

CLAN MASDAR IN LOCAL POLITICAL CONTESTATION (SOCIAL-POLITICAL CAPITAL ROLE IN POLITICAL MARKETING)

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ABSTRACT

Local elite competition occurs in many regions in Indonesia. One of them was in West Sulawesi, which was issued by three clans, the Manggranian Clan, the Mengga Clan, and the Masdar Clan. At present, the competition between the Mengga Clan and the Masdar Clan continues. Several political contestations in West Sulawesi have followed by-elections, both governor and regent elections. In the 2012 gubernatorial election, the Masdar Clan was defeated by Aladin S. Mengga (the Mengga Clan) and in the 2017 gubernatorial election the Masdar Clan could win his victory. This article discusses the role of the Masdar clan socio-political capital in political marketing strategies using qualitative research methods, this study shows the socio-political capital used by the Masdar Clan is related effectively in political marketing activities. Social capital consists of bureaucracy, public trust and characterization carried out in activities through marketing. Political capital in the form of political party support/coalition, representative pairs, political experience, and successful team support is carried out in push marketing and pull marketing activities. Overall, socio-political capital is capital that is superior to the Masdar Clan. However, if examined closely, then social capital "figure" is the most decisive, the capital can make another capital.

INTRODUCTION

Clan in political terms is a usage in a group of families that presents power (Hariyanto, 2014). This is to distinguish several terms in politics such as the dynastic political term identified with the monarchical system, so that (Purwaningsih, 2015) also uses the term kinship politics to avoid the similarity of terms to dynastic politics. Although different in various senses, a group is a group that dominates power, especially at the local level since the fall of the authoritarian New Order regime under Suharto's leadership which in practice its power applies a centralized system.

The local political phenomenon which is dominated by local elites is a political phenomenon that involves the participation of families such as children, wives, husbands and other relatives in the political realm of regional head elections, legislative elections and in other postings (Purwaningsih, 2015). Domination of power at the local level by local elites is almost found in various regions in Indonesia, can be seen by local elites who return to power in areas such as the political family of Ratu Atut Choisyah in Banten, Abdullah Tuasikal in Maluku, Fadeli in Lamongan, Sjahroeddin in Lampung, Zulkifli in Jambi, Sutrisno in Kediri and in several other regions scattered throughout Indonesia (Haryanto, 2014). One of the areas dominated

by a clan is in West Sulawesi, especially Polewali Mandar Regency. Three clans dominate power in the Mandar namely the Manggranian Clan, the Mengga Clan, and the Masdar Clan, and to date, there have been several studies that discuss these three clans. In every political contestation in West Sulawesi, the three clans always participate to contest both at the district and provincial levels. However, in this paper, the focus is more on one clan, the Masdar Clan, as a clan that currently dominates more power in West Sulawesi.

Ali Baal Masdar's victory in the West Sulawesi governor election in 2017 was a victory to defeat one of his rival clans, the Mengga Clan, which was followed by Salim S. Mengga as a candidate for governor. In the 2017 gubernatorial election, ABM was able to win wherein 2012 it was defeated by the AAS-Aladin (Klan Mengga) pair. The interesting thing in the 2017 gubernatorial election is that ABM joins Enny Anggraeni Anwar (the governor's wife), where the issue that develops before the gubernatorial election is AAS-Aladin volume 2, which means that Salim S. Mengga (the deputy governor's sister) will work with Enny Anggraeni Anwar (Governor's wife). But the reality is not like that. Enny Anggraeni Anwar's presence as ABM's deputy partner is one of capital ownership, especially as political capital that can be processed in political marketing strategies which then led ABM to the victory of the West Sulawesi governor election in 2017.

Although the achievement of victory always requires some capital such as cultural capital, social capital, symbolic capital and economic capital (Pierre Bourdieu, 1986), and several other experts add modalities in the context of elections, namely political capital (Ancok, 2003). However, it cannot be denied that some of this capital has more influence on a victory. Based on the description mentioned above, this study is interested in analyzing the role of Social-Political Capital in the political marketing of the Masdar Klan in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ownership of modality in each contestation always gives an influence in winning, such as research conducted by (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2016), (Rosnaedi & Purwaningsih, 2018), both of the results of the study explain that ownership of modalities as stated by Bourdeau and political capital added by (Casey, 2008) is quite influential on the success of a candidate in contestation. Research conducted (Haryanto, 2014) is also related to capital, but looks more at social capital and symbolic capital. Research conducted by (Irsat, 2018), focuses on three capital namely political capital, social capital and economic capital in political marketing. This article argues that, among the few capitals owned by political contestants, there is capital that is more influential on winning, especially how capital is carried out in political marketing strategies. Therefore, this article focuses more on socio-political capital in political marketing.

Modalities in Political Contestation

As a country with a democratic system, the election of a regional head is a democratic party that is held to elect a leader of the regional head. In a democracy, there is no limit for citizens to get the opportunity to participate in political contestation. This means that all citizens have the same right to run for regional head

by forming political organizations, as well as a channel to channel their political aspirations by competing in the placement of elected public office positions. But in fact, at the empirical level, the opportunity is actually a difference between one person and another because the capital owned by each person in direct political contestation is in fact different.

