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## Local values in local political culture and democracy; A review of hermeneutics among local elites

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**Abstract.** The reforms provided space for local elites, both traditionally based (Bangsawan) and political elites (Bureaucrats-Politicians) to contest in the arena of local democracy. It is in this arena that the value of the political culture of local elites is tested whether it can strengthen democracy or on the contrary weaken democracy in the midst of the process towards its death. (Ziblatt, 2019) where democracy, which actually places the people as the main focal point, becomes "blunted" by political oligarchy and personal elite domination (Fatah & Deni, 2019). (Fatah & Deni, 2019). Using Gadamer's Phenomenological and Hermeneutic Methods, this research analyses the actions of local elites in interpreting the local values of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare in the 2020 Ternate City Regional Election Arena. This research aims to find the meaning of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare local values in strengthening the cultural values of local politics and democracy. The results of the study revealed that [1] The meaning of local values in local political culture and democratic values is interpreted by local elites through the process of history, pre-understanding (prejudice), tradition and value authority of leaders (Sultan / Kolano) and cultural symbols [2] The stronger the meaning and application of local values, the stronger the meaning and application of the relationship between leaders (Jou) and the people (Ngofa Ngare) in strengthening local political culture and democratic values.

**Keywords.** Local values, political culture, democracy, Hermeneutics, Local Elites

### Introduction

The reform mandate provides space for local elites, both traditionally based (nobles) and political elites (bureaucrats-politicians) to gather in an arena of local democratic contestation. It is in this arena that political culture related to orientation, attitudes, beliefs and symbolic identities become the basis of democratic expression of local political elites in the post-New Order and reformation era.

The cultural base of society such as the value of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare in Ternate City is used as a space for expression and political legitimacy of local elites. Jou Se Ngofa Ngare is a local value of the Ternate community that is the basis of human relations with God in the sense of religion, as well as the relations between the people and their leaders in social, cultural and political contexts. In terminology, Jou is interpreted as God and Ngofa Ngare as

servant.(Fajarini, 2014). Thus, these basic philosophies form the basis of local elites' understanding in the arena of local democracy.

The value of Jou Se ngofa ngare was born and developed as a response to the discrimination of the sultanate in pre-independence. Prior to the New Order, discrimination against the kingdom (sultanate) had occurred at the beginning of independence around the 1950s. The movement on behalf of nationalist anti-feudalism demanded the dissolution of the kingdom (sultanate). Because the sultanates were considered to be allied with the colonials during the colonial era, the kings and sultans lost their thrones, such as the Pontianak Kingdom and the Ternate Sultanate in North Maluku.(Davidson et al., 2007)., (Agus, 2011).

Based on Gerry Van Klinken's findings, the sultanates began to reconstruct customary values and laws after a vacuum during the Old Order to the New Order. The return of the sultanate was marked by the efforts of indigenous peoples and nobles to find their identity, explore history and revive the atmosphere of royal or sultanate customs that had long been abandoned by the community. (Davidson et al., 2007), (Agus, 2011).

In this context, the Sultan of Ternate and the sultanate reproduced a number of values in order to reorganise the customary structure of the Sultanate of Ternate, implementing a number of customary laws as the glue of society, namely the values of Jou se Ngofa Ngare with the philosophy of the two-headed garuda bird (emblem / flag of the sultanate) or called goheba (Symbol: Leaders and People have an equal relationship) into the Ternate people's view of life. It is also the cultural basis for the sultanate elite (nobles) and political elite (bureaucrats-politicians) in accumulating their social, cultural and political interests.

The 2020 regional elections in Ternate City consisted of 4 candidate pairs. Pair number 1 Merlisa Marsaoly and Juhdi Taslim is supported by PDIP, PKS, PAN, PBB, Berkarya and supporting party PSI. Candidate number 1 is considered as a representation of Tidore, Ternate and Makian Ethnicity.Pair number 2 Tauhid Soleman and JasriUsman (TULUS) is supported by PKB and NASDEM. Considered to represent Ternate, Tobelo and Makian ethnicities. Candidate number 3. Mohammad Hasan Bay and Mohammad Asghar Shaleh were nominated by Golkar, Gerindra and Hanura. Considered to represent the ethnicity of Tidore and Ambon while serial number 4 is Yamin Tawari and Abdullah Taher who are carried by Perindo, PPP and Democrat. They represent Makian and Ternate ethnicities. Interestingly, despite the different ethnicities, all candidate pairs in the 2020 regional elections use the discourse of Jou sengofa ngare values as an effort to gain votes as well as justify their vision, mission and programme.

