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Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan

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Table of Contents

- The excellence scholarships program: Analysis of implementation aspects and societal impact **1-15**
Achmad Kosasih¹, Nurzela Eka Juniarta², Yusuf Fadli³, Adie Dwiyanto Nurlukman⁴, Abdul Basit⁵
^{1,2,3,4} *Department of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Tangerang, Indonesia*
⁵ *Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Tangerang, Indonesia*
- How to deal with children's violence? Implementation of child protection policies in Bekasi Regency, Indonesia **16-29**
Aos Kuswandi¹, Ainur Rofieq², Siti Nuraini³, Noer Kholis⁴
^{1,3,4} *Department of Government Science, Graduate School, Universitas Islam 45, Indonesia*
² *Department of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Islam 45, Indonesia*
- Unfolding women's role in small-scale fishing community in The Philippines toward formulating a gender-sensitive local government policy **30-43**
Joy Tricia Mae Corpuz¹, Reynald Cacho², Brenda Villamor³, Maria Gracia Samson⁴, Ma. Sheila Simat⁵
^{1,2,3,4,5} *Philippine Normal University - South Luzon, Philippines*
- Regional head elections, high-cost politics, and corruption in Indonesia **44-59**
Leo Agustino¹, M Dian Hikmawan², Jonah Silas³
¹ *Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Science Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, Indonesia*
² *Department of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, Indonesia*
³ *Indonesian Politics Research & Consulting (IPRC), Indonesia*
- Territorial reform of areas with concentrated residence of minorities within decentralization policy under polyethnicity in Ukraine **60-79**
Sierhieï Sakhanienko¹, Natalia Kolisnichenko^{2*)}, Oleg Dolzhenkov³
¹ *Public Administration and Regional Studies Chair, Odessa Regional Institute for Public Administration of the National Academy for Public Administration under the President of Ukraine*
² *Odessa Regional Institute for Public Administration of the National Academy for Public Administration under the President of Ukraine*
³ *Educational Management and Civil Service Chair, South Ukrainian National Pedagogical University named after K.D. Ushynsky.*
- The implementation of *Sewakadharma* work culture to improve public service quality in Denpasar City, Indonesia **80-91**
Ni Putu Tirka Widanti
Departement of Public Administration
Postgraduate Program, Universitas Ngurah Rai, Indonesia

Mainstreaming state auxiliary agency to handling revenge porn victims in Indonesia, 2020-2021 **92-110**

Pamela Setya Miliasari¹, Dede Sri Kartini², Nandang Alamsah Delianoor³

^{1,2,3} Department of Government Studies, Postgraduate Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Padjajaran, Indonesia

Public service transformation trough digital-based services during Covid-19 pandemic in Riau Province, Indonesia **111-124**

Panca Setyo Prihatin¹, Pahmi Amri², Agung Wicaksono³

^{1,2} Department of Government Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Islam Riau, Indonesia

³ School of International Relations and Political Science, Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary

Islamophobia as a religious-based horizontal conflict and its resolution **125-140**

Rodon Pedrasan^{1*)}, Waluyo Handoko², Paulus Israwan Setyoko³, Denok Kurniasih⁴

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Social capital as a political strategy: evidence from Nasdem Party in Makassar City, Indonesia **141-155**

Suhardiman Syamsu¹, Andi Muhammad Rusli², Miranda Malinda Hamka³

^{1,2} Department of Government Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Hasanuddin, Indonesia

³ Department of Social Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Hasanuddin, Indonesia

Local development and enviromental governance: Experienced from extractive industry in East Luwu, Indonesia **156-168**

Umar Congge¹, Srirath Gohwong²

¹ Departement of Public Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sinjai, Indonesia

² Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kasetsart University, Thailand

Policy model for development of tourism villages based on local wisdom towards self-reliant village in Pangandaran Regency, Indonesia **169-181**

Yaya Mulyana¹, Abu Huraerah², M. Budiana³, Regan Vaughan⁴

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Social capital as a political strategy: evidence from Nasdem Party in Makassar City, Indonesia

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Abstract

The social capital in a general election is understudied compared to the economic capital. This study discusses the social capital of the Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem) party in the 2019 legislative election. Nasdem was in the top three rows of political party seats in the legislative election and won the most votes in the city of Makassar. This study used primary data collected from various related stakeholders: Nasdem's agent/organizer, Nasdem's legislative candidate, community leader, general election commissioner, and residents/voters. Content analysis based on in-depth interviews found the significant relation of social capital with Nasdem's strategy in winning the 2019 legislative election in Makassar. Therefore, social capital could be a theoretical and practical discussion in a general election, especially for the political party. More specifically, social capital in Nasdem strategy refers to bonding and bridging social capital, which was in the form of disaster care programs, free ambulance, family and friendship relations, and sons of the regions discourse. The study contributes to evidence of social capital implementation to political party strategy for winning the general election.

