

## The power of incumbent political capital of Suharsono-Halim in the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election

### *Kekuatan modalitas politik petahana Suharsono-Halim di Pilkada Bantul 2020*

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#### Abstract

The regional head election in Bantul in 2020 is an interesting political contestation event. This is because the previous incumbent regent and deputy regent in Bantul participated in this political contest, which broke up the joint venture. The struggle for power in Bantul is interestingly won by the previous deputy regent, Abdul Halim Muslih. This victory certainly raises a big question as to why Suharsono, who is actually an incumbent regent, is easily defeated. In fact, under the leadership of Suharsono, Bantul has always made various achievements both locally, nationally and internationally. Departing from this problem, it is necessary to examine how the strength of the political modalities between the two was so that in the end Abdul Halim Muslih won. The research conducted by qualitative approach by using descriptive method. The research materials were collected from library research. The author collects data through literature studies, both journals, media, news, KPU documents, or other literature that supports this paper. The researchers argue that the incumbent Abdul Halim Muslih's victory in the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election cannot be separated from the strength of social, cultural, and political modalities. The advantage of this modality is able to gain votes in the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election. Although it must be admitted that Suharsono's economic modality is better than Abdul Halim Muslih.

**Keywords:** incumbent politics; political modalities; regional head election

#### Abstrak

Pemilihan kepala daerah di Bantul tahun 2020 merupakan ajang kontestasi politik yang menarik. Pasalnya, petahana dan wakil bupati sebelumnya di Bantul ikut serta dalam kontestasi politik yang membubarkan usaha patungan itu. Perebutan kekuasaan di Bantul secara menarik dimenangkan oleh wakil bupati sebelumnya, Abdul Halim Muslih. Kemenangan ini tentu menimbulkan pertanyaan besar mengapa Suharsono yang sebenarnya adalah bupati petahana, mudah dikalahkan. Padahal, di bawah kepemimpinan Suharsono, Bantul selalu menorehkan berbagai prestasi baik lokal, nasional maupun internasional. Berangkat dari permasalahan tersebut, perlu ditelaah bagaimana kekuatan modalitas politik di antara keduanya sehingga pada akhirnya Abdul Halim Muslih menang. Penelitian dilakukan dengan pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggunakan metode deskriptif. Bahan penelitian dikumpulkan dari penelitian kepustakaan. Penulis mengumpulkan data melalui studi literatur, baik jurnal, media, berita, dokumen KPU, maupun literatur lain yang mendukung tulisan ini. Para peneliti berpendapat bahwa kemenangan petahana Abdul Halim Muslih pada Pilkada Bantul 2020 tidak lepas dari kekuatan modalitas sosial, budaya, dan politik. Keunggulan modalitas ini adalah mampu mendulang suara pada Pilkada Bantul 2020. Meski harus diakui modalitas ekonomi Suharsono lebih baik dari Abdul Halim Muslih.

**Kata kunci:** politik petahana; modalitas politik; pemilihan kepada daerah

## Introduction

Elections for regional head are one of the tools of democracy to ensure that regional leadership changes every five years. This election is a time for local citizens to determine regional heads as a means of channeling political aspirations independently, freely, fairly, and without intervention (Zuhro 2019). It is hoped that the transition from authoritarian democracy to a new democracy can have an impact on the democratic consolidation in Indonesia to build an accountable and comprehensive democracy (Suyatno 2016). The dynamics of democracy in Indonesia are complicated. In 2020, simultaneous regional head elections during the Covid-19 pandemic show that the state guarantees the implementation of the constitutional rights of its citizens. The simultaneous regional head elections in 2020 are the fourth simultaneous regional head elections since 2015 and followed by 270 regions in Indonesia with details of nine provinces, 224 regencies, and 37 cities. The 2020 regional head elections are used to elect regional heads, both the Governor and Deputy Governor, Mayor and Deputy Mayor, Regent and Deputy Regent (Ristyawati 2020).

