

Identity Political Power Relations Network Based on Social Capital: Case Study on the Regional Head Election in North Maluku Province

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Abstract: *Power relations with the application of social capital-based identity political networks in every local political process (North Maluku) are so strong. This can be observed from the never-ending dynamics of local politics. Local actors who have networks and power relations, both to the center and to political parties, often dominate their influence down to bureaucratic institutions. The social capital that they already have, is collected, cared for, and developed to become the basis of identity politics. Identity politics is also widely instilled, strengthened which indirectly has the potential to undermine and even eliminate other identities that live in society. Ethnic identity politics in North Maluku has always been produced to gain political support from its ethnic group. The emergence of the power of ethnic identity in the North Maluku regional elections has slowly shifted the power of the elite (the sultanate and bureaucrats) which have so far been very dominant. Meanwhile, for power relations, the author uses the Power Relations Theory according to Foucault, it is not understood in the context of ownership by an institutional group as a mechanism that ensures citizens' submission to the state. Power is also not a mechanism of domination as a form of power over others in a relationship between the dominating and the dominated or the powerful and the powerless. Power is not like the form of sovereignty of a state or legal institution which presupposes external domination or control over individuals or groups. The results of studies in the field found that identity politics plays dynamically and penetrates deep and works in various institutions by utilizing social capital (networks, norms, beliefs) owned by local actors. With the activities carried out by local actors, identity politics, especially ethnicity and clan in North Maluku, is still a strong basis in gaining existing power.*

Keywords: *Power Relations, Social Capital, Identity Politics*

1. INTRODUCTION

The reform era that was born in 1997, by presenting the product of Law no. 22 of 1999, then underwent a change with Law no. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government or known as Regional Autonomy, has opened up opportunities to realize regional aspirations with the desire to have local leaders who are agreed upon through direct Regional Head Elections (Pilkada). This opportunity, of course, during the New Order regime never happened, each regional head was always appointed by the central government, so the resulting policies did not have strong roots among the local community (Irtato, 2008).

With the opening of a democratic atmosphere in Indonesia through decentralization which is so charming, it has given anyone the opportunity to climb a social status that during the New Order regime would have been impossible to achieve. Through political parties, the dream of every political actor to come to power is then realized, even fought for. The fall of the New Order regime, which was marked by the blossoming of reforms, started a new chapter of politics. As a result, all regions began to be preoccupied with direct Regional Head Elections, which then took place simultaneously.

Misran Safar in his research report stated that the contestation between political actors to get the distribution and allocation of values, actually took place between the upper social strata (upper class),

but it is undeniable that the involvement of the middle social strata (middle class) and lower social strata (lower class).) politically, economically and educationally contribute greatly, especially in their efforts to transform their social strata individually and in groups. This transitional situation is full of dynamics, negotiations and implications that can raise the risk of pseudo political actors in building, reproducing and maintaining power through discourse, because of the possibility of the emergence of counter-productive community political support and can trigger the development of horizontal manifest conflicts (Safar, 2017).

This political commotion is very lively every five years, not only on the national political stage, but also on the regional political stage. Not only that, areas that were previously unknown, or only had the status of part of a regency or province, suddenly appeared as a new autonomous region. Makaganza noted, from 1999 to 2008, districts/cities in Indonesia experienced a quantitative increase, namely as many as 183 blooming areas consisting of 151 regencies and 32 cities. This means that there has been an average growth of 20 new districts/cities per year, the total growth of which is approximately 40% in just 9 years. In 1999 there were 303 districts/cities owned by the Government of Indonesia. In 2008 the number of districts/cities jumped to 484 new districts/cities consisting of 388 regencies and 96 cities (Rompas, 2008).

The identity politics shown by the elites in North Maluku, as the data above, shows that power really is not exercised based on the principle of equality of opportunity. The use of power resources, imagery, and various means often creates resistance in society. It's just that pressure, especially through political party institutions, and more dominant financial power makes it easy for local elites to win the competition.

