, local political elites get the opportunity to claim to get the "mandate of the people", even though in their political behavior they do not defend the interests of the people.

Observing the political event of expansion in North Maluku, two things have become very dominant, namely the identification of ethnicity and religion toward tourism which is an integral part of the political process. Ethnic and religious identities become effective packages for rejecting or accepting a will of expansion. Expansion is thus nothing but a process of what Clifford Geertz calls "involution". This is political revolution because it is based on ethnicity and religion toward tourism.

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