

The Modality of Mulyadi Jayabaya's Political Clan in the Lebak Local Election in 2018

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Abstract

This research discusses several strengths or capital possessed by the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan in the electoral process at the 2018 Lebak regional head election, as well as having brought up his daughter in the 2018 regional head elections as a representation of one of the local political clans that have dominated the political-economic structure. The incumbent's success in this electoral process has cemented the status quo among political clans. In addition, this victory cannot be denied because of the symbolic power that has been obtained by the incumbent. As stated in the study of Pierre Bourdieu (1986), who has seen that in the social arena, there are always those who dominate and are dominated. Thus, to analyze the amount of capital owned by the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan, the author uses a concept that has been conveyed by Pierre Bourdieu regarding capital, which consists of economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. This research addresses several capitals that are used at the same time to maintain their power in fighting the empty column and civil society members who are members of the fight group for the empty column because capital has a significant role, especially the political legacy that has been abandoned by the previous regent. As a result, incumbents and political clans build networks formally, such as with the bureaucracy, and with informal leaders, such as religious leaders, youth, and organizations, in the aftermath of clan members' victories in the 2018 Lebak regional head election.

Keywords: Incumbent; Political Clan; Local election; Civil Society; Modality.

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INTRODUCTION

The success of reform in 1998 has changed the political configuration in Indonesia, including the emergence of a decentralization scheme that has provided political space for regions to hold contests to elect regional leaders. Instead of providing more extensive political space for citizens, decentralization has created new powers for local actors to gain power. Factually, five urban and suburban communities in Java claim that decentralization has resulted in a government hijacked by an elite, which is autonomous and democratic or a combination of the two (Dasgupta & A. Beard, 2007).

In general, this contemporary political phenomenon does not only exist in Indonesia but in Thailand, decentralization seems to have supported the interests of local predatory forces (Hadiz, 2022), and at the same time, the local political arena has experienced political dynamics that can simultaneously close people's opportunities to can be involved in the political process, because these regional head candidates are promoted through family-based recruitment, including electoral processes such as Local election. In recent years, this has been marked by increased clientelism (Permana, 2022). At the same time, the electoral process at the regional level (Local election) has only become an arena for vote trading, reviving identity politics, giving birth to prolonged post-election horizontal conflicts and in some areas giving birth to political dynasties (Bayo & Samadhi, 2018).

Currently, domestic and regional political processes are increasingly open to political opportunities. This presupposes the involvement of civil society in contestation, especially in regional head elections. However, the emergence of various political clans in the local political arena has also implicitly closed the accessibility of society. Local political power is currently controlled by some individuals, groups, families, clans, cliques, or organizations, which exercise discretion over state power and resources, outside of democratic mechanisms (Sidel, 2014). Thus, local political colonization has become easy to find nowadays, including the emergence of local strongmen who have built political clan structures, as reflected in the 2018 Lebak Local election. Where the incumbent has political relations with the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan and has also served as regional head for two terms

Therefore, to maintain his power, the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan tried to bring back his daughter in the second term, Iti Octavia Jayabaya in the 2018 electoral contest. The emergence of local strongmen has made the political arena increasingly limited because the incumbents have large resources, and incumbents can activate various existing forces. As described by (DJati, 2013; Purwaningsih, 2015) the expansion of the role of "strong people" into "strong families" is related to the incumbent's strong desire to maintain his power by forming a political family.

The contribution that Mulyadi Jayabaya has made in building cross-party political communication seems to have been successful, as can be seen from the naked eye, incumbents have been contracting out political parties. In other words, various capitals also become tools in this electoral contest. This is because capital can be interpreted as the result of work accumulation, both in the form of material and symbolic goods which, when allocated privately by agents or groups of agents, allow them to gain social power (Bourdieu, 1986).