One of the strongest indications of the era of regional autonomy is the hectic expansion of regions. Of course, this phenomenon raises the question, what is the motive underlying the presence of regional expansion? The World Bank concludes that there are four main factors driving the expansion of regions: First, the motive for the effectiveness of government administration, this is because the area is so large with a population that is spread out and the area is left behind in development. Second, the tendency for heterogeneity (religion, ethnicity, language, urban-rural, and income levels). Expansion in several other regions is based on the motive of breaking away from the crush of "oppression" of other groups on the basis of ethnicity, religion, and so on. The formation of North Maluku Province is also in this context (Haris, 2007).

With the increasingly strong spread of identity politics in North Maluku, the fears of the emergence of what is known as the formation of a power network structure that is controlled only by strong elites in terms of capital and power will be proven. North Maluku besides being known as the region of "kings" (Amal, 2016).

Wasisto said that political dynasties do not only dominate economic resources, but also form networks of loyalty in society by involving informal figures. These informal figures generally have large masses that are used to support identity power (family). Mutualism is built on a mechanism of exchange of interests, in which informal figures gain accessibility to public policy making, while families can bind voter loyalty through the influence of informal figures (Djati, 2013).

This study also looks at the important role that institutions play in promoting democratization. Institutions in question are political parties and bureaucracy. Hasrul Hanif and Eric Hieriej said that the focus on institutions was intended because institutions are a fundamental component in the process of democratization. Functioning political institutions are considered as important preconditions for the continuation of democracy (Savirani and Tornquist, 2016).

Meanwhile, according to Foucault, power relations are not understood in the context of ownership by an institutional group as a mechanism that ensures citizens' submission to the state. Power is also not a mechanism of domination as a form of power over others in a relationship between the dominating and the dominated or the powerful and the powerless. Power is not like the form of sovereignty of a state or legal institution which presupposes external domination or control over individuals or groups. Departing from the background above, the formulation of the research problem is: How does the configuration of the social capital-based identity political power relations network work in the 2020 Pilkada in South Halmahera Regency and Sula Islands Regency, North Maluku Province?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Longgina Novadona Bayo described the presence of clan power as instrumental solidarity in the process of politics and governance in Gorontalo. Networks of clan kinship (familyism practices) influence local political rulers and elites in exercising their power in the region. The strengthening of clan political practices in local politics and governance in Gorontalo, according to Bayo, is because familism or clan-based political practices are considered to give rise to inequality which is contrary to democracy which highly values the value of political equality. However, Bayo's study also found that the political experience of clans in Gorontalo actually displayed the political relevance of clans that could continue to work and survive in a democratic regime (Longgina Novadona Bayo, Purwo Santoso, 2018)

Meanwhile, Agus Sutisna through his article entitled: Symptoms of Proliferation of Political Dynasties in Banten The Era of Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah explained that since Banten was separated from West Java Province, political life has strengthened which is marked by symptoms of political dynasties or kinship politics, both at the provincial and regional levels. regency/city. At the provincial level, the local strongman, Tb. Chasan Sochib is very prominent in Banten politics and succeeded in placing his son Ratu Atut Chosiyah in the position of governor for almost two terms (2006-2011 and 2011-2014). Agus Sutisna's study aims to find out and explain how the practice of political dynasty or kinship politics in Banten during the leadership of Ratu Atut Chosiyah experienced proliferation (spread, growth) in various arenas of community life (Sutisna, 2017).

Furthermore, Abu Bakar through his writings entitled: Dynastic Politics and Institutionalization of Political Parties; The experience of the PDIP DPC and the Banteng Family in the Selayar Islands explains the institutionalization of political parties at the local level and kinship political problems that occur within political parties, as well as the candidate recruitment process that runs exclusively in the experience of the Selayar Islands DPC PDIP (Bakar, 2013).

