

Political Participation of The Sultanate of Ternate From Post-Independence to the Reform Era

Rustam Hasim ^{1*}, Daud Hasim ², Rasti Amalia ³, Mohtar Kamisi ⁴

¹ Postgraduate Program in Social Science Education, Universitas Khairun, Ternate, North Molucas, INDONESIA

² Faculty of Economics, Universitas Khairun, Ternate, North Molucas, INDONESIA; Email: dand.basyim@unkhair.ac.id

³ Faculty of Law, Universitas Khairun, Ternate, North Molucas, INDONESIA; Email: rasty@unkhair.ac.id

⁴ Pancasila and Citizenship Education Study Program, Khairun University, INDONESIA; Email: kamisimohtar@gmail.com

*Corresponding Author: rustamhasim@unkhair.ac.id

Citation: Hasim, R., Hasim, D., Amalia, R. and Kamisi, M. (2025). Political Participation of The Sultanate of Ternate From Post-Independence to the Reform Era, *Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change*, 10(2), 3982-3991. <https://doi.org/10.64753/jcasc.v10i2.2219>

Published: November 22, 2025

ABSTRACT

The political role of The Sultanate of Ternate has shifted significantly from the post—Independence era through the New Orde and into Reform. Employing a historical—analytical approach with primary source (archival documents, newspaper, interviews) and political science frameworks, this paper traces how Sultan Iskandar Muhammad Jabir Syah (47th Sultan) engaged in federalist politics—becoming Interior Minister of the State of East Indonesia (NIT) —and how his exile under Sukarno constrained local power. Under Suharto, Sultan Mudafar Syah (48th Sultan) forged an alliance with Golkar to regain cultural dan political influence, revitalizing place rituals and expanding kinship networks. Finally, in the Reform era, decentralization (Laws No.22/1999 and Laws No. 46/1999) enabled Mudafar Syah’s unsuccessful gubernatorial bid and later election to the national parliament via the National Democratic Party. The findings illuminate the Sultanates adaptive strategies—political alliances, cultural politics, and economic ventures—in maintaining legitimacy and influence a local and national levels.

Keywords: Decentralization, Golkar Party, Sultana of Ternate, Historical Political Analysis, Reform Era

INTRODUCTION

Since the fall of the New Order administration in 1998, there has been a process of political transition that can be interpreted as the resurgence of former political entities at the local level. The changing power dynamics between national and local political institutions are impacted by political processes. The deterioration of the credibility of the state’s and its institutions coincided with political changes. Old powers, notably feudalistic powers in the area, took advantage of this circumstance to build momentum and resurrect their quest for political rights in local politics (Dwipayana, 2004).

Dwipayana (2004) claims that there were about 250 swapraja, or *zelbestuurendelandschappen*, in Indonesia prior to independence. Most of these Swapraja regions have left no historical traces or relics behind them. Some, including the Sultanate of Ternate, Kasuhunan of Surakarta, Special Region of Yogyakarta, and Sultanate of Cirebon, are still politically active. It is possible to rebuild some palaces, revive their customs, and collaborate with the Nusantara Palace Alliance (Dwipayana, 2004).

Since the beginning of independence, the Sultanate of Ternate has been one of the traditional powers that has endured. Since the Ternate Sultanate’s elite has historically held a political position as a center of role modeling in the lives of the Ternate people, their existence also endures. The elites’ longevity demonstrates that their political impact extends beyond their ability to adjust to changing conditions; they also hold a position and have a big say in North Maluku’s local political history.

Ternate elites have been politically involved in the unitary state since the Republic of Indonesia gained independence on December 24, 1946, when the East Indonesia State (NIT) was established. The 47th Sultan of Ternate, Iskandar Muhammad Jabir Syah (1929–1975), was politically inspired by the creation of the East Indonesian State to serve as a member of the NIT senate on behalf of North Maluku and to be one of its creators (Djafaar, 2005).

On December 24, 1946, the creation of East Indonesia was enthusiastically welcomed by the supporters of federalism. For Iskandar Jabir Syah, East Indonesia would become a prosperous state that could ensure justice with a more effective and efficient allocation of resources owing to its limited scope. In addition, the East Indonesian State could also provide space for the kings of eastern Indonesia to remain in power. Because his prominence in fighting the establishment of the East Indonesian State from the Malino Conference to the Denpasar Conference, in 1949, Iskandar Jabir Syah was appointed Minister of Home Affairs in the East Indonesian State of J.E. Tatengkeng's cabinet (December 27, 1947 - March 14, 1950) (Agung, 1985).

The Dutch were astounded by how quickly the federation system was eliminated from Indonesia when the United States of Indonesia (RIS) dissolved on August 17, 1950. The country had already undergone - transformation into a unitary state about six months after sovereignty was transferred to the Republic of Indonesia administration. The administration of the Dutch East Indies conveyed its dissatisfaction and charged the Indonesian side with being dishonest during the Round Table Conference's implementation. The Dutch government's foreign policy, which vehemently opposed Indonesia's West Irian issue in the 1960s, was a manifestation of its anti-Indonesian mindset. Iskandar Djabir Syah was exiled to Jakarta as a political prisoner by President Soekarno's government after the United States of Indonesia (RIS) dissolved and became the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1950, after Prime Minister W. Drees was re-elected for the fourth time (1956–1958) and became the driving force behind the inclusion of West Irian (now Papua) in the Kingdom of the Netherlands when the 1956 Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was amended. The Ministry of Home Affairs employed Syah between 1950 and 1975 (Hasan, 2002).

