

Modalities of Sutinah's Victory In Regional Head Elections In Mamuju Regency

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ABSTRACT - The purpose of this research is to find out the Modality of Sutinah's victory in regional head elections in Mamuju Regency. The research method used is descriptive qualitative analysis, namely to obtain an in-depth picture of the role of the winning modality in the post-conflict local election in Mamuju district, and the type of research used is descriptive qualitative. The data sources used are primary data sources and secondary data from six main informants. Data collection techniques using the methods of observation, interviews, and documentation. The data analysis techniques used are data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. The results of the research conducted show that there are three indicators in the modality of Sutinah's victory in the regional head election in Mamuju Regency, namely, political capital, social capital, and economic capital. This proves that Sutinah Suhardi, as a woman and also a migrant, was able to accumulate the capital she owned so that she succeeded in winning the Mamuju regional head election in 2020.

Keywords: Modalities, Regional Head Election, Local Election

Introduction

Democracy is a stage or process used in a country like Indonesia (Leiwakabessy & Amaluddin, 2020). In fact, democratic values are not a foreign value in Indonesian culture; since ancient times, these values have existed in the history of our nation. Democracy is based on the value of human freedom. Democracy also implies the highest respect for the sovereignty of the people. In the implementation of general elections, democratic values are the main foundation for holding general elections (Bulman-Pozen & Seifter, 2021; Chambers, 2019; Erita, 2022).

In retrospect, all the regional head election provisions have been regulated in Law 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, which says that regional head elections are a democratic event in the context of finding legitimate leaders. Regional head elections are a long political journey marked by a tug-of-war between elite interests and public will. Bearing in mind that the essence of regional elections is elections, which are procedurally and substantially a manifestation of the principles of democracy and upholding sovereignty, regional elections, like other elections, deserve special arrangements so that the degree of accountability and democratic quality can be fulfilled properly (Sartikasari et al., 2021). Moreover, regional head election is an important instrument for democratisation at the local or regional level, which is a pillar for democratisation at the national level.

In its implementation, it has been regulated in Law Number 10 of 2016, Article 3, Paragraph 1, which reads that elections are held once every 5 years simultaneously throughout the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the laws and regulations, local election becomes an arena for political contestation, which is held every 5 years for the replacement of regional leaders. Local election is expected to be able to become a forum for people's aspirations to convey their voice in choosing good leaders according to what is expected. Through this direct

election, it is also hoped that it can increase public participation and concern for better regional progress and development.

Mamuju Regency has also held regional head elections. The implementation of the general election for regional heads by the regional government as the organiser through the Regional General Election Commission of Mamuju Regency set a vote for Wednesday, December 9, 2020. This general election was attended by two pairs of candidates for regent and deputy regent, namely Sutinah Suhardi in pairs with Ado Mas'ud and Habsi Wahid in pairs with Irwan Satya Putra Pababari.

The regional election contestation arena in Mamuju Regency has given birth to a new elected pair of regents and deputy regents, namely the pair of Siti Sutinah Suhardi and Ado Mas'ud. Of particular concern is Sitti Sutinah Suhardi, who, apart from being elected Regent of Mamuju in the 2020 regional elections, Sutinah Suhardi is also the first female regent in West Sulawesi, in Mamuju, to be precise. A woman who was still relatively young at the time of her participation in a contest, Sitti Sutinah Suhardi, who was still 37 years old, managed to outperform the incumbent regent Habsi Wahid in the simultaneous local elections on December 9, 2020, with a difference of 9,598 votes, or 6.68%. The results of the vote acquisition in the 2020 Mamuju Local election are as follows:

Table 1. Vote Acquisition Results of Candidate Pairs

No	Candidate Pair	Vote Gain
1	Hj. Sitti Sutina Suhardi and Ado Mas'ud	76,627
2	H. Habsi Wahid and H. Irwan Satya Putra Pababari	67,029

Source : processed by researchers, 2022

The victory of the pair Sitti Sutinah Suhardi and Ado Mas'ud in the local election was not solely obtained through "shortcuts," but to achieve this victory requires recognition and trust from the people who vote. This shows that the persona or popularity of a figure or candidate greatly influences the level of community support, especially if the figure or candidate is a person who is respected or understated and has the trust of the community. Sutinah is a very simple person. He is a person whose level of socialisation is quite high with the community, especially towards the grassroots, even though in the social class the Sutinah people occupy the top class. This capital is owned by Hj. Sitti Sutinah Suhardi, so since before the regional elections were held, she had gained the trust of the community, which of course was very helpful in winning the regional elections.