The number of regions holding simultaneous regional head elections in 2020 shows the readiness regional commitments to formulate alternative democracy for political and governmental change (Solihah 2018). Although there has been a change in the formulation of alternative democracy, the 2020 simultaneous regional head elections cannot be separated from the increasing number of incumbent candidates. Based on data from CNN Indonesia, there are at least 290 incumbent candidates spread to 236 regions in Indonesia. This shows that the incumbent political phenomenon is a trend in democracy and it is feared that it will close the space for healthy political competition. Of course, this is a distortion that occurs in the landscape of democratic consolidation in the political life of democracy in Indonesia (Sutisna 2017). In addition, the large number of incumbent candidates in democracy also creates a gap that democracy can only be accessed by certain people. Therefore, social mobility will be closed and competition opportunities for the community will be limited (Effendi 2018). As a result, democracy only revolves around the elite and creates a perception that democracy can only be built by actors who are in elite circle. As a result, actors outside the elite circle do not have opportunity to access democracy.

In the 2020 Region Head Election, Bantul, DI Yogyakarta was the region followed by incumbent candidates. Interestingly, the incumbent candidates in Bantul are candidates who previously served as Regent and Deputy Regent of Bantul since 2016 until 2021. Previously, the Regent and Deputy Regent of Bantul were led by Suharsono and Halim. However, their relationship broke up and they competed for the position of the Regent of Bantul. The competition between the incumbent Regent and the Deputy Regent is the focus of this research. Uniquely, in this case the incumbent Deputy Regent won. Although during Suharsono's leadership, Bantul has received various achievements, such as in the field of public service from the Ministry of State Civil Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform, tourism, empowerment, and others.

Research conducted by Rohmah (2013) on the incumbent's political strategy in the 2010 Ngawi Regional Head Election for the Budi Sulistyono-Ony Anwar, the result of this research is that the success of the incumbent cannot be separated from the modality of the political network. Budi Sulistyono-Ony Anwar, have an extensive network; they have the local government bureaucracy control from the regent level to the neighborhood level (RT). In addition, they also have mass-based that collaborated with various independent organizations such as GP Anshor, NU, Fatayat NU, Teratai, Winongo Kera Sakti, Karang Taruna, Dharma Wanita, PKK, Gapoktan, and several influential figures in Ngawi Regency. This research shows that in the 2020 Ngawi Regional Head Election, the incumbent's victory is based on political modalities, especially political network. Therefore, political modalities have an important role in increasing the potential for incumbent to win in Regional Head Election.

The same thing also happened in research conducted by Khoiron and Siboy (2018) on the political victories of the incumbent in the 2015 Regional Head Election of Surabaya City and Malang Regency. The political victories of the incumbents in Surabaya City and Malang Regency in 2015 were based on

political and social modalities. These two modalities are the basic for the incumbents to survive and continue to gain public trust. Meanwhile, in the context of the Bantul Regency, the literature that examines the politics of the incumbent are limited. Incumbent politics has become a trend in the Regional Head Election. For example, in a research conducted by Putri and Qodir (2017) on the winning factors of the Suharsosno-Halim coalition in the 2015 Bantul Regional Election. The victory of the Suharsono-Halim are supported by the coalition of political parties, political participation, and modalities such as political, social, cultural, and economic. During their period, they broke up partnerships and each nominate for the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election and were won by the incumbent Bantul Deputy Regent.

This research were based on the limited literature related to the political modalities of incumbents in the Bantul Regency. In addition, the aims of this research is to show how the endurance of the incumbent's political modalities, especially the previous Deputy Regent (Halim), was able to defeat his political rival, the previous incumbent Regent (Suharsono). Furthermore, in examining the workings of the incumbent political modalities in the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election, the authors use the concept of modality from Bourdieu dan Casey. Bourdieu divides modalities into four, namely economic, social, symbolic, and cultural modalities (Bourdieu 2018). Casey added the political modality (Casey 2008). However, in this study, the symbolic modality will not be discussed further because it is not relevant to the problem on this study.

## **Research Method**

The type of research used in this research is descriptive qualitative which explains the process of the occurrence of this phenomenon and what its characteristics (Nassaji 2015). This type of research requires the authors to be able to collect the required data in a complex manner. The data obtained is important in the analysis process, so that it can produce in-depth research. In general, this type of research depends on the ability of the researcher to make observations on the object of research. This is related to the final result that -can present its uniqueness and distinguish it from previous research (Fadli 2021).