Bourdieu (1986) in his book *The Forms of Capital* distinguishes three forms of capital namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Bourdieu (1986) argues that the definition of capital is very broad and includes several material things (which can have symbolic value) as well as cultural capital (which is defined as tastes that have cultural value and consumption patterns). Cultural capital can include various aspects such as art, education, and language forms. For Bourdieu, capital serves as the social relations that exist in a system of exchange, and this term is then extended to all forms of goods both material and symbolic, without distinction that presents itself as something rare and worthy of being sought in certain social formations. However, basically, capital can be divided into four categories, namely economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Among the capital that is very important is the potential to convert from one form to another so that this capital than have fundamental social forces (Haryanto, 2015). Casey (2008) added about political capital that had not been elaborated by Bourdieu.

Clan Political Concepts

From the search results, not many studies have been found that explains the specific political understanding of the clan. This is caused by the meaning of the word clan itself which generally means family/group. The clan is described as a tribe, which in Scottish and Irish Gaelic languages, the word Klan means child. Meanwhile, the term clan is widely used in the field of anthropology as a kinship system analysis which is defined as a permanent social group based on direct or fictitious descent from the same ancestor (Kirchhoff, 1955, Kontjaraningrat, 1974). Anthropologists use it as an analysis in the study of primitive societies. But this term is then also used to describe modern society. For example, the use of "clans" in terms of clans in post-Soviet countries, is fairly common use to talk about clans referring to informal networks in the economic and political fields (Kosals, 2007). The use of the word clan on the assumption that their members act towards each other in a very close and mutually supportive manner is more or less the same as solidarity in the family.

Political Marketing

Political marketing is a relatively new term in political science. Political marketing implies the use of marketing tools, techniques and methods in the political process. In other words, political marketing is the result of a marriage between marketing and politics. According to (Hamad, 2008) political marketing is an activity in selling political products, which includes political promises from actors or institutions (political parties). Political products are programs and visions offered by candidates or political parties, while political marketing strategies are needed so that consumers can make decisions to buy certain products (Suyanto, 2015). Regarding political marketing, let's look at the opinions of the following two experts. According to (Omrod, 2012) Political marketing is a perspective for understanding political

phenomena, and approaches that aim to facilitate the exchange of political values through interaction in the electoral market, Parliament and the government to manage relations with stakeholders. Furthermore, according to (Reeves, 2013) local political marketing can be defined as marketing strategies, activities, and tactics implemented by a local political party, as well as trying to maximize the satisfaction of potential voters to maximize the total number of votes and electoral support by constituents.

According to (Nursal, 2004) the market has three target groups which can be grouped into three namely, mass media, influencers, and voters as the final objective. Political contestants can deliver political products directly to voters, election contestants can also convey their political products to voters through the mass media as intermediaries. Also, political contestants can use individuals or groups that have a big influence on voters. Thus, to achieve high objective objectives, a contestant must enter these three markets, which in political marketing strategies are known as push marketing (direct interaction with constituents / prospective voters), pull marketing (use of media, both electronic media, print media and digital media / social media) and pass marketing (influential parties, both individuals and groups / influencers).

RESEARCH METHODS

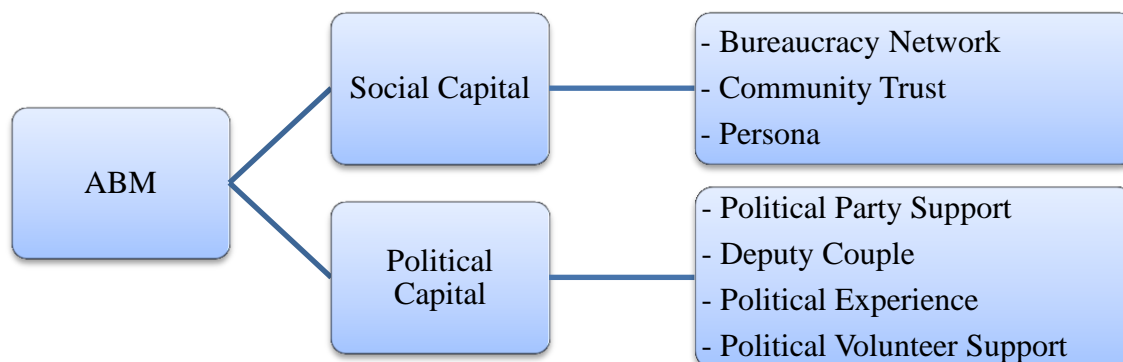
This article departs from the results of research that uses a qualitative research approach. Qualitative approaches produce descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observed behavior (Moleong, 2007). The qualitative method is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written and oral words from people and observable behavior. The data used in this study were obtained from candidates from the Masdar Clan, namely the Governor of West Sulawesi, the Election Commission of Polewali Mandar Regency and one of the political parties supporting and supporting Ali Baal Masdar in the West Sulawesi Pilgub 2017. The techniques used in data collection were interview techniques and documentation from various written sources. Interviews were conducted with candidates, supporting parties and volunteer teams. Documentation studies were carried out regarding candidate profiles and vote acquisition.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Specifically, this article will discuss Klan Masdar's socio-political capital in political marketing strategies. Modality in political contestation is very urgent for political contestants as part of an effort to win. Capital can be divided into four categories, namely economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Among the very important capital is the potential to convert from one form to another so that the capital which then has fundamental social forces (Haryanto, 2014). Thus, by (Casey, 2008) adding that there is also political capital that has not been elaborated by Bourdeau in his works. Furthermore, it was emphasized by (Marijan, 2015) that political capital is political support, both from the people and from political forces that are seen as representatives of the people or the elite. Although in general, these four capital is present in every political contestation, this article will focus on only two modalities. Both of these capitals are considered the most

influential on the victory of the Masdar clan in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017, while the modalities are social capital and political capital.