Regional head elections that were carried out simultaneously have created a single pair. As part of a political clan or what political scientists refer to as a political dynasty, the incumbent has created a political scheme, including expanding the political scale and territory, including the Jayabaya Mulyadi clan has created political conditions that can co-opt several political dimensions to seek rents to collect accumulated economic capital within the framework of the political interests of political clans. Meanwhile, in the context of political dynasties, as Fitriyah has mentioned, for example, political dynasties have the potential to produce bad leaders. Because, recruitment of political parties based on dynastic politics has the opportunity to ignore the personal qualities of candidates (Fitriyah, 2020). In this case, the electoral process at the local level seems to have given rise to a resistance movement from civil society that opposes the incumbent candidate advancing on the political stage.



This civil society political movement was also present as a form of resistance against the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan. One of the real forms of the escalation of this resistance is the association of civil society with the Barisan Fighting for the Empty Column (Bajukoko) group. The emergence of a civil society political movement that has joined the Barisan Fighting for the Empty Column is based on several factors that are intertwined with the political discourse on the expansion of the territory of the Cistepan Regency. The issue of this new autonomous region or division has arisen from the start, including when Mulyadi Jayabaya took office. Of course, several arguments for this division emerged in the public space, which included two main reasons. First, the desire to realize the accessibility of public services that can be reached by the community. Second, the areas included in Cistepan Regency have abundant natural resource potential compared to other areas in Lebak Regency (Mahpudin et al., 2021).

Meanwhile, the emergence of the Barisan Juang Column Blank (Bajukoko) political movement in the 2018 Lebak Local election was because the people were fed up with local political conditions led by the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan, including providing education to political elites and political parties who did not conduct political education to the public (Hakiki Hakim, interview on 9 November 2022). The saturation of local political conditions arises because of the absence of welfare, justice, and equitable development, plus political clans starting from Mulyadi Jayabaya to the incumbent always present political discourse on expansion, especially during the electoral process. Therefore, the Empty Column Fighting Front (Bajukoko) was declared for the first time in the South Lebak region.

Regional head elections that gave rise to a community movement against a single candidate pair have also appeared in the 2017 Pati Local election. This community belonging to GERAM PATI consists of NGOs that include the Pati Election Guard Democracy Alliance, the Democracy Enforcing NGO Communication Forum, the Empty Box Alliance, and the community. Factually, in this Local election, the involvement of the elite was also very obvious, such as Deputy Regent Budiyo (Widyasari et al., 2019) and also the involvement of members of the Pati Regency DPRD (Darmawan, 2017), including during the Makassar City Local election, the involvement of the elite in this process also appeared, as has been stated (Mayangsari, 2019).

Referring to the description above, this study aims to analyze several symbolic powers that have been obtained by incumbents through the dimensions of capital which, of course, lead to the legitimacy given by the community to incumbents amidst the emergence of resonance in the political movement of the people who are members of the Bajukoko. This needs to be studied comprehensively because, amid the hegemony of local political clans, political movements have emerged in the rural community arena. This has a significant difference, as was the case in the 2018 Local election in Makassar City, where an empty column movement emerged in a city involving political elites.

RESEARCH METHODS

This article uses a qualitative approach based on case studies. This qualitative research approach is used because it can be used as a study to understand a theme that can be explored in more detail which can be interpreted through a series of data collections such as interviews, observation, documentation, and audiovisual information (Creswell, 2016). The interview was conducted with an informant who served as commander of the empty column fighting column, Hakiki Hakim, as an opposition movement in the 2018 Local election. Since the post-conflict local elections were held fairly and democratically in 2005 until now, power at the local level such as in the 2018 Lebak Local election has always been won by the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan. In maintaining its power, this political clan has encouraged its family to enter the political arena, as happened in the 2018 Lebak Local election. Currently, although power is still dominated by this political clan, a political movement has arisen from civil society to oppose the superior power of the political clan, especially at the grassroots. Therefore, this article also uses literature such as scientific journals, books, research reports, and relevant research reports (Zed, 2004).