There was a governance void in the sultanate when he was living in an exile in Jakarta. Gam Raha and Bobato Nyagimoi Setofkange, the sultanate elite, oversaw all the government operations and activities. The absence of political and administrative authority in the area affected the legitimacy of the Ternate Sultanate's elite. Until the conclusion of Soekarno's rule, their ability to supplement the government structure was limited. There was not much that could be done because the power of the Ternate Sultanate elite was weak and constrained. While the sultan was away, practically all access to the local forces' interests was cut off (Syah, 2009).

The Golkar Party helped revitalize the Sultanate of Ternate politically and culturally when the New Order era began. Sultan Mudafar Syah chose to back Soeharto's ruling party, the Golkar Party, after being sworn in by the Royal Council on November 29, 1976, as the 48th Sultan of Ternate. To survive in the whirlpool of the authoritarian and centralized power of the New Order government with its three primary forces—the military, bureaucracy, and Golkar—the Ternate Sultanate supported the Golkar Party.

The elites of the sultanate, including Sultan Mudafar Syah, have been active in politics since the Ternate Sultanate joined the Golkar Party in the five-year general elections. During the New Order era in 1977, Sultan Mudafar Syah participated in the second round of the general election as a member of the Golkar Party. Mudafar Syah then became a member of DPRD II of North Maluku Regency for 1977–1982, 1982–1987, 1987–1992, MPR-RI 1987–1992, chairman of DPD II Golkar Party of North Maluku Regency in 1997, and chairman of DPRD North Maluku Regency in 1998 as a result of the Ternate Sultanate's support for Golkar. Several elites from the Ternate Sultanate did the same thing. As members of the first and second legislatures, scholars, bureaucrats, politicians, journalists, and businesspeople, they can also structure their political careers through this party (Radjiloen, 1982).

In the realm of culture, traditional rituals such as Legu Gam (festival of the sultan's birthday), Fere Kie (climbing the mountain), and Kololi Kie (ritual around the island) helped to resuscitate the Ternate palace, or kadaton. In North Halmahera, West Halmahera, Ternate Island, and the Sula Islands, Sultan Mudafar Syah also appointed several sultanate government officials who had not been active since the previous sultan's departure. These officials included *sangaji* (regent), *kapita* (warlord), *fanyira* (village head), and *salahakan* (deputy sultan on the opposite island). The Sangaji of Kao, Tobelo, Galela, and Makian, who were dispersed throughout the North Maluku region, which was formerly part of the Sultanate of Ternate, were even awarded honorary titles in order to revitalize them (Abdullah, 2006).

By establishing the palace as a hub for cultural development, preservation, and advancement in North Maluku, the Ternate Sultanate implemented its cultural politics. The Sultanate also founded several regional mass media outlets, including Foramadiyah, Gamalama, and Parada. The media is utilized as a mouthpiece of the sultanate to express aspirations connected to many political goals such as the election of legislative members, mayors, and governors (Tomaito, 2011).

The establishment of strong local leadership, however, was opposed by President Soeharto's administration as it was seen as a danger to the central authority. Elites from the Ternate Sultanate denied the opportunity to hold positions as governors or regents during the New Order era. Placing national officials from Jakarta at the local level is a strategy to stop the development of local leadership. In this way, the army helped maintain Maluku's political continuity. The appointed Governor of Maluku and Regent of North Maluku at the time were required to have military experience (Nurhasim, et. al. 2003).

At that time, the central government directly appointed people with military experience to local government positions. From 1950 to 1998, a number of military and non-sultanate external individuals, including C. K. Sospelisa, M.S. Djakir, Soemitro, J. Mansur, A.R. Royani, Supanji, Sutikno, and Abdullah Assagaf, held the office of the Regent of North Maluku. The military's power over the government is demonstrated not only by the post of bupati but also by the large number of military personnel holding public office at the provincial and district levels in a variety of occupations. A further indication that the elites of the Sultanate of Ternate never rose to official leadership positions in Ternate's local government is the nomination of a number of TNI officers as regents in North Maluku during the New Order era (Nordholt, et. al. 2010).

Local political elites, particularly the Ternate Sultanate's elite, gained an increased clout after the New Order regime collapsed in 1998 and the Reformation era began. The elite of the Ternate Sultanate, who had previously been constrained by the dominance of the Soeharto administration, gained momentum to establish a power base based on their historical claims and cultural identity through the passage of Law No. 22/1999 on regional autonomy. The division of Maluku Province into two provinces in accordance with Law No. 46 of 1999 marked the pinnacle. Mudafar Syah, the Sultan of Ternate, desired that a member of the palace hold the office of the governor. Likewise, the Sultanate of Ternate's territory should be the location of the provincial capital. In the regional head elections in North Maluku, the Ternate Sultanate and non-Sultanate factions engaged in open conflict because of the scale of their opposing interests and stark political divisions for power (Klinken, 2007).