In regional elections, social capital has a very important meaning and is no less important than other capital. With high social capital, the candidates are not only known by the voters (Hartaman et al., 2020a; Wray-Lake, 2019). More than that, through these introductions, especially close physical and social introductions, voters can make an assessment of whether the existing partner is worthy of being elected or not. When a candidate is said to have social capital, it means that the candidate is not only known by the public but also given trust (Hilmi, 2020; Salbari et al., 2022).

In addition to social capital, political contestation, including direct regional elections, clearly requires costs (capital or economic capital) (Fiorino et al., 2021; Fraser, 2021). This large capital is not only used to finance the implementation of the campaign; it is also important to build relationships with (candidate) supporters, including capital to mobilise support before and during the campaign stages. Economic capital has the important meaning of being the "movers" and "lubricants" of the political machinery used. During the campaign season, for example, a large amount of money is needed to finance various needs, such as printing posters and banners, paying for advertisements,

renting vehicles to transport supporters, and various other needs, including security. In fact, this economic capital is the main prerequisite when the candidate does not come from the party that nominated him. Observing the success of Sitti Sutinah Suhardi in winning the regional elections for Mamuju Regency in 2020 with a significant vote, the writer wants to analyse the role of modality in winning the pair of Hj. Sitti Sutinah Suhardi and Ado Mas'ud in the regional elections for Mamuju Regency in 2020. As previously explained, in the victory of Sitti Sutinah Suhardi and Ado Mas'ud, the influence of capital was very large. At this point, the author chooses to focus on the dominant modality owned by Sitti Sutinah Suhardi.

There are several important fundamental considerations, including: first, Sutinah is a central figure who has long been known by the people of Mamuju district as the daughter of the former Mamuju regent 2 for the 2005–2015 period and now serves as a member of the DPR RI from the democratic faction. Second, Sutinah has great financial strength (capital or economic capital). Third, as chairman of the Pancasila Youth MPC and former head of the Mamuju district trade service before running against the incumbent, Sutinah is also supported by the party's large resources (political capital). It is important to note that the author chooses not to analyse representative and incumbent factors (although it cannot be denied that these factors also have an effect) based on the experiences of regional elections in Mamuju Regency. In the 2020 local elections, Sutinah partnered with Ado Mas'ud to win the local elections, which actually defeated the incumbent. At this point, it can be assumed that the incumbent factor has limited influence. This is what made the writer interested in conducting research with the title Modalities of Sutinah's Victory in Regional Head Elections in Mamuju Regency.

Method

This study used the descriptive-qualitative method (Sugiyono, 2018). The data collection method was carried out through in-depth interviews with six informants. This method was used because the informant was considered capable of providing the information needed in this study. The time used in this study is one month. The research was conducted in Mamuju Regency, West Sulawesi Province. Data collection techniques are carried out through observation, interviews, and documentation. The data analysis techniques used in this study are reduction, data presentation, and conclusion.

Result and Discussion

In this section, we will describe the findings in the field related to the Modalities of Sutinah's Victory in Regional Head Elections in Mamuju Regency. Based on the results of observations and interviews that have been conducted, there are indicators that have been applied in carrying out the modality of Sutinah's victory so that it can run properly as stated by Mbolang 1) Politics, 2) Social, 3) Economics (Mbolang et al., 2019).

Modalities of Sutinah's Victory in Regional Head Elections in Mamuju Regency

Modality in regional election political contestation is a procedural and substantial democratic process by electing people or figures, and victory is determined by obtaining the most votes (Bahtiar & Purwaningsih, 2019; Nirwanto et al., 2022). In a democracy, all citizens have the same opportunity to nominate regional heads by being given considerable freedom to form political organisations, channel their political aspirations, and participate in competition in the placement of elected public positions, but at the empirical level However, this opportunity actually differs from one person to another because the capital owned by everyone in direct post-conflict local election contestation is in

fact different (Sirait et al., 2021). Modality in regional elections has an important role to play in creating fair political competition, increasing voter participation, and strengthening the legitimacy of election results (Rakner et al., 2007; Simpser, 2004). Good modalities include an effective campaign strategy, transparent funding, good team management, good communication, and the fulfilment of democratic principles. To review and find out more about the modalities of Sutinah's victory in the regional head elections in Mamuju Regency, indicators are used, which include (1) social capital, (2) political capital, and (3) economic capital.