Andi Faisal Bakti analyzes the power of the Puang which is so influential in Wajo Regency. The experience and career of a Puang during the New Order provided opportunities for them to create maximum space and social capital. When decentralization is wide open, the opportunities and social capital that have been built can be utilized by the Puang family. But later on, the power the Puang obtained was actually used to build the political power of the dynasty (Bakti, 2007).

The difference between this research and previous research is that this research will focus on the actions of elites/actors in the power relations of identity political networks and the influence of these power relations on the elites/actors concerned. This research also focuses more on the power relations of identity political networks in relation to political and bureaucratic institutions.

2.1. The Practice of Identity Politics in Indonesia

Meanwhile, Cressida Heyes defines identity politics as a sign of political activity (Cressida Heyes, 2007). Meanwhile, in a broader sense, identity politics has an interest in liberation from situations of marginalization, which specifically includes the constituency (membership) of groups in a broader context. If we look closely, identity politics is actually another name for biopolitics which talks about a group identified by biological characteristics. or its biological purposes from a point of view. An example is race politics and gender politics. (Hellner, 1994:4). According to Agnes Heller, identity politics is a political movement that focuses its attention on difference as a major political category. Identity politics arises from individual awareness to elaborate on particular identities, in the form of relations within ethnic and religious primordial identities.

Agnes Heller defines identity politics as a political concept and movement that focuses attention on difference as a major political category (Abdilah S, 2002: 16). In every community, even though they share a common ideology and goals, it cannot be denied that there are various kinds of individuals who have their own personalities and identities.

Identity politics is an ideology that exists in every ethnicity; its existence is latent and potential and at any time may emerge to the surface as a dominant political force. Empirically, identity politics is the actualization of political participation that is constructed from the cultural roots of the local community, and experiences a continuous process of internalization within the culture of the community in a social interaction network, (Buchari, 2014).

According to Castells (in Buchari, 2014), identity politics is individual participation in social life which is more determined by one's culture and psychology. Identity is a process of basic cultural and psychocultural construction of an individual that gives meaning and purpose to the life of that individual, because identity formation is a process of internal dialogue and social interaction.

In line with the foregoing, Castells (in Munandar, 2013) adds that in a world with global-scale eddy currents of wealth, power and imagination, the search for identity, both collective and individual, is the most basic source of meaning, the fundamental source of meaning. This search for identity and meaning is not something entirely new, because identity, especially based on religion and ethnicity, has become the root meaning of human life since civilization appeared on earth. Today, however, in a historical period marked by the destructuring of organizations and the delegitimization of institutions, social movements with high impact and ephemeral cultural expressions have been obliterated. In other words, although not the only one, identity is the main source of meaning. People are increasingly organizing, arranging the meaning of their lives not around what they do, but more based on what they believe. Meanwhile, the global network of instrumental exchanges selectively turns individuals, groups, regions and even countries on and off, according to their relevance in fulfilling the goals processed in the network's logic.

Furthermore, according to Castells (in Munandar, 2013), identity construction uses building materials from history, geography, biology, production and reproduction of institutions, collective memory and personal fantasies, apparatus of power, and religious teachings. Then, the problem is how a person or group of people constructs identity development, then who has a role in determining the direction of identity development and what is its use? In this connection Castells (in Munandar, 2013) states:

- a. Legitimizing identity; identity introduced by an institution that dominates a society to rationalize and continue its domination of social actors, such as a state institution that tries to enhance the national identity of community members. The institution has indeed gained the legitimacy to do these things.
- b. Resistance identity; a process of identity formation by social actors who are in a state of stress because of domination and stereotypes from other parties so as to form resistance and the emergence of a different identity from the dominating party with the aim of the survival of the group or class. This is mentioned as a terminology when Calhoun identifies the emergence of identity politics.
- c. Project identity; an identity when social actors form a new identity that can determine new portions as well as transform the structure of the society as a whole. For example, when a group of feminist activists tries to form a new identity for women, re-associate women's position in society, and finally change the structure of society as a whole in viewing the role of women.

