

The Influence of Political, Economic, Cultural, and Social Capital in the Victory of the Noble Family in the 2018 Bone Regency Election

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Abstract

This study analyzes the influence of noble family victories on voter turnout in the 2018 Bone Regency elections, focusing on how social, economic, cultural, and political factors contribute to determining the outcome of these elections. This study uses a quantitative approach through the distribution of questionnaires to the people of Bone Regency to explore their perceptions of the role of noble families in Pilkada. Data management was conducted using SmartPLS (SEM-PLS) software. The results show that all four factors have a positive and significant influence on voter turnout, confirming that the involvement of noble families is a symbol and a force capable of mobilizing

community support. The findings suggest that noble families still play an important role in local politics, utilizing their extensive social networks, strong cultural influence, and economic and political support to maintain their dominance in the political arena. Their victories in local elections demonstrate the continuation of traditional political patterns rooted in local culture, albeit in a modern democratic context.

Keywords: Noble Family, Dynastic Politics, Pilkada, Local Political Dynamics

Introduction

Democracy is sovereignty from the people, by the people, and for the people (Rohim et al., 2023). As the holder of sovereignty, people's participation should not stop only in the voting booth. More than that, in every stage of state life on any scale, the people have the right and obligation to participate. Democracy is also defined as the supreme power in the hands of the people. It allows anyone to become a leader in a country, even at the village level (Syukri, 2021). Political participation means participation; in the political context, it refers to the participation of citizens in various political processes (Mangune et al., 2018). Citizen participation in the political process does not only mean that citizens support the decisions or policies outlined by their leaders, because if this is the case, the correct term is political mobilization (Saleh & Munif, 2015). Political participation is the involvement of citizens in all stages of policy, from decision-making to decision assessment, including opportunities to participate in the implementation of decisions (Rohmah, 2019).

All groups or groups of people use democracy and the presence of political liberalization to appear on the political stage to show their strength (M. Tahir et al., 2016). During the New Order period, not many noble groups in Indonesia could show their power to survive in regulating their territory (Yusuf, 2017). An interesting phenomenon in South Sulawesi is that in every direct regional head election activity, be it as regent, mayor, or at the level below, sub-district head, and village head, the involvement of noble groups can no longer be denied (Rismawidiawati, 2016). In the direct regional elections held since 2005, especially in areas where noble groups are very strong, such as Bone, Luwu, Wajo, and Soppeng Regencies, almost 70 percent of the participants consist of noble groups (Nurhidayat, 2014). For political parties in Bone Regency, supporting nobles in the Pilkada is a safe way to gain votes. This is because political parties do not want to take the risk of supporting non-noble actors, while other candidates come from the

nobility. Even in the last two periods, non-noble actors have only been positioned as candidates for deputy regent. In the 2008 Pilkada, Abdul Azis Halid was the candidate for Andi Mangunsidi. In the 2013 Pilkada, Ambo Dalle was the candidate for Andi Fahsar, and Sumardi was the candidate for Andi Mangunsidi (Ernawati, 2019). The involvement of this noble group may be due to the encouragement of the supporting party, but it is not uncommon for them to participate in the elections individually. Public trust is a big capital that wins votes (Herdiansah, 2017).

The existence of the nobility in the political sphere of government is reflected in the number of Andis who serve in strategic positions in government structures and gain positions in political parties (Fokatea & Mas'udi, 2020). The complicated political atmosphere in the early phase of reforms led to a discourse that only regional "sons" had the opportunity to lead the Bone Regency. This discourse opened space for the Andi aristocrats and regional "sons" to appear on the political stage, especially in regional elections (Akhmar, 2019). Bone aristocrats come from descendants of previous Bone kings who were descendants of leaders in Bone in their day. As a form of appreciation for their ancestral heritage, they were nicknamed *arung* (nobles). Bone people recognize nobles as descendants of *wija* abating *ajjoareng* / *wija* to apparent, which can be interpreted that the nobles have imprinted or flowing blood from a respected leader (Firman & Qomariyah, 2022). But compared to the other two major kingdoms in South Sulawesi (the Kingdoms of Luwu and Gowa), Bone was a true defense of the nobility, even in the regent candidates who emerged—starting from Andi Pangeran Petta Rani, the head of the model or regional head in 1951 to the regent head in 2003. Of the 14 regional heads in Bone Regency, according to the socio-cultural discourse that exists in the community, most of them are descendants of nobles or aristocrats. Like the Regent of Bone for the 2013 and 2018 periods, Dr. A. Fashar Padjalangi, M.Si, has a royal lineage and still has kinship relations with the previous government leaders of Bone Regency. The tendency of elite groups to dominate the realm of democratic life shows the characteristics, strength of ethos, and values of local culture. The status of nobility in Bugis culture, for example, amid democracy and equal rights of citizens, has strengthened the structure of society related to political practices (Fitriani & Sylvia, 2019). The phenomenon of other regions, which also have strong aristocratic power, is that they are accustomed to regent-vice regent candidate packages with a non-aristocrat-aristocrat composition. Bone has never experienced anything

similar. This indicates that Bone is not ready to be led by a non-royal actor (Ernawati, 2019).