Furthermore, this research analyzes the data using the concept presented by Miles and Huberman in which there are three main stages in processing qualitative data. The three stages are the reduction stage, display (data presentation), and drawing conclusions. In the reduction stage, the researcher sorts and selects relevant and irrelevant information so that the data found will be narrower and less and lead to the main issues raised in a study. While at the display stage, the researcher will present the data in the form of tables and pictures to support the research arguments found. The last is drawing conclusions. After all the data is presented, the problem that becomes the object of the research can be understood and then the conclusion is drawn which is the result of this research. Therefore, in drawing conclusions to be structured and systematic with discussion and discussion, it refers to the operational definition of research used (Creswell 2014).

## **Results and Discussion**

### **The incumbent political economy modality (Halim Muslih-Suharsono)**

Economic modalities have an important influence on election victory. Bourdieu (2018) argues that economic modalities are the root of all types of modalities. Economic modalities turn into money and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights. The basic assumption is that the greater the economic modalities, the more potential to win the election. This is based on the opinion that the greater the economic modalities in the election, the easier it is to mobilize all resources, such as the masses, media, voters, or other elements that support a candidate's victory. However, this did not happen in the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election. Incumbent candidates who have greater economic modalities (allocation for campaign budget) and their wealth are apparently not sufficient to mobilize the masses and other resources. Interestingly, the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election was won by the Halim-

Joko; Halim was the previous Deputy Regent of Bantul. In fact, in terms of economic modalities, the Halim-Joko have smaller economic modalities in the allocation for campaign budget and their wealth, as shown in Table 1.

Based on data on personal wealth and campaign budget owned by each incumbent candidates, there is a stark contrast. This is based on the reality of the defeat of the incumbent, Suharsono, who was previously the Regent of Bantul, against the incumbent Abdul Halim Muslih, who was previously Deputy Regent. The incumbent's economic modality, Suharsono, was superior to Abdul Halim Muslih. Research from Aspinal and Sukmajati showed that incumbents have several advantages over non-incumbents. First, the incumbent has discretionary access to the policy. Second, it can implement policies that are non-programmed and are only aimed at certain groups that are considered electorally beneficial to the incumbent (Okhtariza 2019). This phenomenon is interesting, the economic modalities are large but do not contribute to the acquisition of votes in the election. The elements of economic modalities in the form of money, the wealth, and property owned by the candidates are represent great potential to influence elections both rationally and irrationally (Wance & Djae 2019). A large economic modality if managed properly can turn into a political modality in the form of mobilizing people's vote, but in the context of the Suharsono-Halim in Bantul, it is not clear how this economic modality works optimally.

**Table 1.**

Personal wealth and campaign contribution for the 2020 regional head election of Bantul Regency  
(Rate as of 1 December 2020: 1 USD = Rp14.165)

Candidates	Personal Wealth	Campaign Budget
Abdul Halim Muslih (1)	USD 90.378,10	USD 21.546,10
Joko Purnomo (1)	USD 211.092,69	
Suharsono (2)	USD 585.431,50	USD 33.356,90
Totok Sudarto (2)	USD 76.297,30	

Source: Processed from LHKPN and KPU data (Hasanudin 2020)

Large economic modalities cannot work if other modalities do not work significantly. This is in line with the research conducted by Setiawan and Sa'diyah on political modalities in dynastic politics in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election in the Pilar Saga's victory. Pilar Saga, who has a family relationship with Atut Chosiyah, is small in terms of economic modality when compared to the other candidates; Pilar Saga's economic capital led them to victory in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election. Pilar Saga was able to defeat their rival, Prabowo Subianto's nephew (Minister of Defense), namely Rahayu Saraswati Djodjohadikusumo and the daughter of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia (KH Ma'ruf Amin), namely Siti Nir Azizah (Setiawan & Sa'diyah 2021). Learning from the case, although the economic modalities are not large, Pilar Saga's modality, who was paired with Benjamin Davnie, who previously served as Deputy Mayor of South Tangerang, was able to win the election. This can be traced to the achievement of the highest Human Development Index in Banten Province in 2018, 2019, and 2020. The increase was successively from 2018 to 2020, namely by obtaining a score of 71.95, 72.44 and 72.45. This is a strategy for how this modality works, which is disguised by mobilizing people's votes and creating rational voter behavior in South Tangerang.