The ascent of the Ternate Sultanate elite following the New Order demonstrates how the palace group adjusted its function to maintain dominance in the local arena. In this instance, there are three ways to interpret and comprehend the rise of the Ternate Sultanate's elite. First, cultural constructions based on historical and genealogical connections are the reason for the growth of feudalistic authority in the area to bolster political positions. Second, as a political tool, the Sultan of Ternate Mudafar Syah personally awakened on behalf of the sultanate institution. Third the elite of the Ternate Sultanate's wish to be more institutionally accepted in the political arena of the official government (Tryatmoko, 2005).

The Sultanate of Ternate's involvement in local politics after independence is a significant area of historical study, as this fact demonstrates. The Ternate Sultans have a lengthy history in North Maluku politics, making the process of local political dynamics like this an intriguing historical event to analyze. Furthermore, if the study of Indonesian politics is limited to the dynamics of national politics, it conveys an implicit message about its incompleteness. Numerous political concerns at the national level have regional roots, and vice versa.

In light of the background information provided above, the purpose of this study is to investigate the tactics employed by the Sultan of Ternate between 1946 and 2002 to hold onto his authority locally and take part in presidential politics. Several research questions were posed to aid in the analysis of this issue. First, why did Iskandar Djabir Sjah, the 47th Sultan of the Ternate, support the creation of the East Indonesian State, and what were the consequences for his political standing and the Ternate Sultanate's elite at the local and national levels? Second, how did the Golkar Party gain support during Soeharto's rule, and why did the previous Sultan's successor, Sultan Mudafar Sjah, of Ternate support it? How did this tactic impact the ascent of the Ternate Sultanate elite in the local political sphere? Third, why was Sultan of Ternate Mudafar Sjah unsuccessful in his local bid to become the Governor of North Maluku but successful in the national political arena?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The works of Irza Arnita Djafar were from the Ternate Sultanate after independence. Her book, a political biography of Iskandar Muhammad Djabir Sjah, includes the concept of the East Indonesian State's creation, which was conceived by Sjah while he was the state's senator and interior minister. Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung's work can be used to better understand how East Indonesia evolved into the Republic of Indonesia. This study explains the Dutch government's policy to create the United States of Indonesia (RIS) as a federal state. In terms of chronology, this publication provides a detailed account of the conferences organized by van Mook to establish the State of East Indonesia, ranging from the Malino Conference to the Denpasar Conference in 1946. Van Mook used this type of state as a starting point to achieve his objective of establishing a United Republic of Indonesia that remained part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in line with the idea that both parties had first proposed on November 15, 1946, namely the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands.

Research on local Indonesian politics has also been conducted. Nordholt and colleagues' research. From the standpoint of local political studies, this study investigates and evaluates the connection between the state and local governments under the New Order. Democracy at the local level of regional government has been revitalized by the adoption of legislation and regulations controlling local government principles (Law No. 32/2004). In implementing the politics of decentralization and regional autonomy, the intricate webs of state control over local governments are interwoven with the dynamics of local politics and governance. This study analyzes Ternate municipal politics.

Henley et al. is another helpful study that supports this work. In the book, David Henley discusses how the decline of centralized state power during the New Order gave people the chance to look for alternative regimes that may give their lives justice, order, and peace, which led to the growth of *adats* in Indonesia. *Adat* is one of the sites where individuals go to organize themselves based on claims to historical customs. Unctinionalism, or the return to tradition, replaced centralism, which was unable to satisfy societal aspirations. Furthermore, by establishing the Indonesian Palace-Keraton Communication Forum (FKKKI), sultans utilized the momentum of reformasi to reaffirm their political standing and resource-allocation power. *Adats* have also pushed their exclusivity with other groups under the name of ethnic rights, which has resulted in horrifying horizontal clashes. *Adat* has been demonstrated to be an ethnopolitical tool in a variety of ethnic disputes, including ethnic disturbances in North Maluku, Poso in Central Sulawesi, and Sambas and Sampit in Kalimantan.

The findings of the research that Rozi and Ratnawati were consistent with this. According to the second study, the territorial extension of North Maluku into a new province under Law 46 of 1999 demonstrated competition between the local political elites (both non-Sultanate and Ternate Sultanate) for the role of the regional head. Although local political elites' dominance in politicizing regional expansion and their connection to regional elections, a local political event in the race for political office, is not discussed in this study.

Several additional studies, including those by Dwipayana, were employed in this study as case studies or comparative analyses. This book investigates the revival of the power of the nobles in two cities, Surakarta and Denpasar. The genological power of nobility in the two cities, the crisis faced by the nobility, their position during the political transition following the Suharto government, and the political rivalry among them in the realms of culture, economy, and contemporary political institutions (political parties and bureaucracy) are some of the significant topics covered in this work.