The use of socio-cultural bases in the context of political culture has been done by Geertz in Mojokuto in 1953-1954, which gave birth to social groupings on the basis of their worldview, religious beliefs, ethical preferences and political ideology.(Soedarwo, 2014). Similarly, Feith (1966) saw two main sources of political thought in Indonesia. Firstly, from tradition (Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic cultures). Second, from the western school of thought(Agus, 2011), (Nurjaman et al., 2018).Another study was also conducted by Karl Jackson on traditional authority in Sundanese society. That traditional authority is personal power that occurs as an accumulation of the past and present which is influenced by vertical and asymmetrical interdependence between patrons and clients. Karl Jackson (1973, 1980), Afan Gaffar (1992) in (Agus, 2011). In relation to the study of voters in rural areas in Java, Gaffar sees socio-cultural beliefs, party identification, social status and patterns of leadership, as influential factors in political behaviour in Indonesia, especially in Java. The third important variable, according to Gaffar, is the pattern of leadership. In previous studies, Indonesianists such as Herbert Feith (1963) Geertz (1960,1965), Hobstede (1971) Robert Jay (1963,1969), and



Indonesian scientists, such as Koentjaraningrat (1965,1985) Sarjono Kartodirdjo (1966,1972,1973,1984) concluded that in Javanese society, leadership factors are the main factors that influence and shape individual behaviour (Gaffar, 1992). (Agus, 2011).

The Mujani and R. William Liddle survey found that the two previous factors, namely the leaderships of candidates and party identification, remain a source of consideration for voters in determining their choices, but these two variables are no longer the dominant variables because they have been shifted by media campaigns, especially television.(Agus, 2011). Note (V.Soedarwo, 2014) on the thesis proposed by Geertz, that sect politics in Java in the 1950s was very strong but then there was a very significant change after the reformation. In the study of sect politics ideology. Whether abangan, santri, or priyayi have experienced a decline, although dozens of political parties in this era tried to explore the romanticism of sect politics, it was meaningless. The developing political ideology is oriented towards fulfilling the real needs of the people, or in other words, it can be called a rational-based orientation.

Specifically, recent studies on North Maluku and especially Ternate have been conducted, among others (Abbas, 2011) that the struggle between local elites stems from the establishment of North Maluku province in 1999, the rivalry of local elites behind Abdul Gaffar and Thaib Armyain, and the 2001-2002 North Maluku regional elections. (Machmud, 2011) found that ethnicity or ethnicity became a commodity by local elites in the electoral political arena (pemilukada) of Ternate City to win local political contestation in order to compete for sources of power. (Agus, 2011) mentioned that sociological and psychological factors still have an influence on the voting behaviour of the indigenous people of Ternate City. (Hasyim, 2017) (Hasyim, 2017) found that in order to grasp power at the local level, the Sultan of Ternate attempted to seize change through historical claims and cultural identity. The Sultan of Ternate seeks to seize change through the realm of power politics. Therefore (Bastiang, 2020) said that candidates supported by traditional leaders still have influence in the 2018 North Maluku Governor and Deputy Governor elections.

Other research conducted by (Student, 2019) That there has been a new act of "history creation" for the sultanate and themselves to achieve certain political interests. It is in such (history-making) contexts that nobles use Jou Se Ngofa Ngare values to secure their interests. This research is different from previous research. If Murid places the Jou Se Sengofa Ngare value only as a re-creation of local values for the benefit of the aristocratic elite and then bureaucrats-politicians recite local cultural values to secure their political interests. Then Gadamer's Hermeneutic perspective in this research places the Jou Se Ngofa Ngare Value as a way of life of the Ternate Sultanate community assumed to contain philosophical values of democracy that will actually strengthen political culture and democratic values (Fusions of Horizon).