Social Capital

Social capital is one modality that can be seen as an investment to gain harmonious relationships and the trust of the community. This makes social capital an important component that functions to drive community mobility so that it is mutually beneficial to achieve mutual progress (Uslaner, 2006). Social capital in regional elections has a major influence on voter support, political dynamics, and election results (Lowndes & Wilson, 2001; Uslaner, 2006). Candidates who can make good use of social capital, including building social networks, gaining trust, and interacting with social groups, The social capital used by Sutinah Suhardi is as follows:

1) Parental Character

Sutinah Suhardi has relatively strong social capital because she is descended from a father who has been involved in politics for a long time. Suhardi Duka, father of Sutinah Suhardi, once served as chairman of the DPRD for the Mamuju Regency for the 2000–2005 periods for a long time. Suhardi Duka, father of Sutinah Suhardi, once served as chairman of the DPRD for the Mamuju Regency for the 2000–2005 period. Suhardi Duka (SDK) has also served as Regent of Mamuju for two terms, namely the first period 2005–2010 and the second period 2010–2015. During his leadership period, SDK was considered to carry out the mandate very well, so many people missed his leadership figure. Suhardi Duka's character is still strong in Mamuju, and his ability when he was still the Regent of Mamuju for two terms still made an impression on the hearts of the Mamuju people. This became one of the main assets of this victory. People don't judge the negative things in their past that they remember—the figure of SDK. Mrs. Sutinah is the daughter of Suhardi Duka, the former Mamuju Regent for two terms, who is well known to the Mamuju community, so she is very supportive of Sutinah's social capital in this year's local elections.

2) Social network

Sutinah Suhardi is able to build and maintain social interaction with the community. This can be seen from his activities as Section Head (KASI) for Mamunyu Village Public Services, Mamuju District, in 2007, as Head of the Natural Resources Development Sub-Directorate (SDA) for the Mamuju Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) in 2009, Head of the Regional Planning and Development Agency of Mamuju in 2012, then as Secretary of the Mamuju Regency Youth and Sports Education Service in 2015, to becoming Secretary of the Mamuju Regency Trade Service in 2017, who does not hesitate to attend every event held by the community, such as parties, social activities, or visiting the affected community. In fact, this interaction had long been established before Sutinah Suhardi declared herself running in the Local election. Sutinah Suhardi is a woman who is very simple in her life and is also classified as a person whose level of socialisation is quite close to the community, especially towards the lower middle class. This capital was owned by Sutinah Suhardi, so since before the Local election was held, Sutinah Suhardi had won the trust of the community, which of course was very helpful in winning the Local election.

Sutinah is a person who is quite active in social activities. This can be seen from the several positions he held while working in the previous bureaucracy. Social networks in local election have a

significant role in influencing political support, visibility, and election results (Hartaman et al., 2020b; Kruikemeier et al., 2018). Building a strong and strategic network with voters, community leaders, social groups, political parties, the media, and other political actors can help candidates achieve their campaign goals.

3) Social interaction

Sutinah Suhardi is able to build and maintain social interaction with the community. This can be seen from his activities, in which he does not hesitate to attend any events held by the community, such as social activities or visiting areas affected by disasters. Mrs. Sutinah is a people person; she has a low profile, and she doesn't hesitate to mingle with the community. She doesn't hesitate to greet the community. Social interaction in regional elections is very important in shaping public perception, influencing political support, and determining election results. Candidates who are able to interact well and build strong relationships with various related parties can have an advantage in political contests. Ibu Sutinah is known as a simple leader, thus attracting the public to support her. Because not all leaders can look simple, and that then becomes one of social capital.

Political Capital

The definition of political capital in social science is still being sharpened, and there are far fewer publications on political capital than publications on symbolic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital. The political capital used by Sutinah Suhardi is as follows:

1) Political Party Support

The support from these parties cannot be separated from their similar vision and mission in developing Mamuju. The parties that formed a coalition to win Sutinah Suhardi admitted that the support given was inseparable from the hope that Mamuju's progress would be better in the future than today. The team committed to winning Mrs. Sutinah. They hope that all, both coalition parties and volunteers, Let's all have the determination to support Mrs. Sutinah, not just because she is beautiful, not just because she is young, and not just because she is the daughter of Mr. Suhardi Duka. But most importantly, they support Mrs. Sutinah because we have the same vision and struggle.