Keywords: social capital, political strategy, Nasdem Party.

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Introduction

Political parties are an ongoing study in political and government literature, considering the challenges faced by democratic countries change from time to time and the emergence of public will to follow these changes. Political parties are essential to aggregate the citizens' will and become citizens' representatives. One way of such representation is the general election (Ufen 2008). In Indonesia, there are two types of general elections for executive and legislative elections, the former includes presidential and vice presidential elections, regional head elections (governors, mayors, and villages), while the latter includes elections for members of the National House of Representatives, Regional House of Representatives, Village Consultative Board (Aspinall and Mietzner 2014; Fithor and Afrizal 2022; Syafei and Darajati 2020)

Political parties seek a will and the welfare of society (Häusermann, Picot, and Geering 2013). Basically, the needs of human life are not merely the basic needs, such as eating, drinking, biological, clothing and shelter (house). Indeed, humans also need recognition of self-existence and appreciation from others in the form of praise, giving work wages, status as a member of society, and even being a member of a political

party. The existence and interaction that takes place in political society are carried out by organizing a general election system. Political parties as one of the participants in the general election become the center of academic study, considering the development of political parties that are so complex both definitively and practically, as Robert Huckshorn defines a political party as simply an autonomous group of citizens who have the aim of participating in candidacy and competing in general elections with the hope of gaining control over government power through the control of the public office and government organizations (Katz and Crotty 2006).

Opinions and attitudes in modern society require processing and formulation to be conveyed to decision-makers or, in this case, to the government (Niessen 2019). Thus the demands or needs of the community are conveyed to the government through the flow of information from the bottom up. The process of formulating the demands or interests of the community is called the formulation of interests (Molokwane 2018). Political parties formulate interests, also carried out by the mass media, interest groups and other organizations and through political actions such as petitions and so on. The formulation of this interest in a political system is called input which is submitted to the agencies authorized to make decisions, in this case, the National House of Representatives, the government to be processed into output in the form of binding rules. In this process, the flow of communication is bottom-up. When political parties discuss government plans and policies, there is a flow of information, such as the top-down and the bottom-up. This is where political parties play the role of liaison between government and society. In carrying out this function, political parties are often referred to as brokers (intermediaries) in an idea (Anria et al. 2022; Luna et al. 2021).

Political parties also function as a means of political socialization. Political socialization is the process by which a person acquires the views, orientations and values of the society in which he belongs (Vila-Henninger 2020). Political socialization is also a process by which society passes norms and values from one generation to the next. The process of political socialization starts in childhood and is organized by various institutions and activities, such as formal and informal education, mass media such as television, and political parties. Through party education courses, ideological values and loyalty to the state and party are instilled (Gherghina and Volintiru 2021). Political recruitment is clearly included in one of the functions of political parties. The process through which political parties are then born new members who are talented to participate in the political process (Wang and Muriaas 2019). The main function of political recruitment is to ensure the continuity and sustainability of the party, as well as a way to select candidate leaders. The function of political parties is also as a means of regulating conflict (Luna et al. 2021; Rosenbluth and Shapiro 2018). As a democratic country, Indonesia has an open society, and differences and competition of opinion are typical. However, in a heterogeneous society, these differences of opinion, whether based on differences in ethnicity, status, socioeconomic, or religion, easily lead to conflict. Therefore, conflicts that occur can at least be overcome with the help of political parties so that the negative consequences that will arise from conflict can be minimized as much as possible.