METHODOLOGY

The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), the Central Pawnshop Library in Jakarta, the National Library, the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI), and the regional archives of Ternate City served as research sources. Among these autobiographies are (i) Memoirs of Iskandar Muhammad Djabir Sjah (47th Sultan of Ternate), which recounts the events of the 47th Sultan's life from his early years and schooling to his involvement in politics as a Ternate resident and his rise to the position of Minister of Home Affairs in the East Indonesia State (NIT) government. (ii) The recollections of Arnold Mononutu, who lived in Ternate. (iii) Bousori's autobiography, which chronicles his career as a physician prior to and following Japanese occupation. His participation in politics during the revolutionary era included serving as a PNI organizer in Ternate and representing North Maluku in the East Indonesia State senate. (iv) Reni Woworuntu's autobiography. She is the daughter of Iskandar Djabir Sjah, the Sultan of Ternate. Her narrative details her father Iskandar Djabir Sjah's life from the Japanese conquest of Ternate until the evacuation of the sultan and his family to Australia. She described Sultan Iskandar Djabir Sjah's political life (1929–1975) and his political beliefs following Indonesia's independence.

Government publications, periodicals, and local and national newspapers were other significant sources of information. Newspapers are a valuable information source, particularly with regard to the time between the Soekarno administration and the reform era. The Sultanate of Ternate owns a number of tabloids, including Parada, Foramadiyah, and Media Gamalama, in addition to Soeloeh Rakyat, Indonesia Timoer, Negara Baroe, Suluh Indonesia, Indonesia Raya, Sinar Harapan, Suara Rakyat Maluku, Menara Merdeka, Berita Maluku, Kompas, Ternate Post, and Malut Post.

This study used the historical method, which consists of the following steps: gathering handwritten and printed sources. Veracity and validity can be determined by evaluating or confirming the historical sources. Interpretation: Facts can be extracted for interpretation after undergoing the critique verification process. The data are arranged with academically explicable interpretations using a conceptual framework as an analytical tool and socio-economic methodology. The last phase, historiography, is the process of methodically compiling information in synthesis, causality, and chronology. The goal of this study was to rebuild the past. To create an accurate analytical description, we attempt to infer the facts, forces, and institutions involved in the past. Methodological ramifications necessitate a multifaceted strategy.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

The Sultanate of Ternate during the Sukarno era 1945-1966

Politically, the Sultanate of Ternate saw a fall in feudalism with the establishment of a unitary state on August 17, 1945, when the Republic of Indonesia declared its independence. This period was characterized by political and ideological upheavals, and anti-self-government groups challenged the nobility (traditional power). The foundation that gave the nobility of Ternate a noble position that had been altered during the Dutch colonial era was struck again with the establishment of a unitary state ideology that placed a premium on state loyalty (Suryo, et al. 2001). A unitary state philosophy that emphasizes state allegiance by separating public positions in a modern political framework from traditional power has challenged the status and position of the autonomous elite in the Sultanate of Ternate, which has been enjoyed for centuries. Therefore, a sultan is not automatically elected as a governor or regent; rather, they are chosen through political party contests and bureaucratic jobs are no longer naturally occurring positions that require a certain set of skills (Purwanto and Bambang, 2011).

The Sultanate of Ternate's aristocracy has been politically involved in the unitary state since the Republic of Indonesia gained independence, as evidenced by the creation of the state of East Indonesia (NIT) on December 24, 1946. The creation of East Indonesia subsequently served as a political catalyst for Sultan Iskandar Muhammad Jabir Syah (47th Sultan of Ternate), who participated in the Malino and Denpasar conferences as members of the NIT Senate representing North Maluku and was also one of its designers. Iskandar Jabir Syah, a Federalist who supported the creation of the state of East Indonesia from the Malino conference to Denpasar, was named the Minister of Home Affairs of the NIT in the J administration of E. Tatengkeng (December 27, 1947– March 14, 1950) (The Great British Bake Off, 1985).

The elite of the Ternate Sultanate faced limitations when the Sukarno regime took control, as demonstrated by the political reality. Iskandar Djabir Syah (1929–1975), the 47th Sultan of Ternate, was exiled to Jakarta in 1950 because of his political support for the creation of the state of East Indonesia (NIT), which was started by Herbertus J. van Mook in 1946. He was accused of being a federalist. The Sultanate elite chose not to back Sukarno's governing party in the 1955 election because of their divergent views on the structure and operation of Indonesian governance following independence. These political decisions undoubtedly hurt their standing because they must contend with both domestic and foreign political opponents (Amal, 2007).

President Sukarno implemented several policies to curtail the political role of the Sultanate's elite because of their combative behavior. The first was the dissolution of the Council of Kings, an executive body composed of the Sultans of Bacan, Tidore, and Ternate, as well as the Noord Molukken Raat, at legislative body that backed federalism in 1950. Consequently, the Sultanate elite lost its official legal tool to influence local governance. A regent chosen by the DPRD then took over its authority over the bureaucracy. Second, in accordance with Act No. 60 of 1958, Ternate residences were abolished, and North Maluku was established as a level II regional administration. As a result, under a contemporary political system, the sultan and his family are no longer required to hold the position of Level II ruler (Regent); instead, they are elected. Third, the birth of the Agricultural Basic Law of 1960 on the limits and ownership of land or expropriation by the state of private land (Nalenan, 1981).