This research uses the basic theory of Hermeneutics H.Georg Gadamer as a Method of Interpretation. Max Weber's Social Action Theory. Gabriel Almond's Political Culture Theory, Gaetano Mosca's Elite Theory and Deliberative Democracy Theory. Where these theories have a relationship with one another in interpreting local values among local elites in the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada in Ternate City.

### **Methods**

This research uses the social definition paradigm because it is considered capable of finding the meaning of jou sengofa ngare in local political culture and democratic values among local elites of Ternate, North Maluku. The social definition paradigm focuses on efforts to understand humans as subjects who actively create their own social lives. (Susanto, 2014) In

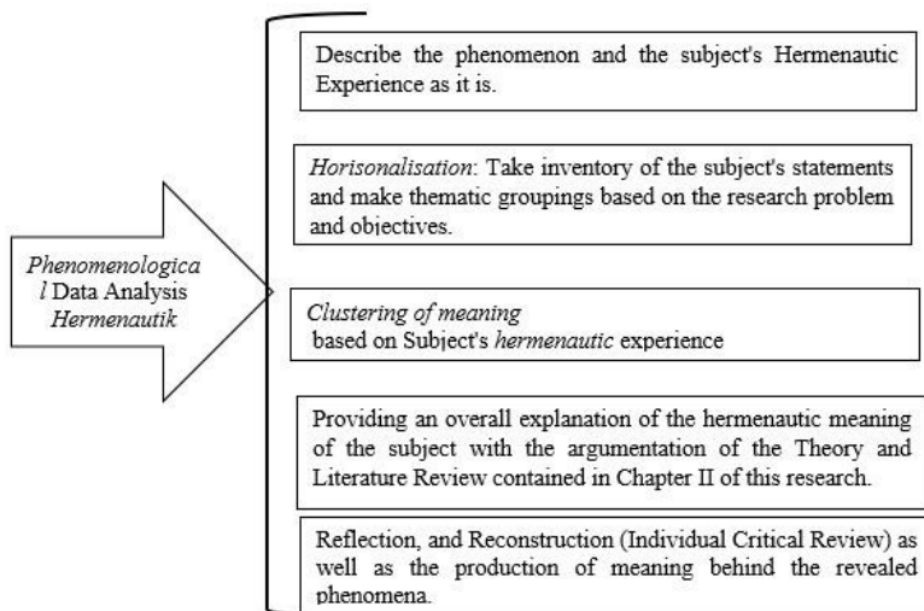
that context, the form of socio-political life is obtained from the experience of local elites in reconstructing and producing the meaning of their socio-political life, through historical understanding of the Jou Se Ngofa Ngare text, prejudice and horizon fusion.

A qualitative approach was used in this research because it is oriented towards investigating truths that are relative, hermeneutic and interpretative. The qualitative approach uses strong theoretical, and hermeneutic analyses to arrive at conclusions. (Zalu, 2020). In detail, Creswell argues that qualitative research is a type of research that reveals and understands the meaning of the subject, both personal and a community. by collecting various information from the subject, forming it into categories, themes and patterns (Creswell, 2016). (Creswell, 2016). Therefore, the type of research used is hermeneutic phenomenology, which is to reveal meaning. Different from the positivistic paradigm tradition whose goal is to explain observed human behaviour, the hermeneutic phenomenology tradition aims to understand the meaning of interpreted human existence. (Mudjia Rahardjo, 2004) then understanding is something interpretative, as Gadamer in the phenomenological concept of fusion of horizon (Gadamer in Weinsheimer and Marshall, 1989: xxv). (Hasanah, 2017).

The subjects in this study were Candidates for Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Ternate in the 2020 Regional Head Election and the Success Team who were directly involved in the construction of the Candidate's horizon. While informants are determined using Purposive technique. Where the Purposive Sampling technique is a way of determining a number of informants before the research is carried out, the method is by clearly stating what criteria are to be used as the basis for determining informants and what information is desired from each informant to be studied. (M. Machmud, 2016). Based on the expert's opinion above, the criteria for determining informants in this study are local elites who are considered to have experience and expertise in fields related to text analogues and the context of Jou Se Ngofa Ngara values in Ternate City. Namely, noble elites, community leaders and academics who have expertise in the field of local democracy and Ternate sultanate studies. The hope is that the informant criteria can reveal the hermeneutic and phenomenological experience of the Subject's dialectic towards text and context analogues.