Chart 1. Social Capital - ABM Politics



Source: processed by the author

SOCIAL CAPITAL

The Masdar clan is a well-known family member in West Sulawesi, especially in Polewali Mandar Regency. His character began to develop long ago, especially since H. Andi Pasilong served as Regent of Polewali Mamasa in 1995-1998, and H. Masdar Pasmara as chairman of the DPRD Polewali Mamasa Regency 1995-2000. Then the influence continued to his children, such as Ali Baal Masdar who served as regent of Polewali Mandar for two periods (2004-2014) and then continued by his younger brother, Andi Ibrahim Masdar, also two periods (2014-2024). With such a long time vulnerable, of course, the Masdar Clan has invested a lot of social capital in the community, especially the people of Polewali Mandar Regency so that in every regional head election, especially in Polewali Mandar, the Masdar Clan is always won. This is inseparable from the relationship that has been built from the future between the Masdar Clan with the community and keeping it going all the time for a long period. The consistency of the relationship between the family members as regents and the community gave rise to a strong memory and connection between the two and ultimately accumulated the urge to continue the relationship again (Field 2016). This togetherness can be seen by the tendency to give political choices to family members who run in the elections.

Among several members of the Kalan Masdar family, Ali Baal Masdar is a figure better known for his considerable experience in the government bureaucracy. Ali Baal Masdar's experience in pursuing a political career was quite influential in becoming a well-known figure in the community. As for the existence of other clan members, for example, his younger brother, Andi Ibrahim Masdar, currently serves as the regent of Polewali Mandar for the second period, and several other clan members serving in the government sphere, especially in Polewali Mandar Regency. As previously stated, that ABM is a former Polewali Mandar Regent and his younger brother as Polewali Mandar Regent, so that the Masdar Clan has the support of the bureaucratic network. As a former Polewali Mandar Regent, of course, he still has

emotional relations with the officials in his government while serving as regent, and his younger brother Andi Ibrahim Masdar's influence as the current Polewali Mandar Regent, and several other family members within the Polewali Mandar Regency government, have built up a bureaucratic attitude towards the Masdar Clan. Support from the bureaucratic network can occur because of a truly good relationship that has long been established, perhaps also because of fear of the effects that lead to mutations and even removal of positions through decisions or policies of the head of the region as in other cases in several regions in Indonesia. The politicization of the bureaucracy in the form of support from some bureaucracies is certainly very helpful in the smooth running of political contestation, especially in providing support to ABM to be able to get a lot of votes.

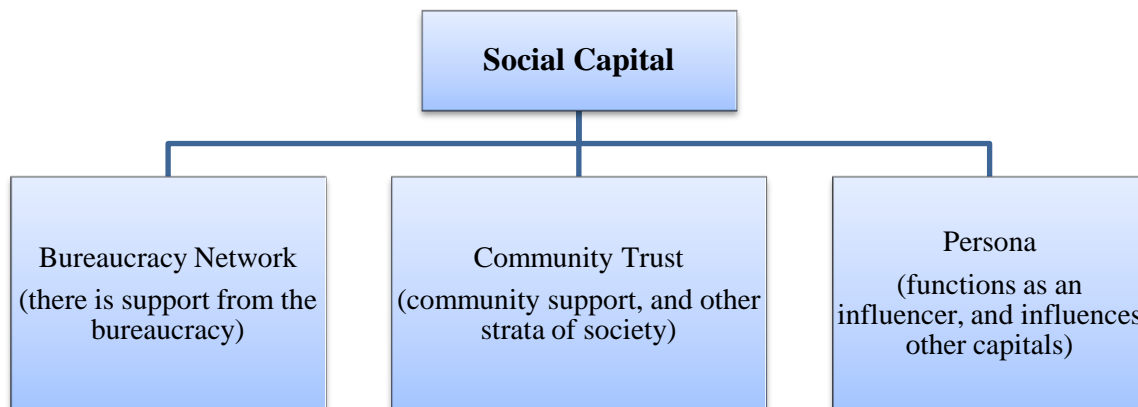
Masdar clan can be maintained so that it always gets the trust of the community and of course this is one of ABM's social capital so that it gets support. This trust can be seen from the vote acquisition in Polewali Mandar District which was won by ABM. This is certainly one of the advantages possessed by ABM which is lacked by other contestants. Many people want the best son of Polewali Mandar to be elected governor. This can be seen in the votes won by ABM, especially in Polewali Mandar. (Interview with Nurdin, Secretary of DPC Gerindra Polewali Mandar Regency on December 14, 2018). Also, to support from the grassroots, ABM received support from other levels of society such as the support of the hospitality association and the national contractor association (Wacanainfo, 2019).

ABM as a figure that has been established among the people, of course, becomes a separate value in gaining support. The figure factor in the political marketing strategy is a very significant thing, where the figure is included in the category of pass marketing which then becomes an influencer that can influence people's political choices. The figure of Ali Baal Masdar is a figure that is well known among the people, especially in Polewali Mandar Regency, so that he can get the most votes in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. (Interview with Jamar Jasin Badu, Secretary of DPD PAN of Polewali Mandar Regency on the 10th, December 2018).