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Modality as a Legitimacy

As an integral part of the local political clan, incumbents have resources that can be used as the main capital in contesting the election of blood heads, especially to maintain their power. In other languages, political elites who are affiliated or have main family relations will certainly try to strengthen this power through various means, including using the symbolic capital they already have. In general, this symbolic capital will create a symbolic power, as has been mentioned in perspective (Bourdieu, 1987: 164; Bourdieu, 2011: 183), symbolic capital is one of the conditions for building symbolic power, in addition to offering a vision that is grounded in reality. If this symbolic power is obtained well, in general, legitimacy from civil society will also be easily obtained in the political arena, especially when there is support from elites who have great influence.

In the political literature, structurally, the elite can be classified into two aspects, namely: the governing elite and the non-governing elite, as stated by Pareto and Mosca (Haryanto, 2017). In this regard, the governing elite certainly has great modalities, especially as incumbents, Iti Octavia Jayabaya and Ade Sumardi who can co-opt various existing resources. At the same time, elites who are not in the government structure can also influence political contestation, such as Mulyadi Jayabaya who is no longer in the circle of power, because his term as regent has ended. But, his authority is still very clear in the political scene.

The existence of capital in political contestation cannot be denied. Because to expand the scale and territoriality of politics in power, inherent legitimacy is needed from society. To achieve this legitimacy, incumbents must have a modality consisting of various aspects as has been mentioned by Bourdieu, including being able to carry out or create an unbalanced political arena, for example, having built a pattern of patronage and clientelism from the start. This manifests itself when members of political clans are involved in community organizations, youth organizations, or caring for other mass bases. the involvement of clan members in the management as a way to build a political base. This is because politicians recently tend to use their networks, and not party-based, and the role of vote brokers at the grassroots level (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019).

This modality consists of four dimensions, namely, economic capital (in the form of money, wealth, and property), social capital (relationships, networks), cultural capital (knowledge, educational qualifications, academic degrees, and language), and symbolic capital (prestige, honor, and charisma). These three capitals are used as a study as a basis for discussing the modalities owned by political clans, especially Iti Octavia Jayabaya as one of the daughters of Mulyadi Jayabaya.

Economic Modality of Political Clans

In general, political contestation in Indonesia, including regional head elections, cannot be separated from the practice of transactional politics which has involved networks between candidates (politicians), campaign teams, and voters. Factually, this intertwined relationship seems to have permeated the political ecosystem in Indonesia. This is done to make it easier for candidates during the election process to be elected and return to power. Elections for regional heads, which are carried out indirectly or directly, have led to the practice of transactional politics (Agustino & Fitriani, 2017).

In this regard, candidates who advance on the local political stage also need strong economic modalities to reach the pinnacle of power. Economic modality is very fundamental, especially amidst the permissiveness of voters in the electoral process, including the high cost of political activity. Thus, this economic capital is the fastest and can be directly converted into money and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights (Bourdieu, 1986: 242). In the context of the 2018 Lebak regional elections, for example, incumbent Iti Octavia Jayabaya-Ade Sumardi certainly has this financial strength, both in the form of personal economic capital and donations from various parties. As a result, this can be used as a way that can be used for this electoral process.

Table 1 Personal Assets of Candidates for Regent and Candidate for Deputy Regent of Lebak Regency in the 2018 Local Election

No	Candidates for Regent and Candidate for Deputy Regent of Lebak Regency in Local election year 2018	Property						
		Land buildings and	Means of transportation and machines	Other liquid property	Securities	Cash and cash equivalents	Other properties	Loans
1.	Iti Octavia Jayabaya	Area 165 m2/294 m2 (Serang District)	Mitsubishi Strada Double Cabin 2007	115.000.000	0	1.478.307.011	0	0
		Area 19580 m2 (Lebak Regency)	2004 Toyota Avanza Minibus					
		Area 965 m2 (Lebak Regency)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 351 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 456 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 462 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 704 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 1000 m2 (Bogor City)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 419 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 1248 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 499 m2/60 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 259 m2/96 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 503 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2005 Hino Dump Truck					
		Area 421 m2 (District/City of Bogor)	2010 Toyota Land Cruiser Jeep					
Area 291 m2/360 m2	2010 Toyota Camry Sedan							