By looking at the vision and mission of the Tina-Ado pair, this pair is supported by 10 parties, starting from the Democratic Party, Gerindra, PAN, PDIP, PKS, PBB, PKB, Gelora, Garuda, PKPI, and PSI, which are members of the Mamuju Keren coalition. The support from the parties is also inseparable from the similarity of the vision and mission of Mrs. Sutinah, known as *Mamuju Keren* (Creative, Educative, Friendly, Energetic, and Comfortable Mamuju), in building Mamuju. As well as the parties that form a coalition to win Sutinah Suhardi, which is given, it cannot be separated from hopes that Mamuju's progress will be better in the future than today. Winning the election in every political competition is the goal of every successful team. But winning is not easy, it takes hard work and the right strategy to win the election.

2) Success Team

The establishment of the Success Team is part of the institutional strategy. The success team plans a strategy, organises all the needs of the candidates, maps political strengths, and conducts outreach directly to the community to meet people's complaints and expectations. and consolidation in the regions to seek support. And introduce them to the programmes that the people of Mamuju most need so that trust in the community is formed. Winning the election in every political competition is the goal of every successful team. But winning is not easy. It takes hard work and the right strategy to win the election. The role of the winning team, or the success team, is to oversee and

ensure that the visions and missions carried out by Sutinah can be properly realised in the community (Septiyanti, 2020).

3) Campaign

One way or strategy used in marketing a candidate's political programmes is through political campaigns. A political campaign is a form of organised political communication at a certain time. Local election campaigns have an important role in conveying messages, influencing public perception, mobilising voters, encouraging healthy political competition, and increasing transparency and accountability. A good campaign can help create a democratic election process and enable voters to make ideal decisions thanks to the campaign information obtained. Sutinah Suhardi promised several programmes when conducting campaigns for the community. This is what makes Sutinah Suhardi's presence easy for the people of Mamuju to accept because of their interest in offering these programmes.

When campaigning if she was destined to become a Regent, what Sutinah did was improve the public health service system by preparing the infrastructure for facilities and infrastructure, including medical equipment and ambulances, building health centres for areas that did not yet have health centres, and procuring doctors. Besides that, the education sector was optimised where education was free, ranging from elementary school to high school and even to tertiary institutions financed by the government. Apart from that, Mamuju has the potential for natural resources, agriculture, plantations, fishing, and animal husbandry. We will build the agricultural sector globally to create a home industry for households and empower mothers who do not have a job. Now there is an online business, so that at home you can also earn rupiah, especially for fisherman's wives whose husbands usually don't go to sea because of extreme weather. In order to increase household income, we empower mothers to be given business capital to look for business opportunities, depending on their talents and the type of business they do.

Economic Capital

Economic capital is indeed very urgent to stimulate the running of an activity or a programme that has been planned. Moreover, its relation to the work of political campaigns in the election momentum In this context, a candidate must first prepare capital (a budget) to be used in executing strategic and tactical campaign programmes that are urgently needed to be carried out immediately. The economic capital used by Sutinah Suhardi is as follows:

1) Campaign Fund

Campaign funds are a number of costs in the form of money, goods, and services used by candidate pairs, political parties, or coalitions of political parties that nominate candidate pairs to finance election campaign activities. As reported to the election committee Mamuju, initially our campaign funds (Tina-Ado) came from a private donation of IDR. 50,000,000.

2) Campaign Fund Donations

The main source of funds for political activity campaigns generally comes from party partisans when candidates ask for financial support, especially support from political parties. Our campaign fund contribution (Tina-Ado), which was reported to the election committee, Mamuju, amounted to IDR. 750,000,000. So our total campaign fund is IDR. 1,000,000,000. In addition to campaign needs, these funds are also used for other purposes, such as making banners, stickers, and other items.