The case in South Tangerang was the same as what happened in Bantul, the incumbents' battle was won by the Halim-Joko with few economic modalities, but in this case it is unique because of the unclear track record of Suharsono as the previous Regent of Bantul. So far, Suharsono has made Bantul Regency progress and got various achievements at the national and international levels. This should be able to make rational voter behavior toward Suharsono's previous track record of performance. This case is different from the case in South Tangerang. Therefore, the conditions and social settings of the community affect the work of economic modalities in Regional Head Election. Suharsono-Totok's

economic modalities were not followed and not supported by social order, which resulted in the defeat in the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election.

One of the advantages of incumbent candidates can mobilize votes (Cruz et al. 2016). In voter mobilization, Suharsono’s economic modalities have not been properly transformed. As the incumbent Bantul Regent, Suharsono has more value in strengthening voter mobilization. Moreover, with the various advances in building Bantul, it should have contributed to the victory. Improper management economic modalities have an impact on the silence and lack of transformation of economic modalities to support themselves. Basically, voter mobilization is a tangible form of political activity. The amount of economic modality can be transformed into political activities (Sholikin 2020). In the context of the incumbent battle in Bantul, it is interesting how the previous incumbent regent’s economic modalities could not beat Halim Muslih who was the incumbent Deputy Regent. Therefore, economic modalities cannot mobilize votes if not followed by other modalities. Thus, this research shows that economic modality is not the main determinant of the candidate's victory.

**Networks and political modalities**

Based on Casey (2008), political modalities is the accumulation of all modalities as a basis for political action. In addition, all the modalities conveyed by Bourdieu (social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital) are mobilized and produced for political purposes and activities. How these capitals produce political results, both as a source to encourage the success of candidates and mobilize the masses as a way to win targeted political contestations. All modalities do not operate separately but become a network oriented toward the existing political power. The strong political contestation among incumbents in 2020 Bantul Regional Head Elections is a unique phenomenon that does not occur in other regions. This is because the two candidates are incumbents who broke up. They were competing for the seat of the Regent of Bantul with the number of voters according the data from the DPT KPUD Bantul Regency in 2020 as many as 704,688 voters. The first candidates were Abdul Halim Muslih-Joko Purnomo and Suharsono-Totok Sudarto. In terms of political modalities, both were incumbents who previously served as Regent and Deputy Regent of Bantul Regency, as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2.**  
The track record of the 2020 Bantul regional election candidates' political map

<b>Incumbent*</b>	<b>Bearer party</b>	<b>Political track record</b>
<b>Abdul Halim Muslih*</b>	PKB, PDI-P, PAN, Partai Demokrat, Partai Gelora dan PSI	Secretary DPC PKB Bantul 1999-2009 Chairman of the PKB Bantul DPC 20212-2017 Deputy Chairman of DPW PJB 2004-2009 Members of the DIY DPRD 2004-2014 Members of DPRD DIY 2009-2014 Deputy Regent of Bantul 2016-2021
<b>Joko Purnomo</b>		Members of DPRD DIY 2019-2024
<b>Suharsono*</b>	Partai Gerindra, Partai Golkar, PKS, PPP,PBB dan Partai Nasdem	Chairman of the DPC Gerindra Bantul Regent of Bantul 2016-2021
<b>Totok Sudarto</b>		Former Assistant III of the Bantul Regional Secretariat

Source: Compiled from various sources (Ramadhan 2020, Yuwono 2020)

Based on these data, the two incumbents both have a fairly strong political records and maps. Starting from various supports from political parties to political modalities as incumbents. The decision to nominate again in 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election was a strategy for the incumbent deputy regent who was very optimistic about his victory. This was based on political relationship of Abdul Halim

Muslih who is supported by political parties with significant mass support and is also driven by a strong track record of political experience. Therefore, the victory of the deputy regent's is a lesson for all parties if political modalities and networks determine the success of Regional Head Election. One way incumbents can win elections is by improving the quality of elections through opposition boycotts and the concept of vote counting (Hafner-Burton et al. 2018). This method is similar to the elections during the Suharto regime. However, in today's democratic development, doing this is tantamount to suicide and losing in this election. Therefore, violence in elections does not get space, as political violence does not become part of the winning strategy in elections. Basically elections require all parties to collide with strategies, including political strategies. Therefore, Casey argues that electoral politics are the prospective modality for candidate victory.