		(North Jakarta Regency/City)						
		Area 408 m2/613 m2 (North Jakarta Regency/City)	2011 Jeep Wrangler Jeep					
		Area 5940 m2 (Lebak Regency)	2013 Hyundai Santa Fe Minibus					
		Area 4585 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
		Area 1350 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
		Area 22240 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
		Area 12160 m2/1000 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
		Area 6580 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
		Area 5060 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
	Totals (Rp)	19.499.815.000		4.395.000.000	115.000.000	0	1.478.307.011	0
2.	Ade Sumardi	Area 4427 m2 (Lebak Regency)	Kawasaki Ninja motorcycles in 2013	157.500.000	0	78.450.319	0	25.800.000
		Area 100 m2/40 m2 (Lebak Regency)	Toyota kijang innova minibus 2005					
		Area 450 m2 (Lebak Regency)	Yamaha Mio motorcycle 2011					
		Area 2487 m2 (Lebak Regency)	2017 Toyota Camry					
		Area 2000 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
		Area 6928 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
		Area 96 m2/96 m2 (Lebak Regency)						
	Total (Rp)	377.222.000	215.000.000	157.500.000	0	78.450.319	0	25.800.000
No	Lebak Regent and Deputy	Total Assets (Rp)						



	Regent Candidate Pairs in the 2018 Local election.	
1	Iti Octavia Jayabaya	25.488.122.011
2	Ade Sumardi	802.372.319

Source: elhkpn, Corruption Eradication Commission, accessed in February 2023.

In this case, this economic capital can make the political arena easier to reach, because the field has been mastered, moreover, the Iti-Ade pair are incumbents who have resources that can be used. Among these types of personal assets, it can be classified, which includes land and buildings, transportation equipment and machinery, other movable assets, securities, and so on. Judging from the data presented, the economic strength of Iti Octavia Jayabaya in the aspect of land and buildings owns 23 land/buildings. As for vehicles, the chairman of the Banten Democratic Party has 17 vehicles, and several other economic modalities. Meanwhile, Ade Sumardi owns 7 land/buildings and 4 types of transportation.

In other words, if converted into money, this can be used for the campaign process. Of course, this economic strength can also increase more and more, if the incumbent obtains contributions from campaign funds from third parties, both business investors and other informal leaders, including from Mulyadi Jayabaya as a local ruler. As a result, if converted as a whole, this can regain its power, especially in the political arena in the 2018 local election which was only followed by incumbents who were faced with empty columns. As a local strongman, Mulyadi Jayabaya certainly has a large economic capital, because he is involved in corporate activities that can seek rent holistically. Not only that but the economic mobility of this political clan can also be seen, for example, when large vehicles bearing the words 'JB' often cross the traffic sections in Lebak Regency.

Clan Social Capital Connections: Mass Base Inheritance

When the electoral process at the local level was carried out fairly and democratically in 2005, especially when Mulyadi Jayabaya took office from 2003 to 2013, he was known as a firm and courageous figure who was respected by the community. No doubt, as long as this political clan is in office, this local political structure is very easily co-opted, because the Mulyadi Jayabaya clan has created a patronage scheme during his tenure, including distributing clan members on the political stage, both national and sub-national, and several social organizations. Thus, this social relation is created because of the seemingly entrenched patron-client relationship. When this social relation has been realized, of course, the political configuration of voters' choices will be easy to hegemony, as described by Luky Djani, people who are socio-economically dependent on political patrons, such as landlords, business owners, or social figures, choose This electorate politics will tend to be hegemony by patrons (Djani, 2014).