This shows how the noble elite plays a traditional pattern of power, which then becomes a dogma for the people of South Sulawesi. Ijzereef argues that South Sulawesi society is hierarchical and organized based on nobility's 'purity of blood' (Ernawati, 2019). One of the regions that has conducted local elections is Bone Regency. The polls in Bone Regency show that, although democracy provides space for all groups to participate, traditional social structures still play a dominant role in determining who is in power. Therefore, this paper aims to examine in depth how a noble family's victory affects voter participation in the 2018 Bone Regency elections. This research will investigate the factors at play, such as the influence of political, economic, cultural, and social capital used by noble families to mobilize support, as well as how these factors influence voter behavior in this unique local context.

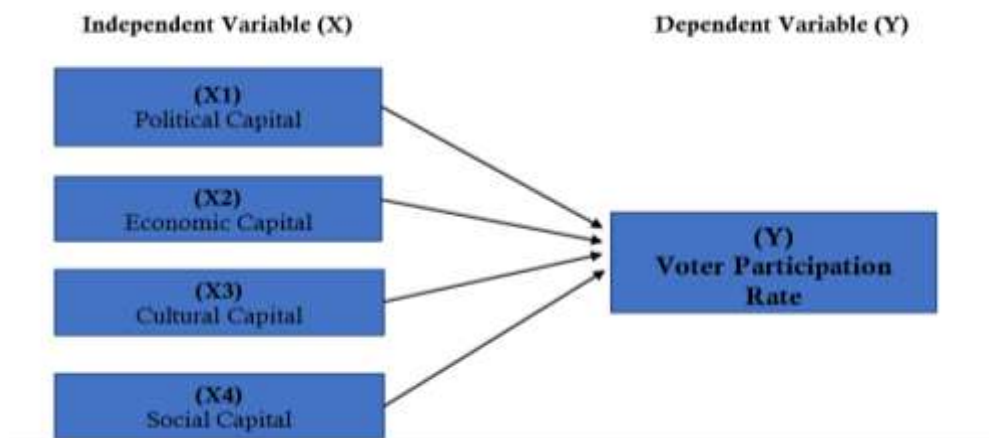


Figure 1. Theoretical Framework

- H1: Political Capital (X1) positively and significantly influences voter participation (Y).
- H2: Economic Capital (X2) positively and significantly influences voter participation (Y).
- H3: Cultural Capital (X3) positively and significantly influences Voter Participation Level (Y).
- H4: Social Capital (X4) positively and significantly influences Voter Participation Rate (Y).

Research Method

The type of research conducted by the author is a quantitative research approach, with the data source used, namely an online

questionnaire through Google Forms. The majority of respondents targeted by this research are the people of Bone Regency. The data management uses SEM-PLS software to test the existence of a correlation attachment between research variables or prove the hypotheses made by researchers related to the influence of the Noble Family Victory on the level of voter participation in the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in Bone Regency, South Sulawesi to obtain valid data, for questionnaire value indicators using a Likert scale approach (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Disagree, Agree, and Strongly Agree) (1, 2, 3, 4 and 5).

This research uses a non-probability sampling technique with saturated sampling, where the entire relevant population is included as a research sample, with 100 respondents. This technique was chosen due to time and resource constraints. Still, the authors acknowledge the potential for bias in selecting this sample, which may affect the generalizability of the research results. Respondents were selected based on socio-economic diversity and geographical distribution, although the small sample size and saturated sampling technique limit the generalizability. SmartPLS (SEM-PLS) was chosen due to the method's ability to handle data with high complexity and non-linear relationships between variables. In addition, SEM-PLS can test measurement models and structural models simultaneously, which is very relevant for this study. Testing is done through steps such as model specification, measurement model validation, and structural model testing to ensure measurement reliability and validity.