Halim Muslih's victory against his rival, Suharsono, made clear importance of networking and political modalities. In this democratic system, without the support of political parties, there is little chance of winning the election. Therefore, the support of political parties is a prerequisite and at the same time a necessity in order to be able to compete as in the democratic system in other countries. The struggle in Bantul for each incumbent also cannot be separated from the support of political parties. This support then becomes a form of building a network and political modalities and its power will reach the lower level of society in the form of the community. As shown in Table 2, Halim Muslih-Joko Purnomo received support from seven political parties. The political parties consist of four political parties that have seats in the Bantul Local Assembly, namely PKB, PDI-P, PAN, and Demokrat. While the other two parties are new, namely PSI and Gelora Party, cumulatively these seven parties have 25 seats out of 40 seats in the Bantul Local Assembly (Priatmojo 2020). Meanwhile, the Suharsono-Totok only received support from five political parties. This shows that the support of the majority of political parties is under the control of the Halim-Joko. The configuration of the votes acquired by supporting political parties indirectly represents the strength of the network that will be built in winning the candidates they are carrying. Rationality, the more supporting parties, the stronger the relations between these political parties in building a political network as modalities to win their candidate.

**Table 3.**  
Recapitulation of the 2020 election Bantul vote

Districts	Halim-Joko	Suharsono-Totok
Srandakan	10.163	7.549
Sanden	9.160	10.101
Kretek	9.938	9.193
Pundong	14.244	7.608
Bambanglipuro	12.596	11.614
Pandak	16.415	14.454
Pajangan	15.061	7.252
Bantul	21.438	15.068
Jetis	20.244	14.434
Imogiri	25.525	12.164
Dlingo	15.133	10.831
Banguntapan	28.415	24.837
Pleret	18.307	10.004
Piyungan	17.341	13.141
Sewon	30.630	22.701
Kasihah	26.757	25.361
Sedayu	14.196	12.095

Source: Bantul Regency General Election Commission 2021  
(Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kabupaten Bantul 2021)

Political modalities and candidate networks are very important in shaping rational voter behavior. However, modalities in the context of elections are not only determined by the figures and modalities of the candidates, but also by the role and support (Sirait et al. 2014). Interestingly, in this political battle between incumbents in Bantul, Suharsono-Totok lose to his rival in his original polling station. It is very contradictory that an incumbent regent who previously had political networks in his environment turned out to be significantly different. Suharsono-Totok lost at the polls who he was

voting. In TPD 55 in Demangan, Bangunharjo, Sewon, Suharsono-Totok only got 70 votes. Meanwhile, their rival received 173 votes out of 256 votes, with 13 votes declared invalid. However, the candidate for his deputy from Suharsono won at TPS 009, Terong 1 Dingo, who he votes. However, accumulatively the votes for Suharsono-Totok were not balance the various distributions of sub-districts throughout Bantul Regency (Jumali 2020). The victory of the Halim-Joko pair dominated in various sub-districts in Bantul Regency with the following vote recapitulations, as shown in Table 3.

The data above shows very strong resistance from the incumbent (Abdul Halim Muslih) who was previously the Deputy Regent of Bantul against the incumbent Regent of Bantul (Suharsono). The incumbent Abdul Halim Muslih won unanimously in the vote acquisition who he won in 16 sub-districts out of 17 sub-districts in the Bantul Regency. Thus, the incumbent Suharsono only won in one sub-district, namely in Sanden District. Interestingly, Suharsono lost where he votes. This is in contrast to the performance of the Bantul Regency Government under Suharsono's leadership. Suharsono has brought Bantul Regency to be one of the best regions in Indonesia. Under his leadership, various achievements have been made, ranging from the fields of education, health services, social services, and Bantul have been included in the TOP 99 Public Service Innovations version of the Ministry of State Civil Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform.