Simply put, political parties are the tools needed to win elections and lead the government (Neumann 1969). Nowadays, Political parties are pillars of the country's democracy (Diniyanto 2017), without political parties, the democratic system will be difficult to run properly. As Hatta ensures that the party is the embodiment of the people, the party must be able to realize its aspirations and responsibilities to the

people. The dynamics of political parties in Indonesia has experienced ups and downs from time to time, appearing for the first time as pioneers of the ideological, racial, or ethnic movements of a group. These movements then developed rapidly since Indonesia declared its independence on August 17, 1945. Political parties or familiarly known by the Indonesian people as "*Parpol*" have become part of everyday life that participate in shaping Indonesian human culture, not only national identity and national identity, but also religious and regional identity. At first, it went hand in hand well and regularly, then it entered the new order transition era, when restrictions on political parties were imposed until party dynasties led to conflicts to power struggles. Finally, after 1998 when the reform of the Indonesian state was carried out, the activities of political parties in Indonesia again experienced their golden peak with the emergence of various parties in elections. As of 2019, there are 16 political parties nationally and 4 local political parties, one of which is a young party that promotes nationalism in democratization, namely the National Democratic Party (Arifianto 2019; Lane 2019).

The National Democratic Party or well-known as the Nasdem Party, is one of the parties in Indonesia. This party was founded on July 26, 2011, and has a vision and mission that is to mobilize changes in the restoration of Indonesia. Although the 2014 election was the first vote contest for the Nasdem party, this party got 6.72 percent of the vote and increased significantly in the 2019 election to 9.05 percent of the vote nationally (Lane 2019). Furthermore, at the local level in the province of South Sulawesi, the Nasdem party experienced the highest increase in the composition of the elected legislative members from 8 to 12 members and took second place in the vote after the Golkar party. Likewise, in the city of Makassar, the Nasdem party was in the top three rows of political parties in the legislative election with 5 seats in 2014 after the Golkar party, and increased to first in 2019 with 6 seats and got the seat of the Chair of the Council. Based on these gains, it is inseparable from the basic values and strategies that are run in the Nasdem Party system and legislative candidates. Accordingly, it is crucial to conduct research focusing on the process of winning strategies carried out by legislative candidates from the Nasdem party in the 2019 legislative elections. Nasdem has only twice participated in legislative elections and was able to get the most votes in various electoral districts in Indonesia, including in Makassar.

Research Methods

This study interviewed party actors in Makassar city, South Sulawesi province to collect primary data, while secondary data were obtained through journal articles, official documents, reports, and other research publications. The data were analyzed by content analyses.

Study Area

Makassar was chosen as the study area because the management of the Nasdem Party in Makassar substantially improved the quality of the party in the 2019 legislative election. It is crucial to be studied in Makassar because the significant turnout in legislative, especially Nasdem Party. Furthermore, the Lakkang village is the location of the study because the area remains important to the kinship values (social capital) that exist and then have a significant influence on the victory of the Nasdem party in the 2019 election.

Lakkang is a village and island in Tallo district, Makassar (Appendix A). Lakkang is located in the delta of the Tallo and Pampang rivers which were formed due to hundreds of years of river sedimentation. This island has been designated as a tourist spot. Several routes can be used to reach Lakkang Island, namely through the Kera-

Kera pier in Tamalanrea district, a pier on the edge of Toll of Ir. Sutami, and the Rappokalling pier.

Data Collection

In terms of a practical standpoint, purposive sampling was adopted, where participants were determined according to the requirements (characteristics and criteria) with specific considerations (John W. Edition 2009). Therefore, the data obtained is more representative (Appendix B). Through an in-depth interview, participants were asked about their willingness to be interviewed and voice recordings during the interview. After that, the response, then, transcribed in the recorded interview results in the form of a dialogue to further analysis.

Data Analysis

The data analysis involves interview transcripts, field notes and sorting data by source of information (John W. Edition 2009). The data is then read as a whole to get a general sense and deepen the extent to which we understand the data. Furthermore, reading the data as a whole makes it easier when coding (using hands or a computer) to categorize it based on themes and descriptions of the data. After that, the themes or descriptions are connected, and the last step is interpreting the data. Although, in this case, the researcher confirms whether the research results confirm or deny previous information, this interpretation can also be in the form of new questions that need to be answered.

Results and Discussion

Implementation of the 2019 Legislative Election

As a democratic country, Indonesia is based on its constitution that sovereignty is in the hands of the people, so the general election is the embodiment of the people's sovereignty. The implementation of the general election requires an institution that can plan, prepare, control, and evaluate the course of the election, the institution is the general election commission or abbreviated as *KPU*.

A general election refers to the struggle between political parties in a sizeable electoral district to find several people's representatives. Political parties nominate many candidates in a list with serial numbers and the people do not need to choose a name, but simply by selecting the image of the political party registered as a participant. The votes obtained by each participant (political party) will be counted and each contestant will get the number of seats in proportion to the votes obtained. Candidates who are selected to represent the area are determined based on sequential numbers from top to bottom. The implementation of the 2019 General Election was different from previous elections, because the election process in 2019 for the first time was held simultaneously 5 elections at once, starting from the city Regional House of Representatives, National House of Representatives, and Regional Representative Board, to the President.

