

Modalities Ashari Tambunan's Power Relations in Deli Serdang District

Musa Rajekshah, Subhilhar, Heri Kusmanto and Hendra Harahap
*Doctoral Program in Development Studies,
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences University of North Sumatra, Indonesia*

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Abstract: Dialectics in the political arena does not only cover the space for party competition that uses political capital but also strengthens post-election development that is oriented towards maintaining power on an ongoing basis for electoral competition. Deli Serdang Regency, after regional autonomy, the direct election of regional heads which began in 2004 was successfully defended by the Tambunan family figure. The electoral competition in each post-conflict local election season was won, which led to the sustainability of the leadership for up to four periods. This condition certainly cannot be separated from Ashari Tambunan's modality in leading Deli Serdang Regency. Modality is the trust that leaders have with the people who choose them as a mandate in development. Modality, according to Putnam, cannot be separated from socio-political relations involving networks, norms, and social trust from the elite and society. This study uses a qualitative research method, with data analysis explaining building and times series as a reinforcement of the argument for Ashari Tambunan's leadership which harmoniously managed to maintain the conduciveness of Deli Serdang Regency. While the data sources used are primary data and secondary data, namely direct observation, interviews, and literature studies conducted in this study. The theoretical basis uses the modality theory proposed by Putman, namely Social Capital and Political Capital. The findings in this study, first, the success of maintaining 4 leadership periods reflects the strong modalities possessed by Ashari and the Tambunan family, second, the power relations built with a familial cultural approach have succeeded in providing political conduciveness, third, the individual modalities possessed by actors are a strong foundation. formed from a belief in building power relations so that the community participates in development participation because of harmonization of relations which leads to increasing public trust in the government in the Deli Serdang Regency area..

1 INTRODUCTION

Democracy in Indonesian has given birth to a decentralized government that gives local governments the authority to play the functions of local government. Local governments have wider authority in formulating programs and implementing policies, this condition provides opportunities for each individual to become a leader. However, in carrying out government functions, of course, there are many obstacles and problems, ranging from participation in electoral competitions, implementing policies to maintaining power. History proves that the 1998 reform event was an event to change the entire life order of the nation and state (Abdullah, 2005). This is created by opening up freedom for citizens to participate in the process of nation and state

development. The reforms have had an impact on changing the election mechanism from a representative system to a direct system as clarified by Law no. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. Competition in the political arena does not only cover the competition space between parties, but also emphasizes the figures of the candidate such as character, popularity and morality, as well as the historical educational background and occupation of the leader. This capital is also a building of relationships and trust that every leader must have with the people who will choose them directly.

In other words, it is clear that modality is an inseparable unit, because it is closely related to one another. By conceptual definition, of course, the metaphor is reflected in the three main assets that must be owned by the candidates who will later

participate in the contestation in an electoral competition. The modalities in political contestation are not only determined by the candidate's figure and modality, but also by the role of support. In electoral competition for political capital (political capital), social capital (social capital) and economic capital (economics capital), these three capitals can influence a political leader in obtaining strong support from the community and of course also maintaining his power (Arifin, 2013). The position of power that is obtained from the community as a mandate in carrying out leadership becomes the construction of development in the region, the conduciveness of institutional relations must be carried out in order to maintain the stability of development which leads to the emergence of leadership support.

Deli Serdang Regency in the 2018 post-conflict local election succeeded in gaining support not only from the dominating political party but also the support of the Deli Serdang Regency community of 82.25%. This reality also explains that the Deli Serdang Regency election in 2018 only had two candidates, the Ashari-Yusuf Pair was only faced with an empty box. Ashari Tambunan turned out to be successful in increasing the public trust of Deli Serdang Regency compared to the previous post-conflict local election which amounted to 11 pairs of regional head candidates. Seeing the phenomenon that occurred, the researcher focused on examining the modalities of Ashari Tambunan who had won in Deli Serdang Regency, which was the continuation of the Tambunan family's leadership within a period of 4 periods of Tambunan family leadership in Deli Serdang Regency. Ashari Tambunan won the level of public trust in Deli Serdang Regency in the second period of 538,238 votes or 82.25% (kpud.deliserdang.go.id). As a leader in the electorate area of Ashari Tambunan, it is considered a surprise in the political world because throughout the history of Deli Serdang Regency, the emergence of electoral competition against empty boxes by winning 82.25% of the vote has become an achievement in the leadership journey in Deli Serdang Regency.