The elite of the Sultanate went through a political crisis during Sukarno rule. Their confrontational stance in opposing the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) and the governing party (PNI) begs the question of why President Sukarno did not eradicate their political presence in Ternate local politics. It is unclear whether some of the aforementioned policies have an impact on their political presence in Ternate or vice versa; in fact, their political existence is limited. However, culturally, it had no effect on the waning authority of the Sultanate elite. The slogan *jou kasa ngom keage* (where there is a sultan that's where we are) is one of the profoundly ingrained principles of the Ternate people, which is to obey the Sultan's orders.

Since the sultan is seen as inheriting greatness and authority that brings about justice, peace, and the well-being of the community, he is revered and obeyed in Ternate culture. This also clarifies why people view peace, justice, and welfare as the three most crucial terms defining nobility. In addition to being patron-clein, social connection essentially represents the unique cultural traits of the community that sustain the bond between the community and leaders in the Ternate social tradition. "*Ino Foma Makati nyinga, doka gosora se bualawa, om doru ya momote, fo magogoru fo madudara*" (let's make love, like nutmeg and fulinya, mature together, fall together, based on love and affection) is the motto of Ternate communal life, which reflects this (Leirissa, 1975).

The Sultanate of Ternate during the Suharto era 1966 – 1998

The national political landscape changed significantly after the New Order era began. Golkar as Suharto's political vehicle aimed to engage with the traditional powers in Indonesia. The Sultanate of Ternate made the political decision to back Golkar in light of shifting political dynamics. Following his inauguration on November 29, 1976, as the 48th Sultan of Ternate, Mudafar Syah made the political choice to back the Suharto governing

party (Golkar). The Sultanate of Ternate's assistance to Golkar was interpreted as an accommodating tactic meant to keep it afloat during the New Order government's authoritarian and centralistic power spiral.

As a member of the second-tier DPRD in the first election of 1971, Mudafar Syah was a Golkar party official at the start of Suharto's regime before he was sworn in as the 48th Sultan of Ternate in 1976. According to Djafaar (2005), with this backing, it is crucial to give the government political legitimacy to implement the policies it created. In this regard, elections give people the freedom and chance to select policies that political parties offer based on their political preferences, including selecting individuals who are deemed able to implement these policies.

A mutualistic relationship can be established as a result of the elite of the Sultanat's survival strategy of backing Golkar. His political party's programs, which included gaining access to important positions in the government, were supported by the presence of a certain nobility who held social influence and occupied buildings within the palace (Tryatmoko and Wahyu, 2005).

The Sultanate of Ternate joined the Golkar Party at the start of the Suharto administration. Ever since, during the New Order era, Golkar consistently dominated the electoral vote. Depending on the predominance of religious parties such as Parkindo (22 percent) and the Masyumi Party (45 percent) in the previous election (1955). To have a single Golkar majority, the 1971 elections had to change. In the 1971 elections, Golkar received the most votes thanks to the military and a network of bureaucrats (Yulianto, 2003). The Sultanate's elite employed tactics to increase and solidify its dominance throughout this period, in addition to depending on what they saw as key role models.

In this instance, the Sultanate elite employed three survival techniques to reestablish its base of influence throughout the Suharto administration. First, the governing party is linked to the strategy. Take note of Sultan Iskandar Djabir Syah's prior political setbacks as a result of his refusal to return to Sukarno's ruling party. In reality, Mudafar Syah chose to back the Suharto government party (Golkar) after taking office as the 48th Sultan of Ternate on November 29, 1976. The support of the Sultanate of Ternate in Golkar politics was understood as an accommodative strategy to keep it afloat in the midst of an authoritarian and centralized power vortex and to be able to utilize the resources owned by the great power. He served as a member of the Parliament II North Maluku regency in 1977, a member of the Parliament Golkar faction from 1982 to 1987, a member of the MPR-RI from 1987 to 1992, and the chairman of the DPD II Golkar Party from 1992 to 1998 as a result of the strategy's success. From 1996 to 1999, he was able to lead this party to become the chairman of the North Maluku Regent DPRD. Numerous Sultanate elites followed suit, organizing their political careers through this party to become legislators, professors, officials, journalists, and business owners. Something that was never experienced by the Sultanate elite during the reign of Sukarno (Syah, 2009).

The second is, the cultural sphere. The Sultanate of Ternate's aristocracy brought back palace rituals including Legu Gam (the sultan's birthday), Fere Kie (the ascent of a mountain), and Kololi Kie (the round around the island). These Palace rites always reflect beauty because it is a source of cultural legitimacy that the palace has magical power, sacred, and symbol of authority. The Sultanate elite further extended the family network during this time by bestowing honorary titles on the central and regional authorities and retired officials. In the use of kinship politics, all socio-political elements officially become part of the relatives of the Sultanate of Ternate and have logical consequences both economically, politically and culturally. This step is done as a political culture by making the palace the center of the bearer, preservation and cultural development center of Ternate (Henley, et al., 2010).

