

Political Capital as a Political Force: A Study on the Efforts to Win the Mo-Novi Pair in the Sumbawa Regional Head Election 2020

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Abstract—This study aims to review and deepen the discourse on the political capital that is a political force in elections. To prove this, the Sumbawa regional head election 2020 was a case study through the pair of H. Mahmud Abdullah and DewiNoviany or abbreviated as Mo-Novi. The research method uses qualitative methods with relevant qualitative research types to answer questions in case study type research. The data collection method uses observation techniques, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The results of this study explain that this pair was favored through two capitals, namely political capital, and social capital. Despite being weak in economic capital, the pair was able to compensate with capital and other aspects to win the general election. The finding in this study is the emergence of symbolic capital derived from the dominance of political capital and social capital. This happened because voters saw the Mo-Novi pair as an acceleration of power and a political intermediary for local elites. This then makes this pair a symbol of political power that intersects with other political powers so that it can create order in the government.

Indexed Terms—Sumbawa Regional Head Election 2020, Mo-Novi Pair, Political Capital

I. INTRODUCTION

Political capital is the ownership of resources each political candidate owns to be used in political contestation. The purpose of this political capital is to give the voters confidence that the political candidates who are carried and elected, have a track record, economic strength, popularity, and other advantages that can legitimize the candidate to win in the contestation of the general election. Generally,

political capital is often the basis for a person to be willing to become a contestant in elections because their power needs to be legitimized into political power. Not only occurs at the national level, but political capital is also part of every aspect of elections, including at the local political level. Ocasio, Pozner, and Milner (2020) mention capital as a consequence of a critical resource available to individuals to exercise power differently by influencing organizational decisions, actions, and results.

The French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, was a pioneer in studying the various forms of capital. But Bourdieu is often criticized for tending to be deterministic and lacking in empirical footing in constructing his theory. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) in his work entitled *The Forms of Capital*, as quoted by Joni Firmansyah (2018) distinguishes three forms of capital, namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. According to Bourdieu, capital can appear in three fundamental guises: (1) as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and can be institutionalized in the form of ownership rights; (2) as cultural capital, which can be converted, under certain conditions, into economic capital and can be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and (3) as social capital, consisting of social obligations (connections), which can be converted, under certain conditions, into economic capital and can be institutionalized in the form of noble titles (Firmansyah, 2022).

In Sumbawa Regency, which held the regional head elections in 2020, it became one of the general elections that made political capital an identification effort in maximizing the potential of candidates to win the general election. In this case, 5 pairs of candidates are trying to win the general election.

Each candidate has their potential, but not all candidates can maximize their potential to be present as the election's winner. Titin Sri Jannah (2022) in her research entitled Political Marketing Strategy of H. Mahmud Abdullah and DewiNoviany pair in the Sumbawa Regional Head Election 2020 explained that the simultaneous regional head elections which took place on December 9, 2020, had previously been held on December 2015 with a permanent voter turnout of 327,277 voters. At that time, the 2015 Sumbawa Regency regional head election had 3 pairs of candidates competing, including the pair of Jack Morsa H. Abdullah and H. IrwanRahadi, with 41,602 votes, then the pair of H. Asaat Abdullah and Chandra Wijaya Rayes obtained 86,359 votes, then the pair of M. HusniDjibril and H. Mahmud Abdullah obtained the highest votes of 117,458 votes. Meanwhile, in 2020, 5 pairs of candidates who competed were also again followed by M. HusniDjibril and H. Mahmud Abdullah, but with their respective partners. M. HusniDjibril paired with H. Muhammad Ikhsan, while H. Mahmud Abdullah paired with DewiNoviani (Mo-Nov), who later emerged as the winner of the election.

When referring to some previous literature, Kimberly Casey (2005) in Sudirman Nasir (2009) defines political capital as the utilization of the entire type of capital owned by a political actor or a political institution to produce political actions that benefit or strengthen the position of the political actor or political institution concerned. Casey further detailed the existence of four political markets that influence the amount of political capital owned by a political actor or a political institution. The first political market is elections because elections are however the basic instrument for the election of leaders in a democratic system. The second political market is the formulation and implementation of public policies. The third political market is the dynamics of relations and conflicts between political actors and political institutions in the formulation and implementation of public policies. The fourth political market is a public opinion or opinion about the political actor or political institution. Meanwhile, symbolic capital about political dynamics can be understood as the amount of legitimacy, reputation, and level of respect obtained by political actors or political institutions due to political actions they do or do not do.