Seeing the modalities that have been owned by Ashari Tambunan which already has a solid image where this capital was built since the leadership of Amri Tambunan (brother) so that the result is trust (trust) from the community. Seeing another asset from Ashari Tambunan, namely utilizing the culture of the Deli Serdang Regency community, which cannot be separated from its customs, traditions and kinship systems that have been built so far, this capital is no less important to build relationships with supporters that must be established, so that capital to

mobilize support during the leadership of Ashari Tambunan in Deli Serdang Regency

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Robert Putnam (1993) explains that modalities in power cannot be separated from three aspects, namely social capital, political capital and economic capital. This modality becomes a mutual trust between community members and the community towards their leaders. Modalities are defined as social institutions that involve networks, norms, and social trust that encourage social collaboration (coordination and cooperation) for the common good. This opinion implies the need for social ties/networks that exist in society, and norms that encourage productivity. This opinion is strengthened by Pierre Bourdieu (1986), in his book *The Forms of Capital*, distinguishes three forms of capital, namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), the definition of capital is very broad and includes material things (which can have symbolic value), as well as cultural capital (defined as culturally valued tastes and consumption patterns).

Cultural capital can cover a wide range of properties, such as art, education, and language forms. For Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation that exists in an exchange system, and this term is extended to all forms of goods, both material and symbolic, without distinctions that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought in a particular social formation. Capital must exist in a realm, so that the realm can have meaning. However, it can also be explained at another level by using a generative formula. This kind of explanation is a bit artificial but useful, a similar research was conducted in Paser Regency, East Kalimantan on Political Modalities and Contest.

The results of this study explain that the role of modality ownership in determining the strategy for winning the election as a unit that cannot be separated or is closely related to each other, both from political, social and economic modalities in the scope of networking, image building and mass mobilization (Purwaningsih, 2015). Furthermore, in 2010 Verayanti Sumule researched in South Konawe Regency. The results of this study found that there were 4 most dominant modalities owned by Indah Putri Indriani compared to the incumbent candidates. These modalities are social, cultural, political and economic capital. This has proven that Indah Putri Indriani turned out to be a woman as well as a newcomer who was able to calculate the capital she

had so that she managed to become a winner in a political contestation and at the same time succeeded in becoming the first female regent in the South Sulawesi area (Rasyid, 2010)..

2.1 Method

This study uses a qualitative method. According to Creswell (in Noor, 2011: 34), states that qualitative research is a complex picture, examines words, reports in detail from the views of informants, and conducts studies in natural situations. Qualitative research is a research study.

that is descriptive in nature and tends to use an inductive approach to analysis. The type uses descriptive, because this research tries to describe a symptom, event, event that is happening now (Bagong, 2011). Descriptive research focuses on the actual problem as it was at the time the research took place (Fathoni, 2011). Through descriptive research, researchers tried to describe the events and events that occurred in Deli Serdang Regency. This study focuses on how Ashari Tambunan's modality is in building power relations. Data was collected through interviews, documentation and observation (Hardiansyah, 2012)

2.2 Result and Discussion

2.2.1 The Modality of the Hidden Family

The function of capital, for Bourdieu, is a social relation in an exchange system, which presents itself as something rare, worthy of being sought in a certain social form. Various types of capital can be exchanged with other types of capital. The most dramatic exchanges are symbolic exchanges. Because it is in this symbolic form that different forms of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate and important

Ashari Tambunan's power relations began in 2004 at the beginning of the leadership of Amri Tambunan (brother) who won the first post-reform regional head election, Amri Tambunan won because he received the support of the majority of the community and members of the Deli Serdang Regency DPRD. The leadership continued to Ashari Tambunan for up to 2 terms, so that the leadership of the Tambunan family in Deli Serdang Regency succeeded in 4 terms of office for the regional head. The Tambunan family succeeded in building the trust of the people of Deli Serdang Regency. In the context of development, referring to the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015-2019 which is measured on 5

aspects, namely: Education, Human Development Index, Open Unemployment Rate, Indonesian Democracy Index, Economic Growth and Infrastructure, the average national achievement is only 55.1% and only increased per year ranging from 5.5% to 6%. Meanwhile, the development achievement of North Sumatra Province is only slightly above the national development achievement of 57% of the 5 aspects of development assessment.