The lost case of Suharsono as the incumbent of the previous Regent of Bantul, who has brought Bantul to become a superior district, is in contrast to the research conducted by Tiran (2017), research regarding the incumbent's victory in the 2013 Kupang Regional Head Election finds it was caused by one main factor: the achievements and track records of the incumbent who brought Kupang Regency. The incumbent's victory in the 2013 Kupang Regional Head Election, which was followed by seven-candidates, were won by the incumbents Ayub Tatu Eki and Korinus Masneno. In line with that, in the 2020 Bantul Regional Head Election, the track record achievements by Suharsono were not sufficient to convince the public's trust, so that Suharsono lost. The political characteristics that occurred in Bantul and Kupang are the same, but the political implications were different. As stated by Sahroni et al. (2019), political characteristics have various impacts, either in regions or countries in the world. Besides that, the strong political resistance given by his rival, Abdul Halim Muslim, is the key to political trust from the public as a strategy for his victory. Therefore, political network mapping is the key to taking a strategy in elections.

The Suharsono-Totok network strategy and political modalities did not go in a good manner as expected. There are at least two problems, both the issue of candidates outside of political party cadres and the issue of money politics which was the consumption of the Bantul community. As a cadre from the Gerindra Party, Suharsono understands about differences of opinion arise in internal of Gerindra Party. Political parties as political machines will determine the network construction and political modalities. In the case of the Gerindra Political Party, there was a difference of opinion with Suharsono's partner.

However, some wanted Suharsono's partner to be chosen internally. This problem became a chaos in the internal of Gerindra Party, because Suharsono chose an outsider to be his partner, namely Totok Sudarto. Prioritizing internal cadres was an expectation from the DPC level until the Gerindra Party DPP level. This chaos was a form of inequality strategy perception, so that it did not immediately trigger chaos in the internal of Gerindra. The basis of political parties is that they become political machines, so it important to support candidates in the election. Learning from the internal chaos that carried Suharsono's party further strengthens the notion that instability within the party will also have implications for the party's work and results that are not optimal.

The second problem is related to the issue of money politics that emerged in the community with accusations of Suharsono-Totok as the party involved. It is suspected that this issue eroded the vote gain of the Suharsono-Halim pair because, in electoral practice, the narrative that was built was anti-money politics. Moreover, the issue of the election has always been carried out by the electoral NGO group, namely KISP (Independent Committee on Election Awareness) whose secretariat office is in Sleman Regency. This NGO is very active in monitoring the electoral process in the Special Region of

Yogyakarta. The issue of sharing the amount of Rp. 500,000.00 to the voter, the General Election Supervisory Body of Bantul Regency summoned the Suharsono-Totok pair for clarification (Syarifudin 2020). Although in the end, the Election Supervisory Body for Bantul Regency decided to stop this investigation because there was not enough evidence and a fairly short period; the implications of this issue allegedly caused the quality of these electoral practices to decline.

### **Social capital**

In simple terms, social capital is the ability of society to work together to achieve a common goal. This capital consists of several elements, namely cohesiveness, trust, network, and social collaboration (Wisesa 2010). Fukuyama argues that social capital has an important role in using and reporting on the life of modern society (Wisesa 2010). In political life, social capital is needed by political candidates. This social capital is closely related to how prospective candidates can make relations with the community. Social capital can be analyzed through three indicators, namely the existence of trust from the community, the existence of social interactions, and the existence of a network of supportive relationships (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih 2017). Putnam explained that social capital refers to the main aspects of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can increase efficiency in the public through the facilities for coordinated actions (Mulyadi 2011). Therefore, the modalities of the two incumbents will not be too far apart from the context of their social environment so far and how the social environment perceives them.

As Regent and Deputy Regent of Bantul for the 2015-2020 period, Suharsono and Abdul Halim Muslih have succeeded in gaining the trust of the community because the community knew both the names and faces of Suharsono and Abdul Halim Muslih, who were the Regent and Deputy Regent of the previous period. During the Suharsono-Abdul Halim Muslih leadership, the community was satisfied, which made the Bantul Regency Government's average Community Satisfaction Index (IKM) in 2020 be 88.03 with category B or good. Both Suharsono and Abdul Halim Muslih both have quite good social interactions. This can be seen from the activities carried out by both when they served as Regent and Deputy Regent of the Regent of Bantul for the 2015-2020 period by attending activities carried out by the community such as celebrations, social activities, or visiting people who were affected by the disaster. This interaction has long been owned by the two of them.