The presence of ABM in the governor election contest was the presence of one of the representatives of the Polewali Mandar Regency. The big influence that was built by the Masdar Clan since 1995 finally affected so that the 2017 governor's election could be won, and won the most votes in Polewali Mandar Regency as the most granary. Social capital from the ABM figurehead factor is the most important capital, the ABM figurehead factor being a top choice so that it can obtain other capital such as political party support. (Interview with Jamar Jasin Badu, Secretary of the PAN DPD of Polewali Mandar Regency on December 10, 2018).

From the description above, if we look closely we can see that the social capital owned by ABM such as bureaucratic network capital, public trust and the strength of ABM, especially in Polewali Mandar Regency, is quite influential on the victory achieved in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. The ability to use social capital owned so that ABM can win the most votes. Simply put, ABM's social capital ownership can be seen in the following chart:

Chart 2. ABM Social Capital



Source: processed by the author

ABM's social capital is in the form of a bureaucratic network that is support by the bureaucratic network. With the influence that was built while serving as regent of Polewali Mandar for two periods and the influence of his younger brother who currently serves as regent of Polewali Mandar as well as the existence of other family members within the Polewali Mandar government so that he could get support from the bureaucracy. Among clan members who occupy strategic positions, Andi Nursami Masdar as Head of the Education and Culture Office of Polewali Mandar Regency, Masri Masdar Head of the Polewali Mandar District Youth and Sports Office. Support from community trust is the support of the lower levels of society as well as support from other strata of society such as the hotel association and national contractor association. Also, the presence of clan members in several organizations influenced the vote acquisition so that ABM was able to get as much support as possible. Among the existence of clan members in the organization namely Andi Ibrahim Masdar as chairman of the board of supervisors of the Palili Student Association (HPMP), Andi Masri Masdar as Chairman of the Polewali Mandar Scout Kwarcab and Hj. Jumria Ibrahim Masdar (ABM's Sister-in-law) as Chairman of the Polewali Mandar Regency PKK Team. While ABM's character was able to win the support of political parties and act as influencers in political marketing strategies it functions as a marketing pass.

POLITICAL CAPITAL

Political capital in every political contestation is capital that is quite urgent. The role of political capital is very influential on a contestant's victory. Several things are closely related to political capital, especially in every political contestation, such as maps of political power, the role of political parties and one's position in political office. In the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017, the political map, especially in the Polewali Mandar District, greatly affected the votes of the ABM-Enny couple for their victory as elected governor in West Sulawesi. ABM is carried by seven political parties with 21 seats in the West Sulawesi Provincial DPRD and 26 seats in

the Polewali Mandar Regency DPRD. Polewali Mandar Regency is a mass base of voters in West Sulawesi so that the political power that is built up in Polewali Mandar Regency is very influential on ABM's victory in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017.

Political party support is one of the political capital owned by ABM, political party support for ABM is very influential in winning. We can see that the number of political parties supporting the ABM coalition is 7 parties out of 11 parties, and the number of support seats in the Polewali Mandar Regency DPRD combined coalition parties in the ABM camp is 26 seats out of 45 in total, meaning that there are only 19 seats left. When viewed from the percentage of seat acquisition in the DPRD Polewali Mandar Regency means that ABM has the support of 57.8% of seats.

Table 1
Number of seats and ABM political party support in the 2017 election for governor of West Sulawesi

Nu	Political Parties	Chairs Amount	Percentage (%)
1	Nasdem	1	4.4 %
2	PKB	5	11.1 %
3	PDIP	5	11.1 %
4	Gerindra	3	6.7%
5	PAN	5	11.1 %
6	PPP	5	11.1 %
7	PKPI	1	2.3%
Amount		26	57.8%

Sumber: KPUD Kab. Polman

Based on the table above, we can see that the support of political parties and the number of seats in the ABM coalition in Polewali Mandar District is quite large so that in this district ABM has won a vote on the vote of the West Sulawesi governor in 2017.

Table 2
ABM vote in Polewali Mandar Regency

Nu	Candidate Pairs	Bearer / Support Party	Votes
1	Suhardi Duka - Kalma Katta	- Partai Demokrat - Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat - Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	38,331 (16,73%)
2	Salim S. Mengga - Hasanuddin Mas'ud	- Partai Golkar	86,608 (37,79%)

3	Ali Baal Masdar - Enny Anggraeny Anwar	- Gerindra - PKB - Nasdem - PAN - PDIP - PPP - PKPI	104,230 (45,48%)
Number of Legitimate Votes			229,169 (100%)

Source: KPUD Polewali Mandar Regency

The existence of political parties is a necessity in a democratic country. Indonesia is a democratic country so the existence of political parties is demanded to be a facilitator between the interests of the community and policymakers as a forum for channeling the aspirations and interests of the people. The characteristics of a political party that is having an orientation of power as an instrument to implement the interests of the people (Al-Hamdi, 2013). Political party support for ABM certainly cannot be separated from the process of political consolidation both at the local and national level in finding a candidate in political contestation. Political party support for one of the candidates for governor is the authority of the central leadership of a party. The results of interviews conducted by all political parties revealed that party support for ABM was the decision of the central leadership of each party by continuing to communicate with party officials in the electoral district to give signals regarding the strength of the candidates to be carried.