Meanwhile, Deli Serdang Regency is at 71.94%, which is successfully above the national and provincial development targets of North Sumatra. For example, in 2021, Deli Serdang Regency won the Best 1 Regional Development Award (PPD) in 2021 for the Regency Category, North Sumatra Provincial Level (Bapennas RI, 2021). Excellent programs such as the Smart Program, the Lucky Mesrah Program, the Desa Satu Program, the Opung Sari Basa Bang Program which was translated from the Deli Serdang Building Movement (GDSM) and the presence of an international standard Kuala Namu Airport in Deli Serdang Regency are illustrations of sustainable political investment for synergized and collaborative leadership. This achievement is one of Ashari Tambunan's outputs who succeeded in building power relations in Deli Serdang Regency.

2.2.2 Tambunan's Cultural Modalities

All intellectual qualifications that can be produced through formal education or family inheritance, such as the ability to present oneself in public, certain knowledge and skills resulting from formal education, certificates (including bachelor degrees) are referred to as cultural capital (Prihatmoko, 2008). Cultural capital is basically a belief in values about something that is seen as true and always plays a role in actualizing it. The formal education of Ashari Tambunan and the Tambunan family has an effect on thinking and acting skills, so that the track record of leadership in various organizations and in government agencies is considered maximal and many achievements have been achieved

Ashari Tambunan was indirectly recruited by his older brother (Amri Tambunan), during the leadership of Amri Tambunan, he was appointed as an Expert Staff of the Regent who has a strategic role in the development and synergy of institutional relations in Deli Serdang Regency. This position also has an impact on Ashari Tambunan's experience in the field of government, evaluating his brother's programs and providing innovations to programs to develop Deli Serdang Regency. The modality of regeneration carried out by the Tambunan family to

maintain power in Deli Serdang Regency is the actualization of leadership practices.

2.2.3 Savings Social Modalities

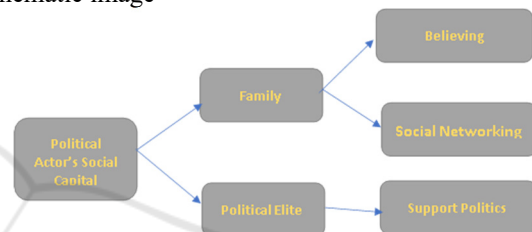
Social capital is any kind of relationship as a resource for determining social position. Bourdieu explained that this social capital is actually a valuable social relationship between people. This can be exemplified by some people who interact between classes in the social strata of society. This means that in this case, Ashari Tambunan's social interaction between classes is to determine the position of his own class. In the focus of social capital, it is clear that the management of Ashari Tambunan's social capital which is part of the analysis is of productive value for the creation of social cohesiveness in Deli Serdang Regency. Social cohesion in question is some social interaction between classes showing a harmony and agreement. For this reason, the next focus of social capital is on the meaning of social capital only in the context of interaction with the outside world which naturally must be involved in the processes of negotiation and adaptation carried out. Ashari Tambunan between official institutions (Executive-Legislative), regional heads and the community.