Research data from the aforementioned subjects and informants were obtained using the stages of observation, in-depth interviews, documents and source triangulation processes to ensure that the data mentioned are valid. The next procedure used is phenomenological-hermeneutic data analysis.

*Hermeneutic Phenomenological Data Analysis*



Source: Researcher's Modification of the Phenomenological Data Analysis Model  
Moustakas, Modified Sanders and Hans Georg Gadamer

**Results and discussion**

**The Relationship between Jou (God) and Ngofa Ngare (Man) as Local Elites' Prejudice**

Prejudice is a condition of understanding, so it is a major element in the process of understanding. In German, prejudice comes from the word Vorurteil, which means giving judgement (Urteil) and before (Vor), namely all things related to the situation being judged. (Miftahudin, 2021) so that prejudice becomes the basis or before (Vor) everything is assessed (Urteil). Meanwhile, tradition and authority are important elements that legitimise Hermeneutic Prejudice. That nothing comes into existence except only with tradition and authority which are the main elements of its formation, even if it is rational, is formed by a certain tradition, namely the liberal tradition and certain authorities such as the rationalism of Blaise Pascal, Cristian Wolf, Rene Descartes, Baruch Spinoza and G.W Leibnitz.

The explanation above confirms the research results that the process of pre-understanding (Prejudice) of local elites in Ternate about the value of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare is inseparable from Ternate as a city of history, culture and strong Islamic traditions as the main element of the historical circle of influence of local elites. Therefore, this study found that the value of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare is interpreted as God's Relationship with Humans and the relationship between Leaders and People. Where in the relationship between the leader and the people, three basic understandings were found that influenced the situation of the understanding of the Local Elites in Ternate. Namely Islamic tradition, the Sultans in North Maluku as a



reference for local elite values and culture and cultural symbols as a basic philosophy of political culture and local democratic values. In the context of God and Human Relations, local elites are situated by the Jou Se Ngofa Ngare Philosophy which starts from the question and philosophical statement "Toma Ua se hang Moju koga idadi sosira (When there was nothing yet. What happened first? Tomalimau gapi matubu Jou Se Ngofa Ngare (At the highest peak, there is only you (God) and me (Man)).

"The elders used to come up with statements and questions like "When there was nothing, what happened first" Toma Ua (Showing the situation at that time) se hang Moju (There was nothing yet) koga idadi sosira (What happened first)" he replied Tomalimau gapi matubu (Mount Ternate is likened to the highest place) jou se ngofa ngare (On the highest peak. There is only you and me". (Interview, Soasio Law of the Sultanate of Ternate, Mr Gunawan. 17/11/2022).

This statement corresponds with Yamin Tawari's statement that:

"Jou Se Ngofa Ngare Starts from dolabololo Kiyematubu duka, jou se ngofa ngare". In the ultimate silence there is only you and me. Jou is God and Ngofangare is the servant (Interview.Yamin Tawari, Ngade Ternate 29/10/2022).

Meanwhile, Jou Sultan of Ternate Hidayatullah Mudaffar Sjah revealed that:

"The philosophy of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare is a Tawhidic worldview that encompasses all dimensions of life since humans are in the mother's womb, infancy, children, adulthood until they are appointed as leaders and then return to account for their caliphate. Both at the internal level of himself with the entire structure of himself as a servant, as a family, community and as a citizen". (Interview with Sultan of Ternate, 02/11/2022/Pandopo Keadton Ternate).

If the Jou Se Ngofa Ngare Philosophy starts from the philosophical questions and statements mentioned above. The question then is whether the essence of man is spiritual or material? What is the value or meaning of human life? If he is a servant, is there freedom in humans? Descartes, a French philosopher, placed the nature of human beings equal to the nature of the universe, namely a substance that has the basic properties of *res extensa* and *res cogitans* or a substance that has breadth and a substance that thinks. In humans, *res extensa* is actualised in the body, while *res cogitans* in the soul. Schopenhauer believed that "will (blind)" is the basic principle that drives both the universe and human activities. Henry Bergson, a French spiritual philosopher pointed to the "elan vital" (a life energy or life drive) as the source that enables all movement in human life. Nietzsche, a German philosopher pointed to the "Wille zur Macht" (will to power) as the energy that enables the circulation of nature and human behaviour. Karl Marx placed matter as the essence of man and viewed the means of production and relations of production as the forces that determine human consciousness and behaviour. Edmund Husserl in his phenomenology points to the "Transcendental I" and human activities and the meaning of the world (A. Zainal, 2000).