According to Fukuyama, identity is not determined biologically, even though it is shaped by experience and the environment, identity can be defined in terms that are focused or broad. That I was born a certain way doesn't mean I have to think a certain way, life experiences can eventually translate into shared experiences. (Fukuyama, 2020). In Fukuyama's view, no one can escape identity politics. Fukuyama explained, "we cannot escape identity or identity politics. Identity is "a strong moral notion that comes to us" (Fukuyama, 2020)

2.2. The Function of Social Capital in Political Practice

Social capital by many sociologists, at least like Bourdieu (1986), Putnam (1993), Coleman (1988), and Lawang (2004), is seen as capital owned by individuals in society, which arises from individual interactions in social efforts, to commit to each other and create a social order to achieve a common goal.

The social strength obtained from network institutions can be a very big strength because in various cases this network will not be limited to bounding networks but will also expand and can even become a social society movement. This is as stated by Diani and McAdam (2003). They argue that networks make it easier to expand these networks in order to build social movements that can ultimately encourage collective action. Even though the individuals involved in the collective action do not have a relationship with the actors or social networks that have a strong role, through the dissemination of issues by network members it can facilitate the expansion of collective action.

According to Bourdieu (in Hasibuan 2004) social capital is all actual and potential resources at the same time, related to institutional relationships that are based on mutual recognition and mutual recognition. Group members receive full support. Regarding the size of the social capital owned by someone in a particular community, it really depends on how big a network of relationships that can be created, both in quantity and quality.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Paradigm

In accordance with the objectives and units of analysis, this study uses the Social Definition paradigm. Exemplars of this paradigm are Weber's work on Social Action and Talcott Parsons' work on Social Action. Weber's work helps draw attention to social definitions in terms of how social actors define their social situations and the effects of those social definitions on sustaining action and interaction.

In research using this paradigm, it is more appropriate to use in-depth interviews and observation methods. Observation is a distinctive method of the social definition paradigm. There are many theories that can be included in this paradigm, including social action theory, symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and existentialism.

3.2. Research Approach

The main characteristics of this approach are (1) prioritizing meaning, context, and emic perspectives, (2) the research process is more cyclical than linear, where data collection and analysis take place simultaneously, (3) prioritizing depth rather than breadth of research scope, (4) observation and in-depth interviews are very important in the data collection process; and (5) the researcher himself is the main instrument.

In the implementation of this research using field research (field research). The distinctive features of the field research method are its holistic-integrative nature, thick description, and qualitative analysis in order to get a native's point of view.

3.3. Types of Research

This research uses a case study type. Case study is research that focuses on one particular object which is appointed as a case to be studied in depth so as to uncover the reality behind the phenomenon. Case studies are used to provide an understanding of something that attracts attention, social processes that are taking place, concrete events, experiences of someone who is the background of a case. Case studies are expected to reveal the complexity of a case.

Case study research according to Endraswara (2012) is divided into two, firstly deviation case studies or also called retrospective case studies (Retrospective Case Study) are curative in nature which allows for the need for follow-up healing but does not have to be carried out by researchers. Researchers are only giving suggestions.

Both case studies in the direction of development are also called prospective case studies (Prospective Case Study) which are case studies to find trends towards the development of a case and the follow-up is carried out with action research (Action Research). This research can be carried out by competent people.

This research studies intensively and deeply about a problem, the situation and the position of an event that is currently taking place, as well as the environmental interactions of certain social units that are as they are. This research will deepen a phenomenon and analyze it in depth about identity political power networks based on social capital.