So that in turn leads other individuals to carry out reinterpretative actions on their social capital (Salusu, 1996). For this reason, Ashari Tambunan believes that power relations prioritizing social capital will gain trust. More than that, the track record is a consideration for many people to choose Ashari Tambunan again. Apart from reaping many achievements, Ashari Tambunan has high credibility for his leadership as the Regent of Deli Serdang Regency. Of course seen based on the achievements obtained. Especially in terms of regional development and bureaucratic services that are getting better. Ashari Tambunan's leadership as Regent, from his achievements, has opened up many opportunities for bureaucratic reform. Ashari Tambunan's leadership is considered the best cadre of Amri Tambunan. Which has the maturity level of democracy and managerial leadership that Ashari Tambunan occupies as regent. With Ashari Tambunan's maturity, it was felt when he became an Expert Staff of the Regent of Deli Serdang Regency, before becoming Regent, he often met a dead end because there were many interests during internal meetings of the Deli Serdang Regency government.

However, with Ashari Tambunan's shrewdness in leading, this matter was easily resolved and there would no longer be a long debate going forward by prioritizing diplomatic and democratic methods, but

also being a little repressive to avoid being tough and slow in discussing people's issues, let alone

incidental ones. Of course, if it is understood as a track record, it is clear that the segmentation that sees this is from educated youth, scholars, or other professional figures. This means that all the people of Deli Serdang Regency are not all traditionalistic. Many are also rational in seeing the leadership of the Tambunan family. The formation of a social network in Ashari Tambunan's election to lead Deli Serdang Regency in period 2 is a clear example of the successful social collaboration process carried out by the Tambunan family. The process that is created indirectly has a big impact on providing space for social capital to take on the role of forming a mass network. This can be seen from the following schematic image



Source: Data processed by researchers, 2022

Through the picture above, it is found that in addition to the actor's character, the social capital that is owned comes from family and relatives. First, the family's social capital comes from the figure of his brother Amri Tambunan who is Ashari Tambunan's older brother who also led 2 terms, where through his leadership for 10 years indirectly gave positive memories to the people of Deli Serdang Regency. Second, other family social capital comes from the character of Ashari Tambunan's sister-in-law, namely Anita Lubis who has closeness and has many families in the Deli Serdang Regency government bureaucracy

The Strength of Ashari Tambunan's Political Relations Most of Ashari Tambunan's political forces in Deli Serdang Regency are not always absolute due to the support factor of political parties, although some of the supporting parties in the post-conflict local election process are considered to have influence as political machines. Although in the last post-conflict local election, Ashari Tambunan was an incumbent in the local election, there is an interesting thing where Ashari Tambunan applies an incumbent regent in Deli Serdang Regency and succeeded in bringing together all political parties at the Deli Serdang Regency level to support him, which could indirectly boost his electability during the campaign. In politics, in the election era, popularity and electability are indeed an important part of being

elected as regional head. The victory in the post-conflict local election, indirectly in the last post-conflict local election, the political forces built by Ashari Tambunan who was the incumbent could be utilized in Ashari Tambunan's political constellation to win the political contestation at that time. The author limits the types of political power to only a few, which are later understood in this article as a reference to a candidate getting support from one of his constituencies (Miriam, 2008). Political parties as the supporting parties, the bureaucracy and the emotional relationship that is built in the midst of the local community

This is the initial capital which is then accommodated in such a way on an ongoing basis so that the public chooses the candidate. In the post-conflict local election, the support of the majority of the public for the candidate or contestant is not always absolute because the candidate is supported by the Party, although some of the supporting parties are considered to have influence as political machines. Although in the last post-conflict local election Ashari Tambunan was the incumbent, there is an interesting thing where Ashari Tambunan is an active regent in Deli Serdang Regency, which can indirectly boost his electability during political campaigns. elected as regional head. The politics built by Ashari Tambunan who was the incumbent Regent in Deli Serdang Regency could be used to win the Political Contest at that time. Political parties as the supporting parties, the bureaucracy and the emotional relationship that is built in the midst of the local community. This is the initial capital which is then accommodated in such a way in a sustainable manner so that people choose Ashari Tambunan