The existence of political parties in providing support to candidates is a very important role, in the concept of political marketing, political parties will work to win candidates by offering candidates to the public as political products so that they are expected to get as much support from the public as possible. The high level of support from political parties makes the process of political marketing more effective. Political marketing carried out by the party carrying the ABM shows seriousness in political marketing. Each will carry out a campaign always held a meeting for the agenda to smooth the agenda carried out. Providing opportunities to political parties that have a base in a particular location is always done to make it more convincing to the public that the candidates being nominated must be won. (Interview with Syarifuddin Member of the Nasdem Party faction in Polewali Mandar Regency on December 17, 2018).

In political marketing efforts, the existence of political parties in the capital owned by ABM in the victory in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. The form of political marketing strategy that is also carried out to win ABM is the formation of a team from the party wing namely Satria Muda ABM which consists

of young people - gambling. The team plunged remote to carry out a campaign by providing information related to the superiority of ABM. (Interview with Nurdin, Secretary of DPC Gerindra Polewali Mandar Regency on December 14, 2018).

Seven political parties carry ABM and all are solid in carrying out political marketing activities. Efforts in conducting political marketing both carried out in campaigns and visits are always solid so that each of the political parties works to their full potential. (Interview with H. Ibrahim, chairman of DPC PDI-P Polewali Mandar Regency on December 12, 2018). The seven political parties that carried Ali Baal Masdar, namely Gerindra, PDI-P, PAN, Nasdem, PPP, PKB, and PKPI each gave statements in full support of the nomination of the candidate. The seven parties became ABM's political capital in the governor's election contestation. Political party support can be said as one of the main assets. The presence of political parties in the governor's election contestation is very important because political parties are a forum to mobilize the mass of voters and political party support is also a requirement to be able to run for a regional head.

The role of political parties in conducting political marketing is an effort made to the maximum, namely by conducting direct campaigns or conducting visits at certain points. Based on the findings in the field that political parties have a very important role so that ABM can get the most votes in the gubernatorial election, including the highest vote in Polewali Mandar Regency.

Table 3

ABM vote in the election of the Governor of West Sulawesi in 2017

Nu	Candidate Pairs	District	Votes	Total Votes
1	Suhardi Duka - Kalma Katta	Districts Mamasa	43.951 votes	240.010 suara (38.01%)
		Districts Polewali Mandar	38.331 votes	
		Districts Majene	42.854 votes	
		Districts <u>Mamuju</u>	66.909 votes	
		Districts <u>Mamuju</u> Tengah	31.735 votes	
		Districts <u>Mamuju</u> Utara	16.230 votes	
2	Salim S. Mengga - Hasanuddin Mas'ud	Districts Mamasa	8.767 votes	146.774 suara (23.24%).
		Districts Polewali Mandar	86.608 votes	
		Districts Majene	21.375 votes	
		Districts <u>Mamuju</u>	10.130 votes	
		Districts <u>Mamuju</u> Tengah	5.891 votes	
		Districts <u>Mamuju</u> Utara	14.003 votes	
3	Ali Baal Masdar - Enny Angraeni Anwar	Districts Mamasa	22.769 votes	244.763 suara (38.75%)
		Districts Polewali Mandar	104.230 votes	
		Districts Majene	26.651 votes	
		Districts <u>Mamuju</u>	46.043 votes	
		Districts <u>Mamuju</u> Tengah	15.549 suara	

	Districts <u>Mamuju</u> Utara	29.521 votes	
Number of Legitimate Votes			631.547 (100%)

Source: KPUD Polewali Mandar Regency / West Sulawesi Tribune

In the table above, we can see that ABM votes by district only won in two districts namely Polewali Mandar Regency and North Mamuju Regency. ABM's landslide victory in Polewali Mandar Regency is a major force because it is an area with the most mass base and the acquisition is because it is the basis for building the strength of the Masdar Clan. Although only won in two districts, the ABM vote was able to offset the votes of other candidates in the other districts. The solidity of political parties in winning ABM works optimally to win. The seriousness and hard work of the entire bearer party do look real. The efforts made are quite fruitful. This was taken because of the party's solidarity in working to garner support. (Interview with Ali Baal Masdar on February 26, 2019). ABM's statement emphasized that the support of political parties had so many significant influences. The figure of ABM is a familiar figure in the community, especially in the Polewali Mandar Regency, however, it does not mean that they no longer carry out political campaigns driven by political parties. Besides that, one of ABM's competing figures is Major General Salim S. Mengga who is also a figure well known among the community, especially in Polewali Mandar Regency. This is what makes ABM bearers of political parties must struggle to get support from the community.

The presence of Maj. Gen. Salim S. Mengga as a competitor is a challenge that makes the ABM coalition party have to work hard to be able to get a lot of votes, especially in Polewali Mandar Regency. If we look at the vote acquisition of the ABM bearer party on a provincial scale, if combined into the seven parties, there is a sura of 349,414 or 51.1%. While the vote acquisition on a provincial scale reached 244,763 votes (38.75%), if we look at it, the acquisition between the party's votes and the votes of the governor's voice showed a significant distance. Nevertheless, this still led to ABM as the winner in the gubernatorial election. There is something to be underlined that in this research is more focused on Polewali Mandar Regency as the basis for building the strength of the Masdar Clan, and we can see that ABM gained the most votes in Polewali Mandar District, 104,230 (45.48%) or nearly fifty percent despite having to fight with one of the figures who are both from Polewali Mandar Regency, Major General Salim S. Mengga. Regarding the vote in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017, ABM as the candidate for governor was elected to comment that even though it won narrowly, it remained the winner.