Data analysis technique Data analysis techniques are one of the important steps in a research process. A data analysis includes all activities to classify, analyze, interpret, and draw conclusions from all the data collected. Data condensation is defined as a selection process, focusing attention on simplification, abstraction, and transformation of raw data that emerges from written records in the field (verbatim data). b. Data presentation, done in the form of words, sentences or paragraphs, tables, or matrices, where the data is then presented in narrative form c. Verification means that the data that has been collected in the field will be examined regarding the validity of the existing data. d. Drawing

conclusions is the final step in which after the data is analyzed continuously and given an interpretation both during data collection in the field, in the process, and after from the field, conclusions are then drawn. e. Data analysis is the process of searching for and systematically compiling data obtained from interviews, field notes, and other materials so that they can be easily understood and the findings can be informed to others. The data analysis technique in this study used the interactive analysis model of Miles and Huberman and Saldaha which can be described as follows:

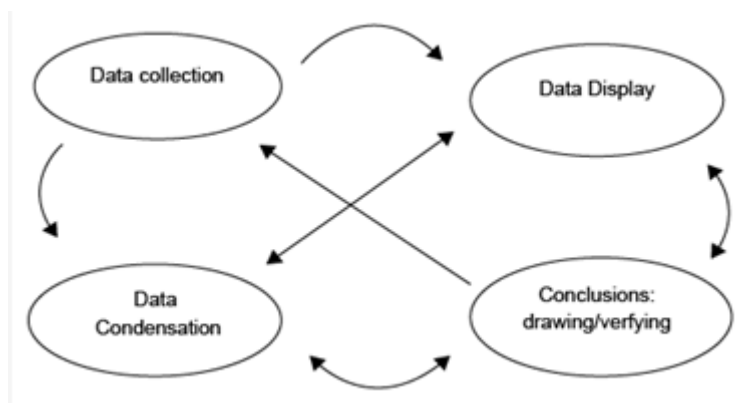


Figure: Miles and Huberman and Saldana's Qualitative Data Analysis Model

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Identity-based politics is determined more by the establishment of power networks through local actors by strengthening power relations at the family and ethnic levels as well as utilizing the power of economic capital, political capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. Exposure from the beginning, to the end of the previous section can be conveyed as follows:

In the local political process, identity-based power relations and political networks often work openly and secretly. Working openly can be seen from those who are gathered in support teams and supporting political parties, which in every way influence citizens through various activities that attract sympathy. Working quietly, usually at appointed times for people with influence to gain voice and sympathy.

The actions of (local) actors in developing their power relations by utilizing identity-based political networks, of course, also utilize the social capital owned by local actors. Power relations with the implementation of identity-based politics in every political process in North Maluku, strengthened after the division, especially in the districts/cities that continued to grow and were so thick. This can be observed from the dynamics of local politics that never stop. Local actors who have networks, both to the center and to political parties, often dominate their influence down to bureaucratic institutions.

The political reality that occurred in the Sula Islands Regency and South Halmahera Regency, the establishment of power relations with identity-based political networks, in political institutions and bureaucratic institutions, is so transparent. In the Sula Islands Regency, power relations are still based on important figures (AHM) who are able to control their power relations through a solid political party (Golkar Party), and are able to build networks within bureaucratic institutions with a number of abilities to discipline the selected civil servants/ASN. securing his power through relationships based on material things.

Apart from that, the power of money, through electoral clientelism, is also a strong marker of the growth of identity-based politics. An important element of clientelism is a form of relationship based on material exchange and involving contingency, hierarchy and iteration. Identity formed on the basic similarity of language (primordial) and takes a political form (instrumental), giving rise to ethnic competition and conflict. Contributing factors are a sense of belonging and security; fear of being deprived of resources; become helpless; and the superiority of one's culture and language over other languages.

In every Sula Islands District Election process, identity politics that is based on ethnicity and clan, between native and non-native Sula people is often heavily used by each pair of candidates. However, it cannot be denied, it cannot affect the whole. In the 2020 Sula Pilkada, Zulfahri Abdullah Duwila

and Ismail Umasugi campaigned for the Sula people. This issue is effective in gaining votes in Sanana City, the area with the most voters. Their vote was not due to money politics but purely because the people voted for the candidate for regent and deputy who were originally from Sula.