Table 1. Names of Candidates for Sumbawa Regional Head Election 2020

No	Name	Proposing Party
1.	H. M. HusniDjibril, B.Sc and DR. H. Muhammad Ikhsan, M.Pd	PKB, PDIP, and PAN
2.	NurdinRanggabarani, SH., MH., and H. Burhanuddin Jafar Salam, SH. MH	PPP and Domokrat
3.	Ir. Talifuddin, M.Si., and Sudirman, S.IP	This individual candidate bagged 30,223 supports
4.	Drs. H. Mahmud Abdullah and DewiNoviany, S.Pd, M.Pd	Golkar, Nasdem, MCC
5.	Ir. H. SyarafuddinJarot, M.P and Ir. H. Mokhlis, M.Si	Gerindra, Berkarya, Hanura, and PKPI

Source: Processed by researchers

Referring to the opinions of Bourdieu (1986) and Casey (2006), the focus of this study will examine the political capital of the Mo-Nov pair as a political force in the Sumbawa regional head election in 2020. These political capitals are then classified into three main capitals. First, political capital. Capital in political contestation, in addition to the role of candidate figures, is also largely determined by the role of political and economic support, and socio-political and economic actors (NoerApptikaFujilestari, 2015). The political support in question is the support of local elites, the support of the winning team, volunteers, and sympathizers. As well as the support of the political parties that are the political machine of the candidate. Political capital can also affect the way candidates make decisions, as stated by Gabriele Gratton, Richard Holden, and Barton E. Lee (2019) This concept is meant to encompass any intangible asset of the leader that (1) affords the leader greater power to influence decisions; (2) is immediately reduced when the leader chooses to exercise this power and (3) dynamically increases if the leader advocates in favor of an alternative that benefits many in the organization.

Second, social capital. In this case, the candidate's network, social status, and track record become the most important points to use as a political force. Social capital can be interpreted as capital owned by the community in empowerment, the capital is a combination of material and non-material capital. Material capital is capital in the form of or related to finance, while non-material capital is tangible with trust and a gathering system (Bassette, 1957 in YudoA. Mahendro, 2016). Material capital can be characterized by networking, kinship, and social status. While non-material capital can be in the form of public trust characterized by the candidate's track record or background.

Third, the economic capital. In this case, Economic capital is a resource that can be both a means of production and a financial means. This economic capital is a type of capital that is easily converted into other forms of capital. This economic capital includes the means of production (machinery, land, labor), material (income and things), and money. All these types of capital are young and used for all purposes as well as passed on from generation to generation (Abdul Halim, 2014). Furthermore, Firmanzah (2010) explains that economic capital is money or material ownership. The function of the money is to finance the cost of elections, which is not small. To convince voters, candidates must spend money in the form of billboards, banners, mass mobilization, political advertising other political actions. Therefore, this study tries to explain the capital owned by H. Mahmud Abdullah and DewiNoviany to win the election. This research also seeks to increase the wealth of knowledge related to political capital, which until now the discussion still needs to be sharpened.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses qualitative methods with the relevant type of qualitative research to answer the questions in this study is the case study type. This type of case study research is research that is carried out focused on a particular case to be observed and analyzed carefully until it is complete (Moleong, 2018). The reasons for researchers to use this type of case study are as follows: 1) This research is focused on one case or event within a certain period, namely

in the Sumbawa regional head election in 2020. 2) This study aims to get some appropriate explanations related to the activities, processes, or patterns of individuals and groups dealing with how the pairs of Mahmud Abdullah and DewiNoviany or Mo-Novi used their political capital to win the Sumbawa regional head election in 2020.

The data sources in this study are primary data sources and secondary data. Primary data is obtained directly from the field or research site through interviews, observations, and documentation of research informants. Meanwhile, secondary data comes from documents such as documents belonging to political parties, which can be in the form of published or unpublished documents, for example, political party regulations, AD / ART political parties, book literature, journals, and related research results.