Based on the description as well as some of the results of interviews conducted with informants, it can be obtained information that the role of political parties has an effect related to the victory of ABM in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. From this, it can be seen how the role of political parties as political capital in winning ABM, then it can be divided into two categories. First, ABM's victory in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi is inseparable from the role and consolidation of political parties in carrying out the process of intimidation to carry ABM in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. ABM's track

record, as well as a figure known among the people, is the reason political parties drop their support in the process of candidacy. Political marketing activities carried out, the configuration between strong figures as political products supported by effective party machines also became a factor in winning by candidates. Secondly, political parties are quite solid, working collectively in winning efforts. These efforts can be seen from the campaign activities carried out, as well as several parties that move the party machine in conducting push marketing in political marketing strategies.

In addition to the support of political parties, the next political capital owned by ABM is the representative pair. Enny Anggraeni Anwar as a representative pair who was paired with ABM in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017 cannot be denied that his presence had a very strong effect on ABM's victory. Enny Anggraeni Anwar (Enny) is a figure who is also quite well known among the public, this is influenced because she temporarily served as a Member of the DPR-RI who is also the wife of the former governor of West Sulawesi for two periods namely Anwar Adnan Saleh (AAS). Based on this analysis, ABM was coupled with Enny Anggraeni Anwar. As a figure well known among the community, Enny's presence is also the presence of AAS. As a former governor of West Sulawesi for two periods, he has been established among the people so that the election of the governor of West Sulawesi is quite influential. In political marketing strategy, this is included in the category of pass marketing. The presence of Enny Anggraeni Anwar influenced the presence of AAS as a figure who had quite a positive impact on ABM's victory. in the political marketing strategy, AAS is a political product that will be marketed to gain support. Some political parties partnered ABM with Enny because they were well-known figures and had good track records so they were predicted to win. Then, one of the advantages of taking Enny Anggraeni Anwar was that her presence as an ABM partner automatically affected the AAS's presence so that it helped to gain support from the community. (Interview with Nurdin, Secretary of DPC Gerindra Polewali Mandar Regency on December 14, 2018). Based on the results of research in the field that the representative pair coupled with ABM enough to give effect so that the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017 can be won by the ABM-Enny pair. The presence of Enny's mother as a representative through the procedure of a coalition of political parties, Enny Anggraeni Anwar also as a member of the DPR-RI, of course, the position was obtained because of her figure that is already known so that the party coalition chose to join both of them. Enny Anggraeni Anwar's figure is quite influential because it is closely related to Anwar Adnan Saleh.

ABM's victory in the 2017 election for governor of West Sulawesi is inseparable from the role of the representative. Enny Anggraeni Anwar can present support from figures / political elites who are considered as the main figures who influence to become influencers and become references for voters. The presence of political figures/elites as political influencers in supporting the ABM-Enny pair such as AAS was considered to have a role in the victory of the ABM-Enny pair. The effectiveness of the support of political influencers for the ABM-Enny couple is inseparable from the image and the influence as a figure who has a strong social representation among the people of West Sulawesi in general and Polewali Mandar Regency in particular.

The next political capital owned by ABM is the political experience. Every political contestation, of course, requires political capital as a requirement that must be met, political capital in question can be in the form of political support from the community or the elite as a representation of them. It can also be seen from other aspects that are accumulated into political capital that can be used in political contestation. The Masdar clan is a clan that can be assured of ownership of large political capital. The political capital was produced in a long period and can be maintained until now. So with that capital, the Masdar Clan almost always wins in every political contestation. Political capital is obtained from various aspects and one of them is from political parties. The Masdar clan was not only concentrated in one political party but spread in several political parties. The presence of members of the Masdar Clan in different political parties can be an advantage, especially in political contestation at the local level.

In addition to political capital from the support of political parties and representative pairs, the next political capital owned by ABM is the political experience. Political experience is one of the political capital owned by ABM which is also considered to influence ABM's victory in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. ABM as it is known, was previously a former regent of Polewali Mandar for the period 2004-2014 (two periods), in 2012 ABM also participated in the West Sulawesi governor election contestation. Through this political experience, ABM has learned a lot about the world of politics practically so that this is what has been brought to fight in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. ABM's political experience has implications for his victory. Regarding political experience, as a former regent of two terms and in 2012 he also participated in the governor election contestation, of course, he already had a lot of experience which then became a provision for the 2017 governor election contestation. (Interview with ABM as elected Governor on February 26, 2019).

ABM's political experience during his time as Regent of Polewali Mandar certainly has implications for his political life, ranging from how to interact with the whole character of the community and the elite so that the experience can be utilized to gain support in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. ABM's political experience is also a consideration by a coalition of political parties the bearer. According to an acknowledgment from a political party, that ABM's political experience was one of the factors that influenced its victory in the gubernatorial election. Based on the findings, that the political experience of the ABM he has had since serving as regent of Polewali Mandar became a stock in winning the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017.