Third, it is in the economic realm. To both rely on the palace's remaining land and exist economically. The Sultanate's elite changed the way the work was oriented. They were solely enmeshed in the bureaucracy of the government during Sukarno's tenures. They became bureaucrats during Suharto's administration, in addition to those who continued to choose to work in state bureaucracy. To ensure that the palace received consistent government support for household expenses and palace building maintenance, some started to enter the non-bureaucratic sector or venture into the business world, establishing connections with outside parties, particularly the Chinese, Javanese, and Makassar business elite groups (Klinken, 2007).

Ternate Sultanate Reform Era 1998-2002

It would be intriguing to examine the emergence of the Sultanate of Ternate and the new regional autonomy paradigm. By enacting Law No. 22/1999, the state acknowledged the right of origin, in which the Sultanate of Ternate's elite was appropriately utilized to establish their authority based on cultural and historical grounds. In an effort to revive long-standing feudal forces by reviving traditional institutions as the identity of traditional forces, the Sultan of Ternate Mudafar Syah emerged in the local political scene. The Sultanate elite is using this tactic to maintain institutional acceptance in the official political sphere of governance.

Observing local political conflicts has become more fascinating since regional autonomy has been implemented. The growth of wilyah in Indonesia is one of the "products" of reform. The expansion of North Maluku Province (the 27th province) in accordance with Law No. 46 of 1999 is one of them. The establishment

of the law is also viewed as a chance to fulfill the goals that the New Order regime's centralistic politics hindered, including the need for popular agreement among local authorities. The primary cause is that throughout Suharto's reign, the "son of the region" was never given the chance to take charge of his territory. Governors and regents are always appointed by the center, so their policies do not take root in the local community (Muchtar, et. al, 2003)

The Sultanate elite then joined the "regional movement" to demand that North Maluku become a separate province from Maluku as a result of that historical experience. The Sultan of Ternate Mudafar Syah not only became a symbol but also demanded that he be given authority to govern when the Habibi government, the central government, responded by enacting Law No. 46 1999. According to Gerry van Klinken, several factors contributed to the resurgence of the Sultanate of Ternate's elite following the New Order. The first was the symbolic resuscitation of an entity that had been decimated throughout the Old and New Order eras. From the Old Order until the New Order, the elite of the Sultanate of Ternate did not become an important part in the field of government (Executive) either the position of the Regent or Governor (Barron, et al, 2012).

The Sultanate of Ternate rose to power after the establishment of North Maluku Province. Mudafar Syah, the sultan of Ternate, attempted to re-function the royal instrument in an attempt to gain legitimacy for the sultan's position, which was implied by the founding of the sultanate. The struggle for new resources was only one aspect of the rivalry between the elites of the Ternate Sultanate and the non-Sultanate; the other was the societal memory of the former greatness. Conflicting political agendas and divergent viewpoints in the struggle for power In North Maluku, ditingkal locally is what started the regional head election controversy (Zuhro, et.al, 2019).

According to Law No. 46/1999, the extension of North Maluku into a new province has made the numerous concerns mentioned above extremely complicated. Therefore, it is necessary to present several crucial points. First, the definition of local democracy was significantly affected by the rise of the Sultanate of Ternate. In actuality, the growth of mobilization efforts encourages participation, one measure of democracy's longevity. Therefore using feudal forces to compete is no longer logical. Ultimately, these circumstances worse local democratization. The issues of religion, ethnicity, and grouping between the old and new groups were then used to further develop this antagonism.

The second was the Sultan of Ternate's bid to become governor of North Maluku, which was seen as an effort to bring back feudal powers that had been suppressed by the New Order government's hegemony. However, Sultan Mudafar Syah's bid to become North Maluku's governor was unsuccessful because of the Golkar Party's lack of support. However, this did not deter the Sultan of Ternate from participating in politics. After expressing dissatisfaction with the Golkar Party, Mudafar Syah was instructed to return and join the National Democratic Party (PDK). The use of the PDK Party as a new political machine was fruitful. In the 2004 election, Sultan Ternate Mudafar Syah was elected as a member of the House of Representatives for the period 2004-2009 (Abbas, 2012).

Third, political strategy yielded more varied results during the reform era, not just through political participation. Third, the Ternate Sultanate's political strategy was diverse throughout the reform era. It strengthened cultural politics and extended familial networks in addition to the use of political parties. The Communication Forum of Keratons throughout Indonesia (FKKKI) also forges political ties.

CONCLUSION

The Sultanate of Ternate's elite has maintained political legitimacy at the local level throughout its history, and this research shows that they were even able to participate at the national level during specific times and in political environments. The Sultanate elite has a political position as a major role model in the lives of the people of Ternate, but retains the ability to participate in national politics because it is one of the traditional powers that has persisted since the beginning of independence until today. The elites of the Sultanate demonstrated their political role by demonstrating that they are not only able to adjust to changes in the environment but also have a significant impact on local and national political activities.

This study demonstrates that the Sultanate of Ternate's elite has maintained political legitimacy at the local level throughout its history and has even been able to participate at the national level during specific times and political environments. The Sultanate elite has a political position as a key role model in the lives of the people of Ternate, without losing the opportunity to take part in national politics, as it is one of the traditional powers that has persisted since the start of independence until today. The ability of the elites of the Ternate Sultanate to adjust to environmental changes is just one example of their political function; they are also able to have a significant impact on local and national political activities.