Table 2. Report on Acceptance of Campaign Fund Contributions

No.	Name Partner Candidate	Time Singerpie	Donations Fund Campaign		
			Personal Candidate (IDR)	Political party/ Political party combined (IDR)	Total (IDR)
1.	Sitti Sutinah Suhardi, SH., M.Si and Ado Mas'ud, S. Sos	17.08 WITA	750,000,000	0	750,000,000

Source: Commission Election General Regency Mamuju, 2020

Based on the 2020 Report on Acceptance of Campaign Fund Contributions from the Tina-Ado pair at the Election Commite Mamuju Regency, the results of the Campaign Fund Report Audit are as follows:

Table 3. Amount Fund Campaign

No	Name Partner Candidate	Fund Campaign		
		Recipientaan	Issueran	Balance
1.	Hj . Sitti Sutinah Suhardi , SH., M.Sc And Ado Masud , S. Sos	IDR . 1,000.000.000,00	IDR. 980.348,500,00	IDR. 19,651,500

Source: Commission Election General Regency Mamuju, 2020

Based on the results of the report above, with the support of donations and large campaign funds for Sutinah, this is a very valuable asset in participating in a political contest such as the Local election.

Sutinah victory modality analysis

Based on the description of the research results, it is known that Sutinah Suhardi and the Deputy Regent of Mamuju, Ado Mas'ud, succeeded in winning the 2020 Mamuju Local election with a difference of 9.598 votes, or 6.68%. Sutinah became the first female regent in Mamuju Regency, as well as the first female regent in Mandar Land, West Sulawesi. The modalities that supported Sutinah's victory were political capital, social capital, and economic capital.

Sutinah Suhardi's political capital, based on research results, shows that Sutinah has strong political capital. This is, of course, based on the results of Sutinah's hard work, so she managed to get support from 10 parties that dominate the big parties. The *Mamuju Keren* Coalition (creative, educative, friendly, energetic, and comfortable Mamuju in building Mamuju, as well as parties in a coalition to win the sutinah suhardi given) cannot be separated from the hope of better Mamuju progress accompanied by the same vision and mission.

Next is Sutinah's social capital, which is simple and also classified as a person whose level of socialisation is quite close to that of the community. This capital is owned by Sutinah Suhardi, so since before the regional elections were held, Sutinah Suhardi had won the trust of the community. Of course, this point was very helpful in winning the regional elections. On the other hand, he is descended from a father who has long been involved in the field political. Suhardi Duka, father of Sutinah Suhardi, served as chairman of the Mamuju District DPRD for the 2000–2005 period.

Suhardi Duka (SDK) has also served as Regent of Mamuju for two terms, namely the first period 2005–2010 and the second period 2010–2015.

The last capital is economic capital, which is certainly very essential in the political field. This is because economic capital is the main driving force in the campaign, and the campaign is the main thing for candidate pairs to do to convey the vision and mission to the community, both in urban areas and in remote rural areas. The people will vote if they are promised that whatever they need can be fulfilled by the candidate for bupati if elected. This is why the people of Mamuju are very easily mobilised by the campaign for a candidate for bupati because of their interest in offering candidate-pair programmes. It can be concluded that the modality that played the most role in Sutinah Suhardi's victory was political, social, and economic capital. Of these three capitals, it is a very important capital used by Sutinah Suhardi in winning the Mamuju district election and is inseparable from the trust of the people, both ordinary people and high-class people. The cool mamuju coalition formed by the Sutinah Suhardi winning team is inseparable from the vision and mission of Sutinah Suhardi and the government, which always creates innovation, is adaptive to mamuju progress, and has the same expectations from various community institutions who want to move forward better than before.

Conclusion

Sutinah Suhardi's social capital is relatively strong because she is the daughter of Suhardi Duka, who was a former Mamuju Regent for two periods, namely 2005–2015, and had served as chairman of the Mamuju Regency DPRD for the 2000–2005 period. In addition, the ability to socialise in the midst of society is a social modality strategy that greatly boosts its popularity. Socialising habits allow people to get to know Sutinah more closely, and she has also succeeded in gaining the trust of the public to vote for her.

Sutinah's political capital in winning the Mamuju regional head election cannot be separated from Sutinah Suhardi's shared vision and mission and shared hopes for better Mamuju progress in the future. Sutinah has the support of 10 political parties that are members of the "Mamuju Keren" coalition. Sutinah's economic capital is part of the key to Sutinah's victory in the regional elections for Mamuju Regency. It is undeniable that with large donations and campaign funds As for the funds issued by Sutinah during her candidacy as Regent of Mamuju reached IDR 1,000,000,000. Sutinah Suhardi's campaign funds come from private donations, which are used to carry out campaigns in remote villages with the aim of conveying to the public Sutinah's programmes for the Mamuju community.

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