The next political capital of ABM is the support of political volunteers. The purpose of the volunteer team was formed, which was to continue to socialize the candidates for the sake of victory. The team of volunteers is one of the keys to winning a candidate pair. Among ABM-Enny's volunteer teams, namely Satria Muda ABM, ABM-Enny Young Barisan, ABM Keris Muda Mandar, and ABM-Enny Grassroots. The influence that was built by the volunteer team certainly affected because it carried out activities both through the media and directly involved in the field. Meanwhile, political volunteers are also found in several regencies in West Sulawesi who also

continue to carry out political campaigns to gain the support of many layers of society. The volunteers included ABM-Enny Volunteers in Polewali Mandar District, Malaqbiq Advanced Volunteers and Bumi Malaqbiq Alliance in Mamuju Regency, Volunteers in Pitu Ulunna Salu Family in Mamasa District and Kondosapata Volunteers in North Mamuju.

In this section, we will discuss the political marketing strategy carried out by a team of volunteers in winning the ABM-Enny couple. The intended political marketing strategies are push marketing, pull marketing and pass marketing.

Push Marketing

The marketing puss strategy carried out by the volunteer team in winning the ABM-Enny looks so effective, it is because part of its existence was formed by a coalition of political parties so that it was structured. The existence of a volunteer team is very helpful in political marketing efforts. The campaign process that was carried out, both the grand campaign and visits to various regions, was greatly assisted by the team that had been formed. Moreover, the volunteer team always makes political marketing efforts in the community by engaging directly in conducting socialization related to the superiority of the candidate pair. (Interview with Amiruddin, head of the ABM-Enny coalition winning team on December 7, 2018). In addition to the team formed by the party coalition, other volunteer teams help carry out campaigns to the community. As told by ABM as the elected governor, several volunteer teams also fought in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017, they are always working, conducting socialization in hopes of winning. (Interview on 26 February 2019).

The results of the study found that ABM-Enny's push-marketing push strategy utilizes the existence of teams/volunteers in conducting campaigns and outreach directly to the public and marketing their political products.

Pull Marketing

Efforts to get maximum support from the community, pull marketing strategy is one of the effective strategies. Pull marketing strategy is political marketing through the media, both print media, electronic media and social media. Through pull marketing strategies, volunteer teams can deliver political messages to the public through the internet, this strategy is also known as digital democracy. Therefore, the use of social media among politicians is very helpful to convey its political message to its constituents. Political marketing through social media, in support of ABM, we urge all teams to individually disseminate information related to the candidates being carried out, so that it is expected to be seen by users of social media. Through social media, we market political products and deliver superior programs from nominated candidates. (Interview with Amiruddin, head of the ABM-Enny coalition winning team on December 7, 2018).

In addition to the team formed from the party wing, the volunteer team and sympathizers also always carry out political marketing on social media to be able to have an impact on the political behavior of voters. In carrying out the pull marketing strategy, the ABM team used social media as one of the platforms for political

marketing. The following is a list of several accounts that carry out political marketing through social media.

Table 4
Support on Social Media

Nu	Account Name	Platform	Information
1	Barisan Muda ABM-Enny	Facebook	3.869 Followers
2	ABM Keris Muda Mandar	Facebook	141 Member
3	Akar Rumput ABM-Enny	Instagram	547 Followers
4	Jamar JB	Facebook	4.982 Friends

Source: Processed by the author

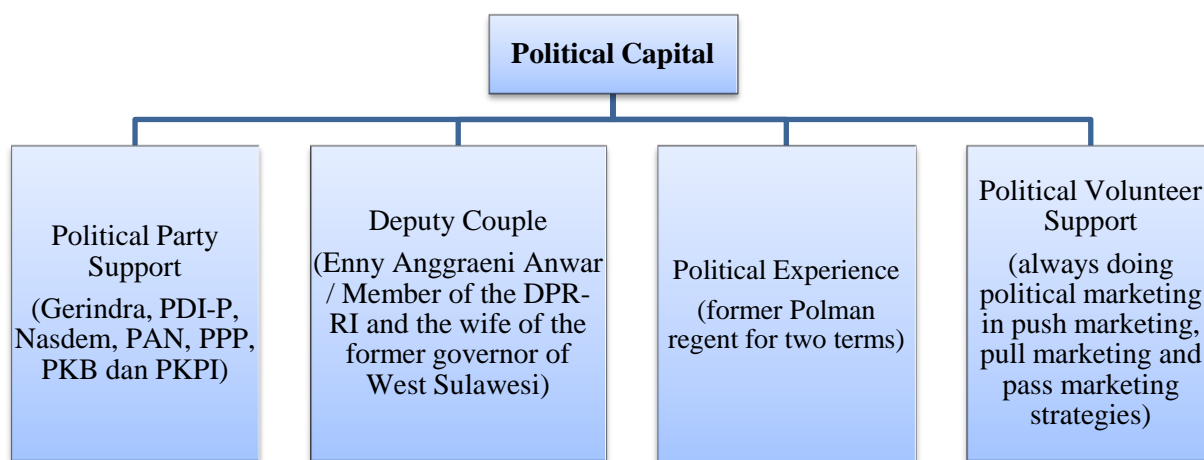
In the table above we can see several media platforms and accounts that are used in conducting political marketing through social media. From this table, the Facebook platform is seen more, by developments in society that Facebook is indeed a more favorite type of social media. On social media accounts above the average followers of more than one hundred and even, there are thousands in number, although it is undeniable that of course not all of them provide the same support but political marketing carried out on social media with a large number of followers certainly has a good impact.