Effectiveness is the relationship between output and achieving goals or objectives. It can be said to be effective if the activities that have been carried out have achieved their goals and objectives. Simultaneously this election was held for the first time, therefore it is certain that there will be an evaluation process related to the implementation of the election, in this case to measure the effectiveness of the implementation of the general election in 2019.

In the 2019 election, the most regret thing was the number of victims. For the sake of political contestation which was thought to be able to streamline time and budget, it turned out to be tragic. The main factor was fatigue, because counting the

number of votes is not an easy thing, it takes high accuracy and concentration. However, if you look at the other side, the parties that carry the president were lucky. In addition to taking many victims, the implementation of the 2019 General Election also resulted in confusion and misunderstanding of the public regarding who would be elected, as a result of which many people chose to abstain or chose only based on seeing their party without paying attention to the vision and mission of the candidate. In a nutshell, the implementation as well as reflection of the 2019 general election can be seen from the Table 2.

Table 2. Implementation and Reflection of the 2019 General Election

Implementation	Reflection
1. Time efficiency: hold five general elections at once	1. Many workloads for the committee while less payment
2. Budget efficiency: minimum cost	2. President election gets more attention the legislative and local election
3. Many people choose to abstain or only based on seeing their party without paying attention to the vision and mission of the candidate	3. The president's party tends to be dominated by the big parties

Source: Authors' elaboration from field interview with Endang Sari, Abdul Hamid, and Dara (Makassar, March 25, 2021)

Apart from the process of holding the 2019 general election, the legislative general election is inseparable from political parties vying for seats in parliament. The Nasdem Party is a newly formed party that can defeat the old parties such as PPP, PBB, PKPI, Hanura. Then, in the 2019 Election, Nasdem was able to maintain more its position than the 2014 election. This was a big step for the Nasdem party because the everyday politics, not only worked for the legislative elections.

As a new party, Nasdem already has several main assets to welcome the 2019 General Election. There are also several explanations regarding the Nasdem party's winning strategy in the 2019 legislative election.

Nasdem Winning Strategy

In this section, it focusses on discussing the strategies carried out by the Nasdem Party in winning the election because of course the Nasdem Party as a new political party has many concerns, one of which is strategy. To participate in political battles, the Nasdem party must have different capital and strategies from other parties in order to face its competitors and win the election.

Before describing and discussing in more detail the strategy of the Nasdem Party, it is necessary to first examine what is meant by strategy. Strategy in a narrow or broad sense consists of three elements, namely goals, means, and methods. Thus, strategy is a method used by using available means to achieve predetermined goals. A political strategy is a way for a political party to accomplish its goals and ideals. A new and good political strategy will naturally affect the number of votes in the general election.

Nasdem Disaster Care

The term "*Peduli*", according to the Indonesian Dictionary, means paying attention. Caring is an action based on concern for other people's problems. The Nasdem Party carried out a program called Nasdem Peduli. Nasdem Care was one of the strategies of the Nasdem party to attract people's attention and vote for Nasdem's candidate at the local general election, people no longer think long about choosing the

Nasdem party. Nasdem Peduli is a continuous social activity, not only at the time of democratic party. Continuous means that whenever a disaster or disaster strikes the city of Makassar, the Nasdem Party contributed to helping people who need assistance.

Furthermore, there was Nasdem party ambulance which used free of charge by the public (Figure 1), the ambulance car has been used to help the people due to burning the actions of student demonstrators.



Figure 1. Ambulance cars of nasdem party

Nasdem care was not just an ordinary program, this is a program that will invite sympathy from all people in the city of Makassar. One of the latest strategies was to accumulate social capital in the community. Indirectly it seems that everything is free, which means free without using money. It's paid for voice, that's the hope of this strategy.

In figure 2, it can be seen that the Nasdem party was active in observing the disaster conditions around it, and the chairman of the Makassar Nasdem Party DPD also directly participated in providing assistance.