Results and Discussion

Respondent Data

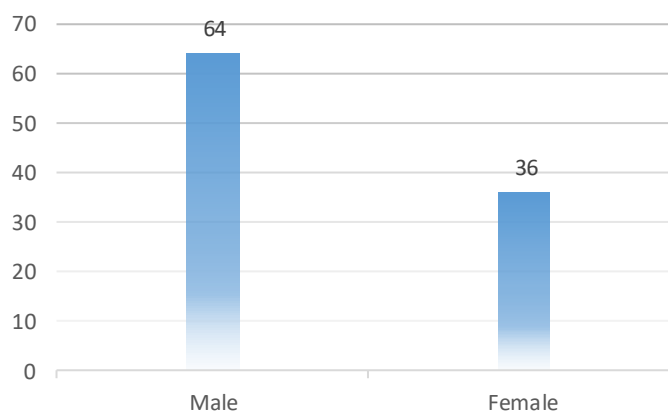


Figure 2. Diagram of Number of Respondents by Gender

Source: Processed by primary data, 2024

The gender distribution in Figure 2 shows that most respondents were male, with 64 people or 64% of the total respondents, while women amounted to 36 people or 36%. This male dominance in participation may reflect men's higher level of political engagement in the Bone Regency. This could be influenced by social and cultural factors, where men are more often involved in political activities or have greater access to political decision-making processes. On the other hand, lower levels of female participation indicate the existence of social or cultural barriers that reduce women's involvement in local politics.

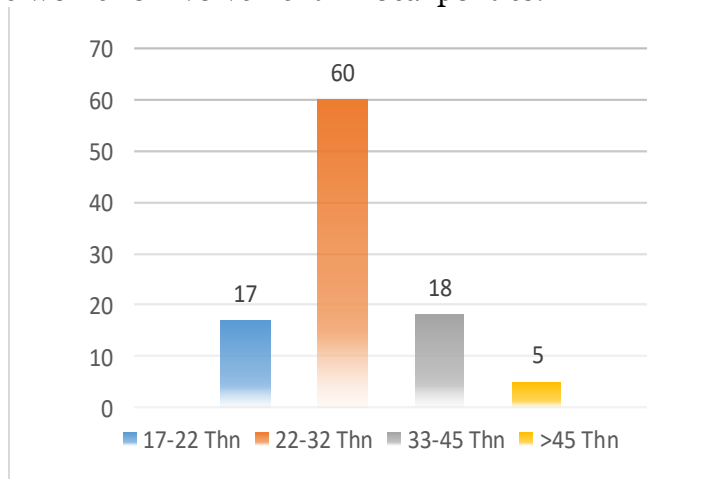


Figure 3. Diagram of Respondent Data by Age

Source: Processed by primary data, 2024

Figure 3 shows the distribution of respondents by age group in this study, with 100 respondents. From the data obtained, most of the respondents, 60% or 60 people, were 22 to 32 years old. This age group dominates participation in the study, which may reflect the higher involvement of the young adult age group in the political process, including Pilkada. Meanwhile, 17% of respondents were in the age range of 17 to 22 years, indicating that young voters also participated, albeit in smaller numbers.

On the other hand, the 33 to 45 age group amounted to 18 respondents or 18%, while only five respondents (5%) were above 45 years old. Although older age groups tend to have more political experience, the lower number of respondents in this age group suggests that younger voters were more active in participating in the elections. This gives an idea of the age dynamics in voter participation, where

younger age groups are more involved, but older age groups, although fewer, may have a higher depth of political knowledge and stability of preferences in choosing candidates.