The Sultanate of Ternate's aristocracy employed three tactics to increase its base of power. First, political parties are linked to this strategy. Reviving the palace ceremony is the second cultural tactic. By establishing the palace as at hub for Ternate's cultural development, preservation, and bearer, this phase is carried out as a political culture. The Sultanate of Ternate's elite changed the nature of work by opting to work in the state bureaucracy, becoming bureaucrats or non-bureaucrats, or entering the business world to survive economically, in addition to

depending on the lands that were still owned by the palace. The national political trajectory of the Sultanate elite has not always been smooth throughout history. Political ideologies cause them to be subject to constraints under some regimes and empowered under others. Political reality indicates, when the regime of the Sukarno ruling elite of the Sultanate of Ternate endured "political constraint. Sultan Iskandar Djabir Syah's exile to Jakarta in 1950 was linked to his political decision to return.

Herbertus J. van Mook's plan to create the state of East Indonesia (NIT) as a representative of the Dutch East Indies government in 1946, since he was accused of being a Federalist, the Sukarno government's delegitimization did not necessarily mean that the Sultanate's local political elite was no longer in existence, and the central government's intervention did not affect the palace elite's decline in power because it continued to be regarded by the populace as a center of cultural role modeling in the midst of public life. A new role in North Maluku politics was played by the appearance of Mudafar Syah as a stand-in for the previous sultan, and the desire to reposition its relationship with the central government in order to rebuild its power base by supporting the Golongan Karya Party (government) experienced "political empowerment" in the Suharto government.

The political continuity of the Sultanate's elite persisted after the fall of President Sukarno's regime. This is evident from November 29, 1976, when the 48th Sultan of Ternate was sworn in. The choice to back Suharto's governing party (Golkar) was made by Mudafar Syah. The Sultanate of Ternate's support for Golkar's politics was interpreted as an accommodating tactic meant to keep the group afloat in the face of a centralized and authoritarian power struggle.

The effectiveness of the strategy was demonstrated by the fact that certain Sultanate elites were able to become legislators, scholars, bureaucrats, journalists, and business owners. However, robust local leadership was not desired by the New Order. One way is to use the military as part of maintaining political continuity in North Maluku. At that time, the North Maluku Regent had to have a military background. This powerful role of the state did not allow him to circulate the elite. In addition to the political parties, the Sultanate elite used the cultural arena as a means of survival. Palace ceremonies serve as a means of demonstrating power and a source of cultural legitimacy in which the palace possesses magical power, is sacred, and is a symbol of authority.

Additionally, the palace conducts cultural politics or expands kinship networks by bestowing honorary titles on central and regional officials and former officials. Kinship politics, of course, have logical consequences on an economic, political, and cultural level, something that the Sultanate elite was never exposed to during Sukarno's rule. The aristocracy of the Ternate Sultanate had more room to display the existence and function of the central government's previously constrained influence after President Suharto's dictatorship in 1998, ushering in the reform era. One could argue that Sultan Mudafar Syah's run for the governor of North Maluku in 2001–2002 was a risky attempt to protect the Ternate nobility's supremacy against the rise of new power outside of the Sultanate elite.

The Sultanate elite employed this tactic to maintain institutional accommodation within the official political sphere of governance. The election process took place in a relatively hard area marked by friction political interests, ideology, and ethnic and socio-cultural sentiments. It ended in the determination of the elected governor and Deputy Governor pairs, namely Taib Armayin and Abdullah Majid (non-Sultanate). Sultan Mudafar Syah was not deterred from entering politics by his 2002 failure as governor of North Maluku, which was caused by the central government's intervention and the Golkar Party's political backing for other candidates rather than a "defeat."

After expressing dissatisfaction with Golkar, he decided to back the National Democratic Party (PDK). The PDK proved to be a successful new political machine, and as a result, it was elected to the House of Representatives from 2004 to 2009. Sultan Mudafar Syah's election as a member of DPR RI demonstrated that he had not gone through "ups and downs" during his political career. Sultan Mudafar Syah has maintained a position as a role model in the midst of community life, as evidenced by his continued presence in the local political scene from the New Order to the Reformation era. With the motto *jou kasa ngom kage* (where there is a sultan, there, we are), upholding the sultan's words or instructions is one of the deeply ingrained principles of the Ternate society.

Furthermore, each regime's political acumen has enhanced its standing in the local political arena. The public's perception of the noble group's authority to rule, acquired through geonological legitimacy, has a significant impact on the sultanate elite's ability to survive in the local political landscape. Numerous palace ceremonies have served to socialize their legitimacy. The Ternate population thereafter developed a belief in the benefits and privileges of nobility as a result of this ongoing socialization. To foster a sense of obedience and ensure that the community is peaceful and prosperous. It appears in the Ternate City's government and bureaucracy as the hub of role models. Those who inherit the status of thenobility have important posts in Ternate City's municipal government structure. Until now, the progress of the sultanate elite in the local political arena has not subsided. The Deputy Mayor of Ternate was held for three consecutive periods (2000, 2010, and 2015).