Max Weber then places humans as creative actors who are free to give motives (intention), meaning (meaning) directed at others in the context of their social actions. Meanwhile, Hans Georg Gadamer places human nature as a being who is free to understand and interpret human experience, both the text and the context of his experience with the situation of his historical environment. Where humans are not separated or detached from history but are in the context of their historical meaning.

The belief of the Ternate community in the philosophy of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare places humans as a reflection of God in him who deserves respect and appreciation (Bobaso Se Rasai) because there are God's characteristics and God's duties carried out on him, it also explains why in human relations when "baku togor" (Greeting each other or opening words in a conversation)

always starts with Suba Jou. In language, Suba is (worshiping/submission) to Jou (God). While Suba in meaning and social human essentiality is interpreted as respect and love. While Jou is interpreted as a human being because in humans there is a substance or nature of God attached. It is believed in essence and described in the sentence Bismillah hirahmannirahim. Bismillah (Allah), Rahman (Father) and Rahim (Mother) as well as Asmaul Khusna as the name and nature of God that every human being must continue to strive for to become his substance and nature on Earth. That way, Suba Jou is interpreted meaningfully as a respect for God's Substance to humans (Respect you because in you there is the nature of God) who carry out the task of caliphate on earth both towards themselves, with other humans, homeland, nation and the universe which will be accounted for later to Allah SWT.

### **The Relationship between Jou (Leader) and Ngofa Ngare (People) as Local Elite Prejudice**

In the context of the relationship between leaders and the people, there are three local elite prejudices that underlie the orientation of the local elite's socio-political actions, namely, Islam, the values of the Sultans and culture and cultural symbols. Islam has become a tradition of historical thinking and practice, which is not only historical in text space, but also in context space. Where God becomes the epicentre of the entire circle of meaning of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare as the beginning and end of all the processes of meaning of the relationship between God and humans, leaders and people. Similarly, the Sultans and symbolic identities in Ternate have coloured and become the pre-understanding of the local elite in transforming their socio-political actions.

Ternate's early Islam came from a cultural, creative and loving da'wah process carried out by Sunan Giri's student Syeh Maulana who utilised the ability of beautiful calligraphic writing and the solemnity of the tone in chanting the holy verses of the Qur'an which very effectively trapped Sultan Marhum and then his son Sultan Zainal Abidin and the people of Ternate in the comfort of the soul while giving birth to the spirit of religious learning and leadership of Zainal Abidin. Thus, to quench his thirst for knowledge, Sultan Zainal Abidin sailed to Java to study directly with Sunan Giri. Even as far as Malacca, the learning process and with high enthusiasm, Sultan Zainal then brought several Javanese Ulama to teach Islam in Ternate. What Sultan Zainal Abidin did was a picture of an elite with a wide range of knowledge, open and forward-thinking, based on solid religious values. The learning process then changed the structure of the sultanate which previously institutionally only had a field that took care of world affairs called Bobato Dunia with a black juba costume and then added a field that took care of religious affairs Babato Akhirat with a typical white juba. It is this Bobato Akhirat that culturally continues to coexist with the customs and traditions that live and colour the religious process of the ternate cultural community to this day.

Sultan Khairun, an elite who was known not only for his intelligence and extensive knowledge, but also for his love of Islam, which later became a mirror of his manners and civility in building relationships with anyone, even his enemies. Khairun's kindness, sincerity and calmness of spirit were finally utilised by the Portuguese Governor Lopes de Masquita in a meeting invitation that he thought would bring peace to the people and Ternate. Sultan Khairun then fell into his enemy's trap and met his death in a very sad way. Sultan Khairun was not only a renowned sultanate elite, he was also a father who had the foresight to recognise the basic readiness of his son Babullah.