Figure 2. The chairman of the Makassar Nasdem DPD is providing assistance to fire victims

Source: Instagram @nasdemmks



Figure 3. Garnita Nasdem distributes takjil to road users

Source: Instagram @nasdemmks

The wing organizations of the Nasdem party also took part in providing assistance to the community, such as the women's movement or Garnita. As seen in Figure 3., in commemoration of Kartini Day which falls on April 21, 2021, Garnita Nasdem in front of the Regional Board Nasdem Party of South Sulawesi office distributed food to road users. Not only by looking at Instagram posts, the researchers also saw firsthand how Rachmatika Dewi, Megalisa, and other Nasdem women

distributed food which will attract the attention of every community who passes through Bontolempangan, Makassar.

Table 3. Nasdem Care Program

Nasdem Peduli (Disaster Care)
Definition: Nasdem Peduli is a continuous social activity, not only based on approaching a democratic party
Components:
Fire brigade for helping people suffer from burning incident
Provide fire trucks
Provide 14 ambulance cars in each Districts
Distribution 5000 basic needs to the poor throughout the city of Makassar: Sarung and Foods.
Utilize social media, such as Instagram and twitter.

Source: Authors' elaboration from field interview with Dara and Amar, the Nasdem Party Committee for Makassar City (respectively 3 and 17 March 2021)

Use of Bonding Social Capital

The most commonly used by researchers approaching social capital from politics and government studies is binding and bridging social capital. Critical scholars in this theoretical tradition can be traced by James Coleman, Ronald Burt, Nan Lin, and Alejandro Portes (Burt 2000; Lin 2019; Portes and Landolt 2000). Van Staveren and Knorringa (2007) have conceptualized various thoughts on the difference between binding social capital as given trust and bridging as general trust (earned trust). In this study, bonding social capital is defined as a person's close bond or relationship with a person in a community that has a high degree of similarity based on demographics, attitudes, and knowledge (Lee 2020). For instance, include family, friends, and neighbors. Meanwhile, bridging social capital is defined as a person's outgoing ties or a person's relationship in a community that has different characteristic backgrounds (Pelling and High 2005). For instance, include friendships with differences in ethnicity, race, and religion.

Bonding social capital refers to providing material and emotional support, which is more inward-looking and exclusive. The intensity of interaction and strong trust in each other are the characteristics of bonding social capital. When one individual needs help from another in a bonding social capital, the individual immediately gets help. So, it can be said that a strong bond between individuals allows it to be formed. Bridging social capital refers to providing information and knowledge support (Aspinall and Mietzner 2014), more outward-looking and inclusive. Despite the weak interaction and trust in each other in this social capital, one can get broad friendship information even though they have different socio-economic backgrounds and identities. In the context of general elections, in terms of bonding, legislative candidates from political parties can build relationships with voters based on family ties, relatives, and so on. Likewise, regarding bridging, legislative candidates from political parties can get votes from friends with different social, economic, and other identities.

The victory of the Nasdem party in Makassar city, especially in electoral sub-district II (Tallo, Wajo, Sangkarrang, Bontoala, and Ujung Tanah) cannot be separated from the Askar's figure who is the son of the Lakkang sub-district, known as Lakkang Island is one of the villages located in Tallo District. Even though it is located in the city of Makassar, Lakkang Island is still thick with kinship, because it is not so wide and is located between rivers, it causes the people on the island to know each other and marry each other.

Askar, who is a candidate from the Nasdem Party in the second electoral district in 2019, adds to the value of the gain from the Nasdem party's vote, because only by strengthening the kinship network that has been built, then without using grandiose strategies to get votes on Lakkang Island, Askar seems easy to get a high vote in the area of his birth.

The number of voters in the 2019 Election was 867 voters, meaning that 69.20% voted for Askar on Lakkang Island. Even though the Askar Dapil area is located on Lakkang Island, where almost all of the residents in the area are relatives of Askar himself, it does not make Askar fully confident that all residents on Lakkang Island will be directly elected, resulted by the results of the vote on Lakkang Island that not all people on the island of Lakkang chose Askar. Even so, Askar still pays attention to the Lakkang Island area but by relying on his relatives to help him socialize, by creating a special team whose members consist of his own relatives, the campaign team is called Askar's relatives. In addition to forming a campaign team, Askar has also relied on social capital from small to large scale for the second period to become a legislature at the Makassar city.

According to Bourdieu and Richardson (1986), social capital is the total of both actual and potential resources associated with ownership of a network of institutional relationships based on mutual knowledge and recognition. The amount of social capital owned by a group member is dependent on the quantity and quality of the network of relationships that can be created, as well as the amount of economic, cultural, and social capital owned by everyone in the network of relationships (Adler and Kwon 2009).