1. Future Research Pointers
2. Study Limitations

Conflict of Interest

The Authors of the manuscripts have absolutely no financial or non-financial conflict of interest regarding the subject matter or material discussed in this manuscript.

Data Availability Statement

The data associated with this study will be provided by this corresponding author upon request.

Funding Details

This research did not receive a grant from any finding source or agency.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A.B. Lopian, dalam pengantar *Memorie van Overgave J.H. Tobias (1857)- Memorie van Overgave C. Bosscher Residen Ternate (1859)*, Jakarta: ANRI, 1980.
- Adnan Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah: Perjalanan Sejarah Maluku Utara 1250 – 1950*. Jakarta: Gora Pustaka Indonesia, 2007.
- AA GN Ari Dwipayana, *Bangsawan dan Kuasa Kembalinya Para Ningrat di Dua Kota*. Yogyakarta, IRE Press, 2004.
- Bambang Purwanto, *Gagalnya Historiografis Indonesia Sentris*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2006.
- Battomore T.B., *Elit dan Masyarakat*. Jakarta: Akbar Tanjung Institut.2006.
- Djoko Suryo, et al. *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial Studi: Tentang Hubungan Antara Islam, Masyarakat dan Struktur Sosial Politik Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: UGM LKPSM. 2001.
- _____, *Sejarah Indonesia: Perspektif Lokal dan Global*. Ombak: 2010.
- Darsiti Soeratman, *Kehidupan Dunia Keraton Surakarta 1830-1939*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2002.
- David Henley, et al., *Adat Dalam Politik Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia (2010)
- Gerry van Klinken, *Perang Kota Kecil Kekerasan Komunal dan Demokratisasi di Indonesia*. Jakarta: KITLV, 2007.
- Haryanto, *Kekuasaan Elite Suatu Bahasan Pengantar*. Yogyakarta: FISIPOL UGM, 2000.
- Henk Schulte Nordholt et.al., (ed), *Politik Lokal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: KITLV, 2007.
- Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, *Negara Indonesia Timur Ke Republik Indonesia Serikat*. Yogyakarta; UGM Press, 1985.
- Irza Arnita Djafaar, *Dari Moloku Kie Raba Ke Negara Federal: Biografi Sultan Iskandar Mubammad Jabir Syah*. Jakarta Bio Pustaka (2005).
- Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*. Honolulu University of Hawaii Press, 1993.
- Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro Nugrogo Natosusanto, (ed), *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia V*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2008.
- Mudaffar Syah, *Eksistensi Kesultanan Ternate dalam Sistem Tatanegara Republik Indonesia*. Ternate : Goheba, 2009.
- Nurhasim Muchtar, et. al, *Konflik Antar Elit Lokal dalam Pemeliban Kepala Daerah: Kasus Maluku Utara, Jawa Timur dan Kalimantan Tengah*. Jakarta: LIPI, 2003.
- Patrick Barron, et, al, *Seusai Perang Komunal: Memahami Kekerasan Pasca-Konflik di Indonesia Timur dan Upaya Penanganannya*. Yogyakarta: CSPS Books, 2012.
- Purwanto, B. (2011). Memahami Kembali Nasionalisme Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik*. Vol. 4 No. 3.
- Purwo Santoso “Merajut Kohesi Nasional: Etno-nasionalisme dan Otonomi daerah” dalam *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*. Vol. 4, No 3, Maret 2001.
- R. Nalenan and *Arnold Mononutu Potret Seorang Patriot*. Jakarta: Gubung Agung, 1981.
- Riswanda Imawan, “Prospek Peranan Golkar dalam Demokratisasi di Indonesia” dalam *Jurnal Prospektif*. Vol.5, No, 3, 1993.
- Rusdi J. Abbbas, *Demokrasi di Aras Lokal Praktek Politik Elite Lokal di Maluku Utara*. Yogyakarta: Cerah Media, 2012.
- R.Z. Leirissa, *Maluku Dalam Perjuangan Nasional Indonesia*. Jakarta: Lembaga Sejarah Fakultas Sastra UI 1975.
- Robert van Niel, *Munculnya Elite Modern Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya 1984.
- Sartono Kartodirdjo Eds. *Elite dalam Perspektif Sejarah*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1981.
- Suhartono W. Pranoto, *Teori dan Metodologi Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2010.
- Suzanne Keller, *Penguasa dan Kelompok Elit: Peranan Elit Penentu dalam Masyarakat Moderen*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo, 1995.
- Siti Zuhro, et.al, *Demokrasi Lokal Perubahan dan Kesenambungan Nilai-nilai Budaya Politik Lokal di Jawa Timur, Sumatera Barat, Sulawesi Selatan dan Bali*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2009.
- Tryatmoko, M.H. (2005) “Pemekaran Wilayah dan Pertarungan Elite Lokal di Maluku Utara. *Jurnal LIPI* Jilid XXXI, No 1, 2005.

Yulianto, D.P. (2003). "Oposisi Berseragam: Catatan tentang Hubungan Politik Soeharto dan Militer di Akhir 1980-an". *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*