The data collection method comes from literature studies and in-depth interviews of several informants related to the problem they want to study. These data, it is then analyzed to be used as primary research data. Thus, with rational arguments from research informants and the support of secondary data obtained, it is hoped that this research will be able to answer all research questions.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Political Capital of the Mo-Novi pair in the Sumbawa regional head election in 2020

The capital that will be reviewed in this discussion is the political capital owned by the Mo-Novi pair. First, the pair of H. Mahmud Abdullah and DewiNoviany have the support of three promoting parties, namely the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the Democratic National Party (Nasdem), and the GolonganKarya Party (Golkar), and have a supporting party, namely the Bulan Bintang Party (PBB) which already has a network on all fronts. The presence of political parties in elections is not only a forum for recruitment and candidacy but also a political machine that can be used in general elections. Political parties have loyal sympathizers and cadres. Generally, they follow the party's instructions as a form of loyalty and identity of their understanding and political knowledge.

Second, the pair H. Mahmud Abdullah and DewiNoviany have the support of local elites, have a family background, and education, and have an excellent political career history in the eyes of the public. H. Mahmud Abdullah, his track record as a bureaucrat started from the lowest level to becoming a deputy regent in the previous period. This was expressed by one of the leaders of the Golkar Party, as for the complete sentence is as follows:

"Especially H. Mahmud Abdullah because he already has a network before, because he has served as a deputy regent and has previously served as a secretary of the regional government, so he already has a network including a large family. Then for DewiNoviany herself, basically as a teacher and her husband has also been a sub-district head and has been a section head in the previous government, so that the network at the employee and non-employee levels has been maximized as well."

Another factor that affects the ownership of the pair's political capital is the kinship between DewiNoviany, who is the younger sister of the active Governor of West Nusa Tenggara, Zulkieflimansyah. This condition further strengthens the position and bargaining power of the pair as candidates who have strong political backing. This bargaining power makes this pair have strong social capital, as a form of relationship between social capital and political capital linked by the trust. Third, the strength and solidity of the winning team. In the contestation of the Sumbawa regional head election in 2020, at least 12 volunteer teams were formed and fostered as vote-getters for the Mo-Novi pair. This team of volunteers has an organizational structure from the district level to the local level, even to the lower levels. This allows Mo-Novi to strengthen its electoral base by placing each of its teams on all fronts and arenas of the electorate.

The next capital owned by the Mo-Novi pair is social capital. As mentioned earlier, social capital is more influenced by material capital in the form of social status, kinship, networks, and public trust. This kind of social capital becomes a psychological measure of the voter to measure the candidate he will choose.

Generally, voters will look at the candidate's background, track record, and social status accordingly and be judged to be able to represent them in government. In this case, the Mo-Novi pair has a good combination, namely H. Mahmud Abdullah who has a track record of government and politics providing an overview of the placement of public trust and social status. Meanwhile, DewiNoviany is a candidate who represents gender, kinship, and networking because of her bargaining power that comes from the support of these local elites.

The next capital is the economic capital. In terms of ownership of economic capital, the Mo-Novi pair is not the candidate that has the most economic capital. Instead, they are classified as candidates with low capital ownership. This indicates that broad ownership of economic capital may not necessarily guarantee a candidate's won in the general election.

Table 2. The Wealth of Candidates for the Sumbawa Regional Head Election in 2020

No	Candidate Name	Total Wealth (IDR)
1	M. HusniDjibril	10.831.453.845
	Muhammad Ikhsan	9.869.329.331
2	NurdinRanggabarani	12.784.976.524
	BaharuddinJafar Salam	9.293.426.707
3	Talifuddin	982.554.653
	Sudirman	11.943.288.313
4	Mahmud Abdullah	1.761.279.753
	DewiNoviany	1.852.935.970
5	SyarafuddinJarot	28.455.900.000
	Mokhlis	7.960.500.000

Source: KPUD Sumbawa Regency

From the table above calculated from the pair of candidates, the Mo-Novi pair becomes the pair with the least economic capital but can be won the election. So, based on the source of funds or budget, of course, this pair is not favored and is not strengthened by solid and independent economic capital. However, these factors are weaknesses can be covered by other factors, such as political capital and the strength of social capital that is maximized its potential.

b. Political Capital as Political Power

The discourse on political capital is a discussion that has not been discussed too much by political science experts and scholars. The literature reviews and discusses this topic also seem to be few and limited. The tendency of discourse related to political capital is generally related to the discussion of political strategy because political capital can only be used and useful in political strategy. On the contrary, a political strategy cannot be implemented if political capital does not follow it.