So if you look at the financial factor it is number two after identity politics. So the issue of identity lies with the deputy regent candidate while money politics lies with the regent. It is very easy to play with the emotions of the people in Sula at this time with identity issues. What is seen is what tribe, what clan, what religion, and it is very effective. The space for potential identity conflict in Sula is very small because even though the issue of identity is strong, it can still be controlled. This is because the identity used is Marga.

The configuration of identity politics in the post-conflict local elections in the Sula Islands Regency and South Halmahera Regency is marked by domination by the Kasuba family/marga in South Halmahera, and the Mus Family/marga in the Sula Islands. For three consecutive terms, Kasuba became Halsel Regent. The Deputy Regent of South Halmahera is the son of Muhammad Kasuba. Muhammad Kasuba became Halsel Regent for two consecutive terms. So, in Halsel you could say the Kasuba family ruled for four periods. In the Sula Archipelago, the Mus Family ruled for two terms, then it was interrupted by Hendrata Tess, then the Mus ruled again.

In the political contests in South Halmahera Regency and Sula Kepulauan Regency, Kasuba and Mus both played ethnic identity politics. However, compared to the Sula Islands District, ethnic identity politics is more active. Meanwhile, the Galela and Tobelo ethnic groups are used by Kasuba in very vulgar ways. For example, together with their supporters, who are mostly from the Galela and Tobelo diaspora, they use cultural idioms, such as Sabeba – a loincloth made of bark. Sabeba is claimed to be the traditional clothing of the North Halmahera people in ancient times. Now sabeba is identified with the Togutil people. In the Sula Archipelago District, the Mus gang also uses ethnic issues. But here, the use of ethnic issues takes a different direction than in South Halmahera Regency. In the Sula Archipelago District, ethnic issues were used as a political issue in the election of the Regent/Deputy Regent, by taking advantage of the "permanent rifts" of the original Sula ethnic sub-groups, namely the Fagudu, Falahu, Fatcei, and Mangon groups. Since who knows when, these four groups have never been able to unite when they are faced with practical political events. They even knocked each other out. The existence of "empty space" in the reality of the people of Sula Regency was then utilized by the Mus Group by mobilizing political power from the Butonese ethnic group, and not other immigrant social groups. Populatively, the Sula ethnic group is the majority in the Sula Islands Regency. After that followed by ethnic Butonese, and immigrants from other areas. Like North Sulawesi and South Sulawesi. Apart from these groups, there is significant population belonging to the Galela and Tobelo ethnicities in Sula. The latter is commonly called "Mange" and "Kadai".

They are considered an "isolated society". Gani Kasuba's victory in Taliabu Regency in the Second Round Election of the Governor Election – for the second term because he has full support from the "Mange" people. It was these ethnic groups that Mus used as the main proponents in the election for the district head, while deepening the endemic divisions of the Sula ethnic group. Another difference between Kasuba and Mus relates to cultural capital and economic capital. The Galela and Tobelo people in South Halmahera Regency, who are spread evenly on Bacan Island and Obi Island, a little on the mainland of Halmahera which is part of the South Halmahera Regency, have an average low level of education. Only recently, around the mid-1990's, did they start school. Therefore, even though the Galela and Tobelo people in South Halmahera Regency make up the majority of the population, they are marginalized because they are uneducated. Apart from the Balakum family who have moved to North Halmahera Galela, the Kasuba family is the only family (people from Tobelo and Galela) who have a tertiary education. Since the early 1970s, this family has sent their children to study at the Al-Khairaat Islamic Boarding School in Palu, then to study in Medina and Pakistan. With this low educational background, and being marginalized economically and politically, the Tobelo and Galela people in South Halmahera then associate that the Kasuba Family are figures who will elevate their dignity as Sabeba people. Therefore, they then chose Muhammad Kasuba, then Bahrain Kasuba became the Regent of South Halmahera. For them, this is a hypothesis that the existence of the Kasuba at the top of political leadership is "a sign of the upholding of the pride of the Canga". Unlike the case with Kasuba in South Halmahera, in the Sula Archipelago, Mus is dealing with a group of