Social capital has the power to build networks and public relations so as to increase community participation to play an active role in supporting actors. Their interactions are accommodated through joint activities such as material assistance to the surrounding community and daily interactions. In general, over time these interactions become social capital that actors can use to gain public trust in order to win the Legislative Election in the Makassar City Dapil II in 2019.

Bonding Social Capital		
Rely on family/relative relations	Build campaign team consist of family and relatives	Provide clothes, t-shirts, <i>sarung</i> , and money

Figure 4. Use of Bonding Social Capital

However, if the social capital that has been used for a long time by Askar and as a whole to the people on Lakkang Island, then where did the 30.8% of the Lakkang people vote, what caused them not to vote for Askar.

Based on the author's interview, one of the things that caused some people on the island of Lakkang not to choose Askar was because of Askar's money politics. Legislative candidates in general have a campaign method that is almost the same, namely using a money politics system. Money politics which in the Indonesian sense, money politics is one of the practices that can create political corruption and become a major problem, which is the most common in Indonesia (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2015).

According to Fransiska Adelina (2019), one of the causes or potential for the practice of political corruption is money politics used for the practice of buying and selling voter votes. Indirectly, Askar practices money politics through his success team, namely his closest relatives, but the community considers it not a problem or part of the word "bribe" because Askar is already known to share on various occasions.

Yati (45 years old) said that before the 2019 election, Askar distributed T-shirts to Lakkang residents with the name Askar on it. For the provision of sarongs, Askar usually distributes gloves to the residents of Lakkang at the time of Eid al-Fitr. Also, when Askar was elected as a member of the DPR, then Askar distributed it all, like basic necessities. If Askar visits Lakkang, Askar distributes some money, especially if he knows that we are residents of Lakkang, he will surely give the money, wherever he sees us. Things like that make Askar liked by many people, especially if we are his family.

Askar has prepared careful planning, in the 2019 General Election for the second time he became a participant in the General Election. Askar's first time participating in the general election was in 2014, and he managed to occupy a seat in the DPR. His level of satisfaction did not stop there, therefore Askar took advantage of the momentum while serving in the 2014-2018 period as a strategy to get more votes when he ran again as a member of the legislature in 2019. Money politics was not a problem because the actual form was not seen, where the process was not carried out near the 2019 general election.

Political corruption is an abuse of power by politicians for personal gain with the aim of increasing wealth or power (Ceva and Ferretti 2017). When the phenomenon of political corruption occurs before the election or during the election, this is called money politics. Therefore, the process of political education then becomes an important thing to be given to the community before the election so that the public has sufficient knowledge. The public must have an understanding that political corruption or what is familiarly known as money politics will harm them in the future.

It is undeniable that Askar's experience in politics in the city of Makassar will undoubtedly boost the Nasdem party's vote in the 2019 Election. Her experience while still a member of the Makassar City Regional House of Representatives and then entrusted with the position of Mrs. Indira, as Deputy Chairperson of the City Regional House of Representatives Makassar, proves the existence of the figure of Askar in the political arena of Makassar City.

Askar's character and the network that has been built since the first period he was elected as a member of the Makassar City Regional House of Representatives made him quite well known to the people in electoral sub-district II (Tallo, Wajo, Sangkarrang, Bontoala, and Ujung Tanah). Askar as a central figure in the electoral sub-district II area, especially on Lakkang Island, which then made the chances of Askar being elected even greater.

According to Amar, the Nasdem Party Regional Representative Board administrator in Makassar,

"Askar is also one of the best Nasdem cadres. In 1 organization, it is like on a ship there must be a ship captain, then Askar is chosen to be the captain of the ship of the Makassar DPRD with the most votes, the most party votes." (Makassar, March 3, 2021)

Askar's education started from elementary school at Elementary School 109 Lakkang Village in 1990-1996, then Mawar continued her education at Guppi Samata Gowa Junior High School in 1996-1999, then she continued her education at a higher level, namely at a State High School. 6 Makassar in 1999-2002 and the last education

that Askar took was at the Faculty of Law, Hasanuddin University from 2002 to 2009. With the many networks of friends that Askar has starting from where he lives and the network of friends who support him so that he is able to get the most votes in the 2019 Election. This is evidenced by the results of an interview with a participant named Sahar (51 years old) who said,

"He was reported from friend to friend, I nominate, that's all. Friends in college, high school friends, friends, basically all of his friends he told me that I was running for it, which happened to be in his electoral district." (Makassar, 19 December 2020)

The use of this network from one's hometown has become one of the strategies used by the Nasdem Party through its actor, Askar. Known to be friendly by the people around him adds more value than the figure of Askar.