The sensitivity of a regional head to the needs and conditions of the lower community will build good social communication. This is then often translated as how a regional head carries out political "*blusukan*" as a strategy to be well-known by the wider community so that indirectly activities in constructing social modalities through social communication. Moreover, Suharsono and Totok's social status was widely known by the public, which can indirectly lead public opinion to be oriented toward voting behavior (Prianto 2016). There are allegations that Suharsono's defeat against the previous incumbent representatives was due to the social distance that had been built up during the political campaign. Whereas in daily politics as the previous regent, social gaps with the community were not very visible.

Management of social modalities will be a productive value for the creation of social cohesiveness (social cohesiveness). This means that several social interactions between classes determine the position of the class in society (Wanta 2018). At the same time, given the social modalities developed by Suharsono, who at that time had not yet broken up with Haim Muslih, Bantul was in a fairly good rank when viewed from the quality of its human development index. As shown in Table 4, which was reported by the Central Bureau of Statistics, the score achieved by Bantul was more than 80. This achievement is very encouraging for Bantul Regency. In 2019, under the leadership of Suharsono, Bantul together with Sleman and the City of Yogyakarta became successful regions in building HDI in their respective regions. However, this social modality was not able to match Halim Muslih's modality where the vote was dominated by this pair.



**Table 4.**  
Human Development Index in Yogyakarta 2019-2021

County/City	↑↓	[New Method] Human Development Index		
		2019↑↓	2020↑↓	2021↑↓
Yogyakarta		86.65	86.61	87.18
Sleman		83.85	83.84	84.00
Kulonprogo		74.44	74.46	75.71
Gunungkidul		69.96	69.98	70.16
D.I. Yogyakarta		79.99	79.97	80.22
Bantul		80.01	80.01	80.28

Source: BPS D I Yogyakarta (2019-2021)

Meanwhile, in terms of social interaction, Abdul Halim Muslih was more favored because he was active in socio-religious activities. In addition, Abdul Halim Muslih's social interaction was getting stronger by frequently attending activities carried out by NU and its autonomy organizations. This made Abdul Halim Muslih popular among the NU community. Meanwhile, Suharsono was better known as a nationalist, Suharsono also actively attended community activities. Among the civil servants in the Bantul Regency area, Suharsono and Abdul Halim Muslih had a good relationship. There was good communication between Suharsnono and Abdul Halim Muslih and the civil apparatus. Abdul Halim Muslih is an NU activist and a religious figure in Bantul Regency. Starting with being the chairman of LTN PCNU Bantul who later became a member of the DIY Provincial DPRD for two terms from 2004-2014 and became the Deputy Regent of Bantul who accompanied Drs. H. Suharsono in 2015-2020. At the time of running for Regent of Bantul 2020, Abdul Halim Muslih already had the capital of popularity and had obtained an agreement from the NU Kyai to run as a candidate for Regent of Bantul. Abdul Halim Muslih's popularity and closeness with NU, it is the key to his victory in the 2020 general election, as shown in Table 5.

**Table 5.**  
Network of candidates for regent and deputy regent of Bantul 2020

Names of candidates	Networks
<b>Abdul Halim Muslih</b>	1. LTN PCNU Lajnah Ta'lif wan Nasyr Pimpinan Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama Bantul 2. PC GP ANSOR Bantul
<b>Joko B Purnomo</b>	1. PERSIBA Bantul 2. PBVSI Bantul
<b>Suharsono</b>	1. ORARI DIY 2. RAPI DIY 3. ASKAB PSSI Bantul 4. PBVSI Bantul
<b>Totok Sudarto</b>	1. Pimpinan Daerah Muhammadiyah 2. PGRI 3. Gerakan Pramuka 4. ORARI 5. Yayasan Bhakti Putra Mandiri (SLB) 6. Cabor Woodball

Source: KPU Kabupaten Bantul 2020, author's modification

From the point of view of voting support, Abdul Halim Muslih is superior to Suharsono. The loyalty of the votes from the supporting parties had a huge impact on Abdul Halim Muslih's victory. This also shows that public trust in Abdul Halim Muslih is higher than in Suharsono. This is the main capital for Abdul Halim Muslih-Joko B Purnomo in winning the 2020 Regional Head Election for Bantul Regency.