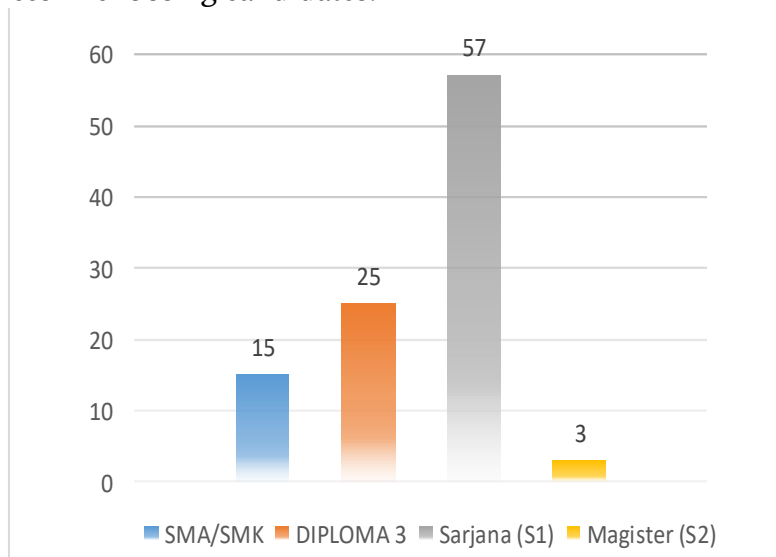


Figure 4. Diagram of Respondent Data Based on Last Education

Source: Processed by primary data, 2024

Based on the diagram above, the total number of respondents is 100. For respondent data based on the latest education, namely SMA / SMK, as many as 15 respondents or 15%, DIPLOMA 3, as many as 25 respondents or 25%, Bachelor (S1), totaling 57 respondents or 57%, and for Master's, totaling three respondents or 3%.

This distribution illustrates that most respondents have a Bachelor's level education, which can be related to their understanding and involvement in political issues, including the Bone Regency Pilkada. Respondents with higher levels of education tend to have a deeper understanding of political policies and are more active in the electoral process. In contrast, voters with lower educational backgrounds may have limited access to political information, which may affect their level of participation and political preferences in local elections.

Reliability of Research Variables

Table 1. Composite reliability and Cronbach's alpha examination results

Construction	Cronbach's Alpha	Rho_A	Composite Reliability	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)	
Cultural Capital	0.915	0.938	0.947	0.856	Reliable
Economic Capital	0.818	0.818	0.892	0.734	Reliable
Political Capital	0.761	0.901	0.856	0.666	Reliable
Social Capital	0.828	0.839	0.897	0.743	Reliable
Voter Participation Rate	0.938	0.943	0.956	0.845	Reliable

Source: Processed by primary data, 2024

Table 1 explains that the results of the reliability test (Composite Reliability and Cronbach Alpha output) show that the value of each variable reaches > 0.70 for Composite Reliability and Cronbach Alpha (Inrinofita Sari, Suswanta, 2023). The level of voter participation in Bone Regency has the largest Composite Reliability value of 0.956 and the largest Cronbach Alpha of 0.938. While the variable with the lowest value in Political Capital is 0.856 and Cronbach Alpha 0.761, from these various explanations related to the results of the reliability test, which obtained the highest and lowest values that were not less than 0.70, it can be concluded that each study in this test already has good reliability.

Regression Analysis

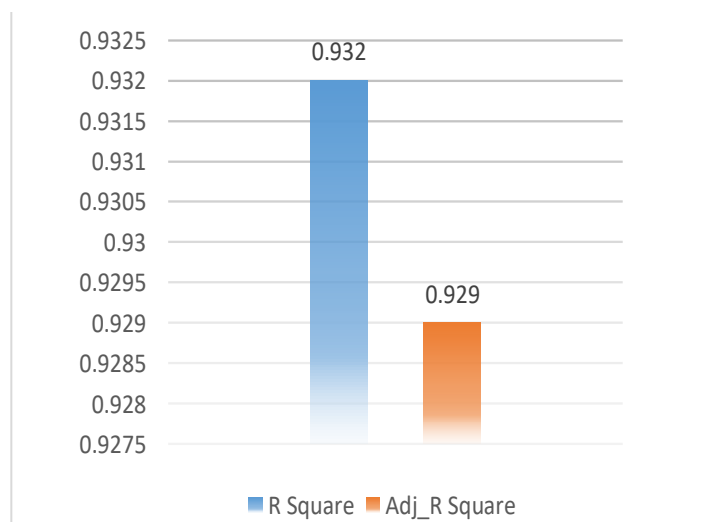


Figure 5. Regression Test Results
Source: Processed by primary data, 2024

Based on the R-square diagram output and the table presented, it is known that the R-square value for the Voter Participation Rate (TPP) is 0.932. This shows that the structural model used in this study can explain 93.2% of the variance in the Voter Participation Rate which is influenced by the independent variables included in the model, namely Political Capital (MP), Economic Capital (ME), Cultural Capital (MB), and Social Capital (MS). As a reference in the literature, R-squared values above 0.75 generally indicate an excellent model fit. Therefore, with an R-squared value of 0.932, this model is a good fit for explaining the dependent variable. The output of this test also reinforces the conclusion that the factors tested, namely Political Capital, Economic Capital, Cultural Capital, and Social Capital, significantly affect the Voter Participation Rate. From the results of this regression test, the independent variables have a moderate impact on the dependent variable, the Voter Participation Rate.