Babullah was privately educated by his Sultan father on the meaning of religion, life orientation, leadership and war strategy. The religious knowledge and military strategy he learnt

at a young age later made Islam his guide in treating the community and his enemies. To the community, Sultan Babullah created a cultural system of religious learning called Pangaji. Pangaji was not just a place to read and study the Qur'an but also invited the community to understand and place it in the context of the dynamics of society. so that the Qur'an was sought to become the practice and soul of the community. To his enemies, he maintained Islamic manners so that to those who had surrendered he did not necessarily slaughter them as he did to his father in a very inhumane way.

The Islamic situation as mentioned in the practices and manners of the sultanate elites above then became Ternate's identity as one of the historical cities, cultural cities and Islamic-based cities in the archipelago. At the same time, it has become a hermeneutic prejudice (pre-understanding) of the local elite in every post-reform regional head election event and various government policies that always place Islam as the domain of programme implementation.

### **Cultural Symbols as the philosophical basis of local Political Culture values and Democracy**

Cultural symbols in the socio-cultural and political arena were first performed by Sultan Mudaffar Sjah II (13 April-1935-19 February 2015). The 48th Sultan of Ternate who ruled from 1975-2015. It was a tough decision to rule after the sultanates in Indonesia had been in a vacuum since the 1950s. Sultan Mudaffar Sjah's efforts to restore the existence of the Sultanate of Ternate were continuously fought for. Both politically and socio-culturally by reconstructing and constructing customary structures, symbols and values to regulate customary law called Jou Se Ngofa Ngare. That is, the religiosity relation between God and Servant and the relation between Leader and People. Between the people and the people and the universe.

Based on the research findings. Twelve (12) cultural symbols and wisdom of the Ternate community have the potential to be materialised as a guide to the orientation of political culture and values in democracy at the local level. Namely [1] Adat se Atorang (Custom and Law). That both local elites and the community. All are situated by the customs (traditions), religion and laws that apply in Indonesia. Therefore, it is obligatory to implement the attributes of God that exist in him in the nation so that there is harmony, trust and balance of relationships. [2] Istiadat se Kabasarang (Sultanate Greatness, customs, traditions and culture) That Ternate with all its wealth of wisdom rests on one cultural institution. That is the Sultanate of Ternate. Therefore, that is where the local elite should be present, producing its wisdom in strengthening relations with its citizens by strengthening partnerships with these cultural institutions.

[3] Galib se Lakudi (Decree and Stipulation) that humans are Khalifah fi lard. God's representative on earth, therefore all values and customs must place Jou (God) as the beginning and the end as the basis of all values, customs and local leadership. Because in essence we do not serve humans but the absolute surrender of all our efforts and endeavours in the world is to obtain the pleasure of Allah SWT (Interview Sultan Hidayatullah Syah) [4] Cing se Cingare (Supervision and Supervised) That the actions of local elites are not value-free. But they are always supervised by Jou (God) and Ngofa Ngare (the people). [5] Bobaso se Rasai (Feeling and Sensing). The essence of the relationship between Jou (Leader) and Ngofa Ngare (People) is sensitivity, initiative, compassion and love. [Ngale se Cara (God's way that must be travelled). That the choice to become an elite is a path of service to the people as a consequence of his relationship (faith) to Jou (God). [7] Sere se Duniru (Procedure and Rule of Law). That the scattered Local Wisdom will only be a meaningless romantic value if it is not then turned into public policy. [8] Dada Madopo (Yellow Rice and Eggs). Yellow rice and eggs represent a



pyramid, where the yellow rice is the people. If the yellow rice is fragile, the leader will not be strong.

[9] Goheba Dopolu Romdidi (Two-headed bird, one body, one heart). That Goheba is an unconditional recognition of migrants, as well as different opinions (diversity) without barriers. The symbol of Goheba is a symbol of universal humanism. Goheba is not a single domination. Physically, there are only two heads. But symbolic of diversity, more than two heads [10] Tara No Ate (Go Down and Lure Him). Tara No Ate is not just materialised into economic activities. But it is actually about the Ethics of Democracy. That is, respect for diversity, public involvement to convey basic problems, and comprehensive responsiveness to the real needs of the community by always prioritising Bobaso Se Rasai. That is, communication based on compassion and sincere love for citizens.