## Cultural capital

Cultural capital is defined as tastes that have cultural values and consumption patterns. The scope of this cultural capital includes a wide range of properties, such as art, education, and language forms (Bourdieu 2018). The formation of cultural capital can be achieved through a multidimensional social environment and the education obtained by the individual, both formal education and family inheritance. To function effectively, understanding social capital must be done unconsciously. Cultural capital has several dimensions, among others (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih 2017); objective knowledge of arts and culture, cultural tastes and preferences, formal qualifications, such as university degrees, cultural abilities, and practical knowledge, the ability to distinguish and to make a distinction between good and bad.

In the field of political contestation, the cultural capital of a candidate can be seen from three indicators, namely education, title, and descent. Educational background influences an individual's career. *Pemilukada* contestation, educational background is something that can influence prospective voters to support individuals. This is because, before making a choice, the community will look at the background of the candidate for the regional head (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih 2017). However, in the 2020 Regional Head Election of Bantul Regency, educational background was not the main point in determining the victory of a candidate pair. In the following, we describe the educational background of each of the Candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent of Bantul Regency in 2020.

The next is the descendants of the contestation candidates in Bantul. The background of Abdul Halim Muslih is a newcomer who later became a santri in Bantul Regency to be precise at the Al-Mahalli Islamic Boarding School, Kapanewon Pleret. Meanwhile, Joko B Purnomo is a native of the Bantul Regency. Suharsono-Totok Sudarto is a native of Bantul Regency. Suharsono-Totok Sudarto, who is a native of Bantul Regency, was used by Suharsono-Totok Sudarto and his winning team to become the campaign tagline. The tagline NoTo AB (Suharsono-Totok Sudarto Asli Bantul) was the tagline used against his rival Abdul Halim Muslih, who is of immigrant background.

The last is the title or prestige that is carried by political figures. A person will feel appreciated when he gets an award. Rewards are a fundamental part of human resource development. The award obtained by the regional head candidate will give preference to the community to choose the candidate. However, in the 2020 Bantul Regency *Pilkada*, the award received by the regional head candidate was not the main factor in the regional head candidate's victory. This is evident where Bantul Regency under the leadership of Suharsono was able to win many awards both at the national and international levels. For example, Si Perkasa Bantul's innovation was included in the Top 99 public service innovations from the Ministry of Empowerment of the State Civil Apparatus, Reform and Bureaucracy during the Suharsono era.

## Conclusion

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the incumbent candidate Abdul Halim Muslih, had a strong political modality against his rival, Suharsosno. This is evidenced by the victory of Abdul Halim Muslih who won votes in 16 sub-districts out of 17 sub-districts in the Bantul district. This means that the incumbent, Suharsosno, is only in one sub-district. This cannot be separated from the strong modality of Abdul Halim Muslih, where this candidate outperformed Suharsono. Based on the analysis of the aspects of social, political, cultural, and economic modalities in the 2020 Bantul *Pilkada* contest, it was found that Suharsono was only superior in economic modality alone. Meanwhile, Abdul Halim Muslih was quite strong in social, political, and cultural capital. The number of networks owned by Abdul Halim Muslih is quite significant in driving public opinion to win it. This has not been spared from the religious network built by Abdul Halim Muslih as one of the NU leaders in Bantul.

The strategy designed by Abdul Halim Muslih was quite capable of attracting the votes of the NU people in Bantul and cooperating with other mass organizations in cooperation to provide support in the Bantul Regional Head Election. Meanwhile, Suharsono's modalities are in stark contrast to his track

record. Whereas under the previous leadership of Bantul Regency, Suharsono had left various advances and achievements in Bantul Regency. However, the fact is that this modality is not strong enough to gain votes for him in the Bantul Regional Election in 2021.

This study in the context of political battles between incumbents is very unique when compared to other cases. In the context of the modality struggle with the character of the candidate who has a political kinship network, then the modality resistance can be traced by the distribution of kinship, both family and descendants who have political control, and how far the kinship network contributes to building the basis of his victory as happened in South Tangerang in Regional Head Election in 2020. Meanwhile, in Bantul, in the context of the battle for modalities between incumbents, it is only limited and can be traced to the turbulence of the political machine and how the social environment in which the candidate lives forms political perceptions of him. Therefore, this research study provides a unique understanding that the struggle for the incumbent's modality in political electorate will easily be able to rapidly transform from what was initially in the form of support to the erosion of votes. No matter how big the economic modality he has, it is not a guarantee to get a majority vote in the political electoral process.

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