2.2.4 Bureaucracy

Another part of the political power of political parties is the bureaucracy which does have historical roots that are never separated from the influence of practical politics (Huntington, 2003). The history of the bureaucracy records that the position of the bureaucracy towards the local political system in this case also occurred in the regional elections of Deli Serdang Regency in 2018. Political control of the government network is more focused on conditioning the bureaucracy in the Deli Serdang Regency local government. Even though Ashari Tambunan is an Incumbent who can order his subordinates to elect him, the network that has been built during his tenure as Regent greatly influences the bureaucracy in Deli Serdang Regency to elect him. Broadly speaking, in the post-conflict local election, the regent has a wider

range of motion in implementing his campaign strategy in the context of the process of winning the post-conflict local election, because the incumbent has all the elements or bureaucratic characteristics so that it is very profitable, namely controlling social access to civilians. Mastery of social access or loyalists is very important because it will boost the electability of candidates to achieve victory. As stated by one of the successful teams from Ashari Tambunan in Deli Serdang Regency, that:

“Ashari Tambunan is the Regent of Deli Serdang Regency so it is only natural that the people of Deli Serdang choose him, besides that he is also a smart person and dares to make decisions for the benefit of the community.”

Ashari Tambunan always has a double advantage. First, among bureaucrats, it is clear with the various policies that have been issued by Ashari Tambunan. In addition, he has social capital because he is the most well-known figure in the local community because a Regent has led a very strategic position. Although there are some people who have never seen it. That is, it is no longer a problem and that means reducing the space for greater personal socialization. Even if it is done, it is only to increase the level of electability in society. This is clearly different from the other candidates, because in order to make himself known to the public, he inevitably has to carry out a large and intense personal socialization. The second condition is the symbol of a regent who holds the highest power in regional government, and is a policy maker.

The public will recognize him as someone who has acted for the benefit of the community, although the matter of acting for the benefit of the community is still debatable, especially how much the policies and programs he implements have on community development. Then the third condition, former regents usually have quite large resources, material, as an accumulation of leadership so far. Apart from that, it is also certain to have a fairly wide network among the elite and local communities and become their social capital. Therefore, it is not too difficult for Ashari Tambunan to optimize these resources. Ashari Tambunan may already be familiar to the ears of bureaucrats and the people of Deli Serdang Regency. One of the figures who has a flexible figure towards bureaucrats or employees in Deli Serdang Regency

2.2.5 Political Parties

Ashari Tambunan does have a strategic position in the management of Political Parties in Deli Serdang Regency as the Chair of the PAN Party so that in the

process of determining the running partner in the last Pilkada it was very easy. However, this does not mean that Ashari Tambunan's victory in the post-conflict local election is only determined by the volunteers of the winning team, but more than that, the identification of the supporting party in the election process is very strong. According to the results of an interview with the Winning Team, said: "All of Ashari Tambunan's supporting parties are very compact, so what is the strategy of this pair is always carried out by all supporting parties, from the party chairman to the party members"

All supporting parties in the process of winning, of course, political parties must have a clear and equitable mass base, because without a mass base of course in forming political power, political parties will find it difficult to carry out their duties to win the candidates they carry. Due to the support of all parties who expressed their support for this pair, they were so solid and worked according to the party's decision. The PAN, Golkar, PDIP, Nasdem, and Gerindra parties are the largest parties in carrying this pair so that they look total in providing support to Ashari Tambunan

In addition to cadres from parties who played an active role in the election, the other supporting parties also played a major role in supporting the struggle which was also seen in total in providing support to Ashari Tambunan in the post-conflict local election of Deli Serdang Regency. In carrying out the political campaign activities carried out by Ashari Tambunan in 22 sub-districts in Deli Serdang Regency, Ashari Tambunan succeeded in mobilizing Party leaders to become Ashari Tambunan's campaigners so that they descended into villages and sub-districts throughout Deli Serdang Regency

3 CONCLUSIONS

The power relation used by Ashari Tambunan is to utilize the various modalities it has. The superiority of ownership of this modality from Ashari Tambunan makes it difficult for people in Deli Serdang Regency and political parties to carry other candidates who can match Ashari Tambunan's strength. The leadership of the Tambunan family has been considered successful by the people of Deli Serdang Regency, besides that he is also considered by the community to be a smart person and dare to make decisions for the benefit of the community. This makes the people really want Deli Serdang Regency to be led by Ashari Tambunan for the second period.

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