[11] Co'Ou/Maco'Ou (Devotion). That Co'Ou is a culture of elite devotion to the people. The same goes for the people to their leaders "Jou Kasa Ngom Kage" (Where there is a sultan or leader there we are) [12] The Wisdom of Protecting the Sea (Ngolo Sahe, Ngolo Kidu, Ngolo Lamo). Ngolo sahe (Used for Refereshing / swimming) and of course for the life of marine life, so there should be no littering, ngolo kidu (used for Fishing), Noglo lamo (Used for long-term life and interaction of sailors). Therefore, the ethics of democracy are not just about the land with all its dynamics. But the sea is also a living space that must be preserved for the good of humanity.

The theoretical implications of Gadamer's Hermeneutics on the research show that local elites are situated within the historical and cultural context of Ternate. Thus, as intended by Gadamer, nothing can be outside or out of its historical circle. Likewise, the local elite of Ternate, no one is outside the historical and cultural circle. Both during the campaign and post-campaign. Where local elites use the horizon of local identity in the 2020 Pilkada arena as a meaning of ideality and at the same time as an electoral strategy. In the context of this electoral strategy, it is then considered to have lost the substance of its ideality after the 2020 elections, where there was a polemic over the meaning of culture after the elections and the non-integration of the Ternate City Government horizon with the Ternate Sultanate horizon so that there has not been a fusion of horizons. Thus, the theoretical implications place local elites still in the political (electoral) horizon, not in the substance of ideality as a local horizon that is often analysed.

The implication of elite theory in this study confirms the configuration of local elites in Ternate City, namely, (1) Traditional elites consisting of sultanates, religious leaders, and community leaders (ethnic); (2) Political elites, namely the candidates for Mayor and Deputy Mayor in the 2020 Ternate City Pilkada and government elites (bureaucrats). In the context of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare. The horizons of the two layers of elites mentioned above have not experienced the Fusion of Horizon. Non-governing elites are considered to have a wealth of local wisdom as well as a local community base with a strong Maco'ou (Loyalty devotion) value to the leader but Non-governing elites do not have sufficient financial resources to manage, maintain and develop this wisdom into sustainable civilisation and humanity. In such a situation, it is expected that the favour of the governing elite, not only in the budget aspect. In executing budget policies and politics that can support programmes that are in favour of Ternate culture and culture.

The implication of Democracy Theory in this research provides a "Red Thread" that the elite interpreted these local values as tools into the vision, mission and identity analogues during the campaign period, but have not been accompanied by Deliberative Democracy actions so that trust in the government has not been well established. This is evident in the absence of

policies and budget commitments related to these local values. Therefore, Rahmat said the importance of deliberative democracy is the need for; [1] emancipatory action as a communicative action [2] dialogue to strengthen solidarity between individuals and groups. And; [3] dialogue must be based on trust and trust must be formed through repeated dialogue processes. Further theoretical implications of deliberative democracy are philosophically found in the philosophy of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare which is symbolised in the "Yellow Nasih and the Egg", the Philosophy of Tara No Ate, the two-headed bird (Goheba Dopolo Romdidi) and the seven values of Ternate Culture. This clarifies that the theoretical implications of the political culture of local elites are a mixed political culture between parochial-subjects and parochial subjects. Where it has not yet reached the participant political culture.

### **Closing**

Based on the results of research and discussion, it can be explained that local elites in interpreting local values in the 2020 regional election arena do not leave the historical circle of Ternate as a City of Culture and History with various underlying symbols. Therefore, the meaning of local values as a manifestation of Jou Se Ngofa Ngare is Adat se Atorang, Galib se Lukidi, Bobaso se Rasai, Cing se Cingare, Istiadat se Kabasarang, Cara se Ngale and Sere se Doniru. The symbols of Nasi Kiuning and its egg, the two-headed Garuda Bird and Tara No Ate as well as the Wisdom in Protecting the Sea; Ngolo Sahe, Ngolo Kidu and Ngolo Lamo, are expected to be the basis for the actions of political elites in the orientation of political culture and democratic ethics in the local democratic arena of Ternate City.

The results above also reinforce the proposition that the meaning of local values in local political culture and democratic values is interpreted through the process of history, pre-understanding (prejudice), tradition and authority of the value of leaders and cultural symbols. Therefore, the stronger the interpretation and application of local values, the stronger the interpretation and application of the relationship between leaders and people.

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