The following is the statement of a community leader on the island of Lakkang, Sahar (51 years old) regarding his origin with Askar,

"I'm nothing, no external relations, I'm just a newcomer. After all, he's a local boy, so he realized why he was helping other people when there were sons from our area." (Makassar, 19 December 2020)

And Ani (60) emphatically said,

"Because of the people here, the family too." (Makassar, October 7, 2020)

The following is a statement from a community leader on the island of Lakkang, Sahar (51 years old) regarding Askar's hospitality, *"He often visits de', he never forgets. Just contacted via whatsapp he immediately replied. So we are grateful that someone can convey our aspirations, our wishes for how good Lakkang is." (Makassar, 19 December 2020)*

To strengthen the network from the same village, so that it can be maintained, namely with social capital. Social capital is not only used by Askar for his relatives, but for anyone he has ever met starting from when he was in school until now. Askar builds social capital starting when he was in college. Being friends with anyone, being active in a campus organization, makes him have many relationships and experiences that can support his aspiration to become part of the government in the city of Makassar.

The following is Askar's statement regarding himself,

"I was an activist when I was in college, I was the coordinator of the Indonesian law student senate association, I was not the chairman of the BEM or the senate, but the person behind the scenes was me. From the start, I was really happy with the government's politics. I enrolled in college, the first choice was to major in government, then the second choice was law and it turned out that I graduated in law. I majored in constitutional law so I already know how to organize a country well." (Makassar, December 2, 2020)

Social capital is able to attract voters when they want to make choices, this strategy of social capital can increase public confidence in the candidates to be elected, and the community can influence each other because it has formed a very high sense of trust. In addition, the quality possessed by Askar became its own capital in the number of votes obtained by the Nasdem party. The characteristic of the figure of a farmer's child, who mingles with the community or the populace makes Askar an attractive and generous figure.

"I come from a nobody. I am only the son of a farmer who was abandoned by my father since I was in 2nd grade of high school, and thank God I was able to go to college without taking a written test." (Makassar, December 2, 2020)

Askar started his career in politics starting from scratch, fighting alone to get the best position, starting with his dedication to his hometown, Makassar city, especially on Lakkang Island. He said,

"I like to start something from the bottom, especially Makassar is my hometown, I want to be useful for many people, not just theory. And life is a process, step by step. Because I can't go directly to the executive, that's why I started from the legislature. Politics is only 2, seize and defend. We have to fight to seize power later. When we have got it, we have to defend it. That's what politics is like." (Makassar, December 2, 2020)

This is what makes the figure of Askar as a very influential actor for the victory of the Nasdem party in the 2019 legislative elections. Both in terms of experience and the figure he has in the politics of the city of Makassar. Sahar (51 years old) said,

"It's been 2 periods, after all, in the second period, people knew me and in the first period it helped the residents quite a lot." (Makassar, 19 December 2020)

Then the quality possessed by Askar was strengthened by the opinion of the Nasdem Party DPD Board of Makassar City, Dara. He said that the determination of the chairman was not based on votes but because Askar was a capable and worthy figure to occupy the position as Chairman of the DPRD in Makassar City,

"Brother Askar has been with Nasdem for quite a long time, which means that in terms of experience, background, then also his position in the party, it is not wrong if he is trusted to be the chairman of the DPR. In every election for the leadership of the council in each district, it has a score. The scoring is not necessarily based on the largest vote, well, but there are several factors that must be met in order to become a DPR leader, not just the vote factor. It will continue to be sent to the Provincial DPW, later the province will send it again, after that they will send it to the DPP, now the DPP will judge the end, not for us to determine, we only provide guidance, assistance." (Makassar, March 3, 2021).

Apart from Askar who uses a strategy by utilizing the network of his hometown, the Nasdem party has already won the hearts of the people on Lakkang Island, as can be seen from the mapping of the location there is an alley called the "Lorong Nasdem".