Sula people who are on average highly educated. Meanwhile, the Mus Family came from a lowly educated family. Apart from the Makeang, Tidore, Tobelo-Galela people in North Halmahera, the Sula people are one of the community groups in North Maluku who are on average highly educated. But because, as mentioned above, the Sula people were divided politically, they could not organize their forces. This weakness of the Sula people was used by Mus—by taking advantage of the intelligence of the Sula people in the election of regional heads

While digging deeper into the political power of the Sula people, Mus, then Hendrata Tess, made maximum use of the economic capital they had. The Mus family were entrepreneurs—copra traders between islands. This business was then continued and expanded by their children, especially Ahmad Hidayat Mus, into the logging business. The capital they collect from the timber business is used to fund their political activities. With their financial capital (economic capital), the Mus do "bribery politics" every time a regional head election is held there. What I mean by bribery politics is "boosting political image by way of funding large amounts of socio-cultural-religious activities".

The Kasuba were able to seize and maintain their power in South Halmahera Regency because they have symbolic capital, namely ethnicity and education. As an educated family in the midst of a less educated (ethnic) society, they then become a "symbol of self-esteem". That is why it is so easy for Kasuba to exploit the Tobelo and Galela people in almost anything related to politics. And that is also why, even though the Tobelo and Galela people in South Halmahera are disappointed with the Kasuba's political performance, they still chose this gang to become the regent there. The social capital (education) possessed by the Kasuba seems to have trapped the Tobelo and Galela people so that they no longer have an alternative to choose a leader.

On the other hand, the people of Sula have been trapped by the friction they created themselves. Under these conditions, the Mus gang poured in money that proved effective in winning the power struggle.

Apart from the things mentioned above, there are other important things that must be considered. Why do Kasuba and Mus always win in South Halmahera and the Sula Archipelago? In these two districts, and I think this is the case throughout North Maluku, there is no middle class who becomes a "filter". The average middle class in North Maluku has become a proponent of a different district head candidate. As a result, after the regional head elections, democracy does not benefit the people. In a sense, the regent as a result of the democratic process, is unable to bring prosperity to the people because there is no group of critics – the middle class – who can be relied upon.

South Halmahera Regency, is very strong in showing primordial identity politics based on ethnicity or ethnicity. Following and observing the pair of Regents and Deputy Regents in this district, since the first regional head election to the most recent, shows ethnically based pairs. And only two dominant ethnic groups: Galela and Makean-Kayoa. The pair of these two dominant ethnic groups always win regional head elections. Why did this ethnic-based pair become attractive and suck up or gain the winning vote? The basis of ethnic identity politics is strong because individuals in each dominant ethnicity identify themselves with partners from both ethnicities. On the other hand, this regional head pair represents the two ethnicities from which they both come. Self-identifying in the sense that they imagine themselves with a partner they support as their family and friends, regardless of the presence or absence of blood and hereditary ties (fictitious kinship or family).

5. CONCLUSION

This research can be concluded as follows: Configuration of social capital-based identity political power relations networks in North Maluku, in the form of: (a) Transcendence of local political actors in fighting for the dignity of clans and ethnicities through the General Election moment (b) Strengthening clan and ethnic solidarity in the system social services for South Halmahera Regency and Sula Islands Regency; The strengthening of clan and ethnic solidarity in the election moment. (3) The working of social capital, both political capital, economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital according to the wishes of local political actors.

The value of clan and ethnic identity is a parameter of social morality. Identity politics is not always negative, it depends on the local political actors who use it, divide and build integration.

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