In the case study of the Sumbawa Regency regional head election, several points make political capital a political force and encourage candidates to be able to win the general election. First, political capital provides classification and bargaining power for political contestants. Through political capital, symbols, and knots of voters, volunteers and sympathizers emerged who were moved because the symbols accommodated their interests. Haryatmoko (2003) explains that symbolic capital is inseparable from symbolic power, that is, the power that allows obtaining the equivalent of what is obtained through physical and economic power, thanks to the special consequences of mobilization. In Sumbawa Regency, the symbolic aspect is co-opted through the support of local elites, political parties, and winning teams that make the Mo-Novu pair a new brand that will be in line with other political elites who were previously considered profitable symbols. This is characterized by the existence of a kinship network with the incumbent elite that presents mobilization in the general elections.

The next discourse is about the role of social capital which is also related to political capital to become a political force. The Mo-Novu pair managed to brand themselves as candidates with an impeccable track record, an understanding of local issues, and a good network to use in running the government. John Field (2010) explains that social capital emphasizes more on group potential and patterns of relationships between individuals in a group and between groups, with a space of attention to beliefs, networks, norms, and values born from group members and becoming group norms.

The social capital owned by the pair H. Mahmud Abdullah and DewiNoviany as candidates in the Sumbawa regional head election in 2020 can be explained into 3 main things. First, trust. In building this trust, the community often associates this pair as part of the figure of Zulkieflimansyah who is active as the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara. This attachment makes this pair a potential figure because there is a strong man behind them. Second, networking. The pair are the only candidates to contain a gender combination. This was then used as an attempt to attract the sympathy of women voters to be in the ranks of the pair. Third, track record. As politicians born from bureaucrats, this pair is considered more familiar with running the wheels of government. It is this condition that further reinforces the bargaining power of the pair in utilizing social capital as a political force.

The next capital is the economic capital. The ownership of the economic capital of all these pairs as shown in table 2, is the pair with the weakest economic conditions but can win the election. This is because they have succeeded to identify themselves and maximizing their potential. Election costs in the form of political safaris, grand campaigns, election props, billboards, banners, and other political actions, combined with the political capital they have. Thus, the political costs that should be used to mobilize the masses, seem to come from the volunteers and the winning team itself. Although the pair is weak in economic capital, they can offset it through other capitals.

In analyzing political capital, we can classify it into two parameters: the source of funds and the allocation of funding. Generally, the source of funds often comes from candidates independently and is used for mobilization and election accommodation. In this case, the accommodation came from the winning team earlier because it saw the Mo-Novu pair not only present as political candidates but as a symbol intermediary between political elites. So, the winning team sees this as a long-term political investment to stay close to power.

CONCLUSION

The presence of the Mo-Novi pair in the Sumbawa Regency regional head elections provides a new discourse space for the discussion of political capital as a political force. This can be seen through the ownership of these capitals which includes political capital through the support of political parties, the support of volunteers, and the network of local elites. Other capital that also has an impact is social capital which consists of social status, kinship networks, and beliefs. As for the economic capital in this case, although not strong, it can contribute to the analysis of the political forces used in the general election.

An interesting point of this discussion is the emergence of symbolic capital which was previously reviewed by Pierre Bourdieu in *The Forms of Capital*, where symbolic capital becomes part of political capital itself. This argument can be proved through the ownership of political capital that makes the Mo-Novi pair a symbol of the acceleration of power and the intermediary of local elites for voters at that moment. This encourages people to "invest" because of the legitimacy of the capital attached to the pair. This then became a new force that unfortunately did not belong to the other candidates competing in the political contestation.

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