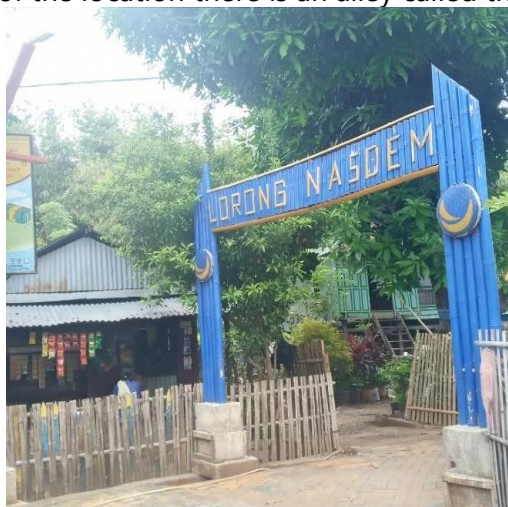


Figure 5. Nasdem Alley on Lakkang Island

The network rather than coming from the same party of choice as the majority of the people on Lakkang Island made the people on Lakkang Island more united and then chose Askar. so that the Nasdem party's vote acquisition on the island of Lakkang so rapidly increased in the 2019 election.

Use of Bridging Social Capital

In political life, political parties have political practices that aim to win over their cadres. Political practices used such as campaigns. It is undeniable that campaigning is one of the media that is widely used in society, this is because campaign practices are easier to influence people to choose one candidate (Simons 2022). This campaign is carried out directly and indirectly. Direct campaigns are carried out by visiting the community and indirect campaigns are through social media. In addition to campaign practices, a political cadre often takes advantage of his own advantages compared to other cadres, such as the jargon of "sons of the region", this is commonly found in every region before the election (Fox 2018). Based on this, the political practice used by every political candidate is always related to the area where he lives. The jargon used, especially for regional development, is used as social capital. Social capital is significant in influencing people to choose it. This practice is also commonly found in society to increase their electability as a candidate for the government. The concept of social capital in politics is highlighted by looking at the process of winning people's hearts by implementing a bottom-up leadership system. Social capital is more about the relationships that are built or social relationships (Claridge 2018; Putnam 2001).

One way the Nasdem party promotes its party is through the mass media. The Nasdem Party tries to present a simple picture through the media, one of which can be said that the media is a political instrument of the Nasdem party in attracting sympathizers. With the existence of mass media, the wider community will get information quickly and accurately. Marketing is both a planned activity and a strategy with long-term and short-term dimensions that aims to shape and instill voter expectations, attitudes, beliefs, orientations, and behaviour (Suneki et al. 2020). supports various dimensions, especially in making choices for specific parties or candidates.

The role of the media in election campaigns is essential. Almost no politics does not use the media in socialization or party campaigns. In some political parties, the most significant cost and budget are allocated for advertising in the media. Because the media is considered an effective means of announcing and introducing a party along with its programs. In addition to the party's vision and mission, of course, the personal figures of the respective legislative candidates have emerged and adorned the mass media. According to the Makassar City Nasdem Party Management, Amar said,

"Yes, the media is very effective. If the Nasdem Party uses all media and we have Metro TV, most of us are assisted by Metro TV." (Makassar, March 3, 2021)

With the initial capital of the mass media already owned by the Nasdem party, the Nasdem Party has a great opportunity to introduce its party throughout the city of Makassar and even throughout Indonesia. In addition, the Nasdem Party also has its advantage in campaigning for its party platform without paying a penny.

Apart from Metro TV, in the digital era, social media now has a significant role in conveying political messages directly to the public during the campaign period. Makassar City Nasdem Party Regional administrator, Dara said,

"If I'm not just Metro TV, print media, electronic media, then social media, it's part of the campaign for the legislator candidates. Right now it's a digital area, you play more on social media." (Makassar, March 17, 2021)

The Nasdem Party has successfully utilised the mass media as one of its strategies. In political strategy, the mass media cannot be separated by the interests of a political party because the mass media is a bridge for political parties to campaign, offering the big ideas of political parties quickly to all people in the city of Makassar.

With this, the presence of the mass media owned by the Nasdem Party is beneficial in competing with other political parties in welcoming the 2019 General Election.

Conclusion

Social capital strategies are carried out by the Nasdem party starting from building bonding and bridging social capital to win the 2019 Election. The elected legislative members get the most votes in their electoral districts because of the strong kinship network and networks of their hometown owned by Nasdem party actors in the Makassar City Election region II. Election region II was a playing area when the elected legislative members were young until they grew up and got seats in the first period. He continued to develop in the central area of Lakkang Island and helped the community if they were in trouble, both in terms of finances, work, and other. Elected legislators are always willing to help so that during the second term of candidacy in 2019, the public will not glance at other candidates.

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