After the collapse of the authoritarian New Order regime, the local political arena increasingly showed its independence. In its development, the pattern or pattern of power relations at the local level thrives in a patronage nature (Klinken, 2009). This pattern of patronage will eventually co-opt the political choices of voters in electoral contests. Because of the contribution of patron actors to clients who have distributed assistance in the form of money or goods. Instead of the political reforms in 1998 aiming to increase the consolidation of democracy, they are still stuck in the old pattern of patronage, so this can be called changing continuities (Klinken & Nordholt, 2007). Recently, this political development at the local level seems to have given rise to new figures as a new post-reform political clan force or what scientists call the emergence of local strongmen.

The presence of these local political clan figures, including those that appeared in Lebak Regency, has closed public accessibility to reaching political governance and governance space. In



other words, with the resources it has, the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan helped perpetuate its power by bringing back members of its clan in the 2013 Local election and 2018 Local election. So, as a member of the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan, Iti Octavia Jayabaya has social relations that have been formed when Mulyadi Jayabaya took the lead. Consequently, the legacy of these local strongmen at the same time becomes the social modality used in electoral contests. Thus, the incumbent won again, because of strong connections, especially since the incumbent had served in the first term.

Table 2. Votes for the Regent Candidates and Deputy Regent Candidates Lebak Local Election year 2018

No	Candidates for Regent and Candidate for Deputy	Regent Vote Acquisition	Percentage (%)
1	Hj. Iti Octavia Jayabaya, SE., MM. H. Ade Sumardi, SE	453.938	76.96
2	Empty column	135.879	23.04

Source: Processed from Puskapol, University of Indonesia, 2023

The interaction of incumbents in this political process cannot be separated from the legacy that has been built by Mulyadi Jayabaya, from 2003 to 2013, at the same time Iti Octavia Jayabaya and Ade Sumardi are incumbents who have different political backgrounds. Iti Octavia Jayabaya is active as a cadre in the Democratic Party, while Ade Sumardi is a PDI Perjuangan cadre. Both of them had served as general chairmen of political parties at the district level. Thus, this modality can also be a force in influencing the political arena in electoral contestation. Later, Mulyadi Jayabaya was also known as a cadre in the PDI Perjuangan. Of course, the relationship between Ade Sumardi and Mulyadi Jayabaya has been established for a long time, because they are in the same internal scope.

At the same time, Ade Sumardi was chosen as the partner of Iti Octavia Jayabaya, because Ade Sumardi in the 2009-2013 period served as Chair of the Lebak Regency DPRD. And, Iti Octavia Jayabaya is a member of the People's Representative Council (DPR). In another language, this experience can, of course, be used as a basis for social power, because both are democratically elected by society. During this process, of course, there is systemic social interaction. In gaining power, social capital becomes very inherent, especially including resources, both actual and virtual, which can be added to a person or group because they have a long-lasting network because there is a reciprocal relationship of introduction and recognition that is more or less institutionalized (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

In addition, on the one hand, Iti Octavia Jayabaya and Ade Sumardi are incumbents, and on the other hand, they are also an integral part of the local political clan, so this position is very profitable for this pair. This is because the connections they have are not just informal relations, but rather bureaucratic connections that can be used to mobilize in the form of support, especially the emergence of great influence from Mulyadi Jayabaya. Several supports have of course continued to flow for this single candidate pair, including from the Lebak Regency Village Government Association which supported the incumbents in the 2018 Local election (fesbukbantennews, 2017). This form of support is of course a big social capital because this institution at the same time has representation from the village head leaders who have joined. So, it is very easy for incumbents to take advantage of this form of support, especially since this association has also spread across several areas in Lebak Regency. In general, the number of villages in Lebak Regency is 340 villages, including 5 sub-districts. This social capital is so great if it is activated extensively by incumbents because these village heads also have their loyalists and constituents in their constituency.

The Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan can also manage or provide discourse on basic services that can be carried out through the local government, including involving community organizations. In this local political arena, patronage is the main instrument in maintaining social cohesion, so that loyalists, constituents, and the public always support the power of this political

clan. As recorded in the interaction between the Mulyadi Jayabaya clan and community organizations (ormas) such as Needles. community organizations (mass organizations) like Needles are of course under the command of Mulyadi Jayabaya, because this relationship has been formed from the start. Initially, Needle was a political tool or machine for Mulyadi Jayabaya which consisted of figures who had superiority, especially in the political context of Banten, one of which is located in Lebak Regency, for example, the condition of 'champions' is very common to be found. The involvement of the champions in the political arena, especially in supporting political clans, cannot be ignored, but the champions are also a cultural elite class (Hamid, 2013) that can influence political decisions.

Thus, in the context of the relationship between the Mulyadi Jayabaya and Needles political clans, it seems that they have been well institutionalized. To get his involvement at the grassroots, Needles transformed the name of the institution, which was originally the Volunteer Network for Winning to become the Volunteer Network for the Community (Syamsul Hidayat & Wardani, 2022). This mass organization also always gets programs from the regional government to be distributed to the community. In this case, it seems that this social relationship is one of the legacies of Mulyadi Jayabaya which can be continued by incumbents or members of political clans.

Not only that, but the Mulyadi Jayabaya clan also helped build interaction with religious leaders, including members of this political clan who could also be included in the community organizational structure as administrators. Most members of the Jayabaya Mulyadi political clan also belong to different party structures, both the PDI Perjuangan and the Democratic Party. And, you can find clan members in various government agencies, both at the executive level at the district level as regents, then in legislative institutions at the district, provincial, and national levels, including as administrators in several organizations such as the Regency Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) and the Indonesian Entrepreneurs Association. (Gapensi) Lebak Regency. The Mulyadi Jayabaya clan also realized that the political power they possessed could collapse at any time, due to the various challenges that this local strongman could face. Among these challenges include several factors, ranging from weakening political networks (local and national), weakened financial capacity, weak successors and divisions within political families, the emergence of stronger rivals, and often caused by shifts in opinion. among voters (Aspinall & As'ad, 2016; Kongkirati, 2016; Rosuelo, 2016; Savirani, 2016).

Therefore, the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan tried to carry out a political strategy so that their power remained solid, for example, as has been presented above, members of the political clan were encouraged to advance in electoral contests, not only at the local level such as districts or provinces but up to to the central parliament. This is done so that social connections with national elites can also be established or strengthen existing relations. At the same time, members of the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan were also involved in the activities of certain companies and associations, especially in rent-seeking, so that the capital obtained could also be accumulated dominantly to create a power structure. Nevertheless, so that there are no divisions or frictions between political clans, Mulyadi Jayabaya places his clan members in various sectors, starting from political parties, some in the PDI Perjuangan and the Democratic Party, including placements in the management of Kadin and Gapensi.

From the author's perspective, in addition to regulating this distribution of power to remain intertwined in the path of the Jayabaya Mulyadi political clan, it is also to expand the scale and reach of its social territory. Because the larger the social and political scale and territory that can be maintained, the easier it is to obtain victory based on existing patronage schemes and clientelistic practices. Activities in the world of politics are indeed very dynamic, including in the electoral process which is always held regularly every five years. This means that the potential for other candidates outside of political clans is also very large to emerge and seize existing power, or even these candidates emerge from different clans.

In this local political condition, it seems, as long as this area is led by members of the Jayabaya Mulyadi clan until now, patronage and clantelism have become the main tools in maintaining the regional base, including involving networks such as the Success Team as well as formal and



informal networks in influencing voters' attitudes and political choices. through public opinion mobilization mechanisms, including the involvement of community organizations, religious leaders, youth leaders, and officials or figures with great authority. As explained by (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019) that clientelism in Indonesian society is more widely used through informal leaders, rather than political parties.