Marketing Pass

The next political marketing strategy that was used by the ABM team in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017 was the statistics pass marketing. As previously discussed, in the pass marketing strategy, the volunteer team always linked several prominent figures, individuals and community groups who supported the ABM-Enny pair. In the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. The ABM-Enny pair received support from various figures in West Sulawesi, in political marketing, the support of figures included in the category of pass marketing is someone who can influence (influencer) so that contestants can get a lot of support. The figures in question include Syahril Hamdani (leader of the West Sulawesi formation fighters), KH. Syibli Sahabuddin (former DPD member), H. Umar P (former Deputy Regent of Mamuju), and Amril D. Marrui / bung rio (chairman of the Mamuju KNPI). The victory of ABM in Polewali Mandar Regency was a pure victory, without intervention from any party to the election organizers (KPU). The acquisition of the most votes is the acquisition of an overly fair governor election. According to M. Danial, chairman of the KPU of Polewali Mandar Regency, ABM's victory at Polewali Mandar was a victory obtained based on the votes of voters. Election organizers work independently and professionally without any intervention from any party. (Interview on December 11, 2018).

From the results of interviews with the Polewali Mandar Regency KPU, we can see that the victory achieved by ABM in Polewali Mandar Regency was a victory for the pure support of the community. Furthermore, simply, ABM's political capital ownership can be seen in the following chart:

Chart 3 ABM Political Capital



Source: processed by the author

ABM's political capital in the form of political party support, namely the ABM bearer coalition in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017 consisting of seven political parties, is one of the main advantages of gaining enough support because it can help political marketing activities. The presence of political parties will be utilized in every campaign activity, especially in garnering support from the community through political marketing strategies. The representative pair, Enny Anggraeni Anwar, as a member of the DPR-RI is also the wife of a former governor of West Sulawesi, of course, giving an influence so that ABM - Enny can gain victory in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. The presence of Enny Anggraeni Anwar is certainly closely related to AAS, in the marketing strategy politics, AAS is included in the category of pass marketing, functions as an influencer so that it can influence the political choices of other communities. ABM's political experience is an experience that has long been in pursuing a political career, especially when he served as a regent of Polewali Mandar for two periods. Experiences in leadership and experience in each contestation can be a bridge and be used as political capital in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. Support tm volunteers, namely volunteer teams both formed by political parties and volunteers who form themselves who always carry out marketing activities politics in both push marketing, pull marketing and pass marketing strategies.

The political marketing activities by making socio-political capital as a tool in political campaign activities, namely, social capital used in push marketing marketing activities, namely the social interaction of candidates in the community since long time ago has been built so as to facilitate the candidate to interact with the community in the election of governors, social interaction candidates with the community at the time of nomination in the form of community visits, gathering masses and attending community activities, and the existence of public trust gave birth to the community and political volunteers in conducting political marketing activities in the form of socialization and interaction with the community in gathering support. Social capital

that is used in pull marketing activities is the trust and support of team volunteers and the community to give birth to the support of the community who are always doing marketing through social media. Meanwhile, social capital in the marketing strategy pass marketing strategy, namely ownership of a network that functions as an influencer in supporting the victory and the existence of public trust that gave birth to the community and political volunteers. Whereas political capital is used in push marketing strategy activities such as solidity and the ability of political parties in conducting political marketing, for example, campaigns, meetings, and direct socialization to garner support. The involvement and support of leaders/elites in the campaign, as well as the activeness of volunteers in interacting with the community to socialize candidates. Political capital used in pull marketing activity activities such as the use of social media as a means of political marketing and volunteers as well as teams and all members of the supporting political parties carries out marketing through social media using the accounts of each member. While political capital in marketing pass marketing strategy activities is the role of individual figures/elites as active influencers in influencing and being a reference for voters as well as the role of groups and volunteers as political influencers in influencing voter apostasy.

Based on the description above, we can see that in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017, Ali Baal Masdar has a very influential capital, namely socio-political capital that plays a role in political marketing activities. Social capital in the form of bureaucratic networks, public trust and character play a role as a platform in the marketing activities undertaken. While political capital in the form of political party support, representative pairs, political experience and the support of volunteer teams play a role in the activities of pass marketing as active or passive influencers.

CONCLUSION

The role of socio-political capital owned by ABM is effective in political marketing strategies so that it impacts the victory in the election of the governor of West Sulawesi in 2017. The social capital owned by Ali Baal Masdar is from the resources owned by the Masdar Clan. Through the influence of the clan, so Ali Baal Masdar received support in the form of a bureaucratic network and public trust. The support of the bureaucratic network, public trust and the strength of the ABM are utilized in the Pass Marketing strategy activities. The support of the bureaucracy network and the figure of Ali Baal Masdar functions as an influencer who can influence voters so that they can influence the political choices of the people. Political Capital Ali Baal Masdar, is the support of seven political parties/coalitions (PDIP, Gerindra, Nasdem, PAN, PKB, PPP, and PKPI), the representative pair who is also a Member of the DPR-RI is also the wife of a former governor of West Sulawesi in two periods, political experience that is, he served as the Regent of Polewali Mandar for two periods, as well as political volunteers who were always active in conducting political marketing. In political marketing strategy activities, push marketing and pull marketing strategies are used, namely conducting campaigns by engaging directly in the community and conducting several visits (push marketing) and efforts to conduct political marketing through social media (pull marketing).

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