The Cultural Capital of the Mulyadi Jayabaya Political Clan

The electoral competition will always display various competencies possessed by certain candidates, to obtain real victory. In this case, electoral competition at the local level such as the 2018 post-conflict local election in Lebak Regency also reflects the various modalities owned by one dominant political clan that controls the economic and political structure, namely the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan, including cultural modalities. This is confirmed when members of these political clans use their identity with the identity of political clan figures, such as the 'Jayabaya' label behind their identity. Thus, it is very easy for the community to find this identity association, because Mulyadi Jayabaya as a local strongman already has an identity that is already embedded in public perception through the power authority possessed by Mulyadi Jayabaya when leading the government.

In other languages, this cultural modality becomes a political force that can be used to win battles by building a political image as part of the Mulyadi Jayabaya political clan, moreover, this political clan has built various regional bases to maintain power from other political parties or clans. These cultural modalities consist of knowledge, educational qualifications, academic degrees, and language (Bourdieu, 1989). In turn, the cultural modality of this political clan creates personal branding as well as the positioning of political clan members who advance in political contestation. The success of constructing this cultural modality will have implications for the accumulation of personal capital that will be owned by members of political clans. Personal capital can be in the form of "fame" and "popularity" (Bourdieu, 2020). As stated earlier, if this cultural capital is converted, it will increase personal electability in the political arena. No doubt, the political change will also increase.

This fame and popularity were obtained because of a determinant factor that had been obtained from the political and cultural power of the Mulyadi Jayabaya clan. As a result, people will quickly understand that there is a strong bond between the incumbent and the political clan. In addition, the personal branding that already exists as a legacy has been developed by the incumbent through language that is acceptable to the public. This cultural language interaction is carried out, both in the real world and in cyberspace, including an academic degree that has been obtained by an incumbent. Because, in the political context of Indonesia, academic degrees are still the basis for determining the choice of a particular candidate. The more academic degrees are obtained, the public's perception of this candidate will also increase, as will his trust and capacity in increasing knowledge. So, apart from the mere dimensions of fame and popularity, the incumbent's educational background also contributes to the perception of the public audience.

In addition, another cultural modality owned by incumbents is family cultural ties. This political family bond is reflected when members of the clans enter the political scene; both the regional executive and regional and national legislatures. Thus, ties like this can increase the accessibility of incumbents in building networks and increasing cultural modalities. In the end, it's cultural scale and territory will also increase, and its political chances of winning are also very large. This cultural modality is also increasingly distributed, not only in elite circles but down to the lower levels which are constructed by loyalists, constituents, and success teams.

Meanwhile, elections for regional heads which are controlled only by local regimes have opened the local political arena to become increasingly unbalanced, because public participation has also begun to be isolated. This is due to limited economic factors, unlike those owned by local political clans who already control various sectors and can accumulate various forms of rent from the ongoing economic process. The presence of this local strongman cannot be denied by his track record as a businessman, including Mulyadi Jayabaya and members of his political clan. As can be seen, contemporary political developments in Indonesia have involved businessmen to get



involved in politics; their involvement in politics is of course to take and seek profit through various government projects and so on.

CONCLUSION

To strengthen its power, Mulyadi Jayabaya's political clan tried to distribute the members of its political clan to advance on the political stage; both on a regional and national scale (executive and legislative), including in the regional head elections in 2018, where one of the clan members, Iti Octavia Jayabaya again advanced in this electoral contest. Apart from that, Mulyadi Jayabaya also placed clan members in various cross-political parties, both the PDI Perjuangan and the Democratic Party. As part of a political clan family, Iti Octavia Jayabaya who is also an incumbent tends to benefit more, because her political legacy already exists, all that remains is to continue the political legacy of Mulyadi Jayabaya. Previously, Iti ran for the first time in the local political arena at the 2013 Lebak Regional Election and again ran for the 2018 Local election and won. This victory was obtained because of the various modalities that the incumbent has as a family of local strongmen, among these modalities consist of socio-political capital, economic capital, and cultural capital. Explicitly, for example, this political legacy consists of patronage networks built, bureaucracy, and social, youth, religious, and community organizations. Thus, it is very easy for incumbents to win political contestation, because it has been institutionalized.

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