Hypothesis Test Results

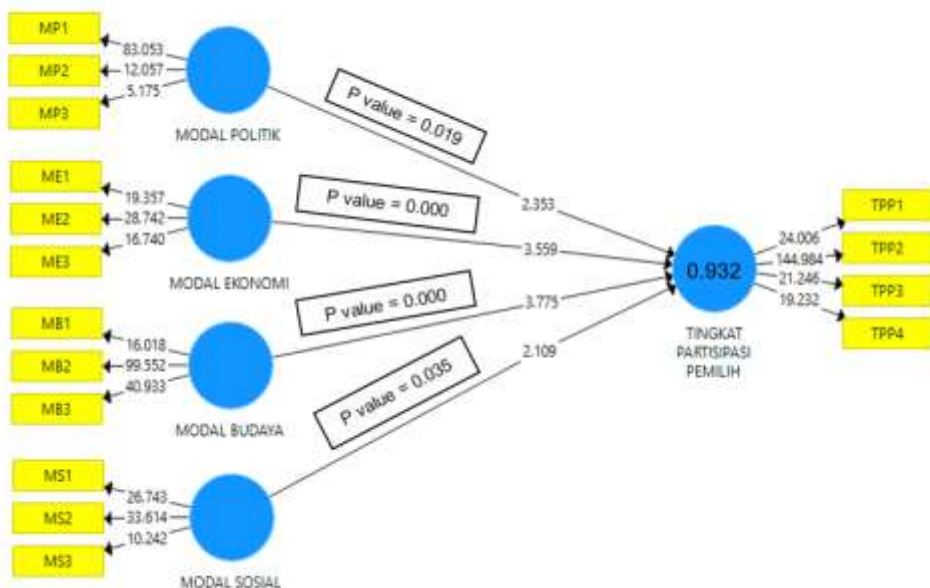


Figure 6. Bootstrapping Output
Source: Processed by primary data, 2024

In Figure 6, hypothesis testing is carried out between independent and dependent variables using the bootstrapping method in SEM to determine the validity and reliability of the research data. This test uses T-statistics and P-values, which will be presented in the form of a t-table, to find out valid research data; of course, the T-statistic value is > 1.96 , and P-values are < 0.05 (Nawawi, 2021). The following is a table of hypothesis test results: “The Effect of Noble Family Existence on the Level of Voter Participation in the Regional Head Election.

Table 2. Bootstrapping Output (path coefficient)

Variables	Original Sample (O)	Sample Mean (M)	STDEV	T-Statistics (O/STDEV)	P value	Hypothesis
<i>Cultural Capital-Level of Voter Participation</i>	0.345	0.320	0.091	3.775	0.000	Accepted
<i>Economic Capital-Level of Voter Participation</i>	0.326	0.329	0.092	3.559	0.000	Accepted
<i>Political Capital-Level of Voter Participation</i>	0.183	0.185	0.078	2.353	0.019	Accepted
<i>Social Capital-Level of Voter Participation</i>	0.170	0.190	0.081	2.109	0.035	Accepted

Source: Processed by primary data, 2024

The Influence of Noble Family Victory on Voter Participation Level in the 2018 Bone Regency Election in South Sulawesi. This study analyzes the influence of four factors, namely Political Capital, Economic Capital, Cultural Capital, and Social Capital, with findings that emphasize the Victory of the Noble Family positively influences the Voter Participation Rate.

This study uses the variables of Political Capital, Economic Capital, Cultural Capital, and social capital on the Voter Participation Rate.

Political Capital-Level of Voter Participation Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1 in this study is accepted, meaning that political capital significantly influences the level of voter participation in regional head elections (Pilkada). Political capital here refers to support from political parties, which act as the main instrument in nominating

candidates and directing electoral support. In addition to party support, candidates' influence depends largely on their ability to build strong social relationships and demonstrate closeness to voters. Although political parties provide formal legitimacy in local elections, candidates' appeal and cultural affinity play an important role. Candidate success depends more on strategies to build relationships with the community, social networks, and personal influence than on the structural strength of the party.

In the Bone Regency, the role of candidate personalities is more dominant than the structural influence of political parties. This reinforces the assumption that in local politics, the strength of candidate figures, social closeness, and the ability to build networks are the main factors influencing voter participation. Success in these elections is determined by party support and how candidates can convert their political capital into real electoral power through effective political communication and close social relationships with voters.

Economic Capital - Voter Participation Hypothesis

Hypothesis 2 in this study is accepted, meaning that economic capital affects voter participation. Financial capital in the context of regional head elections (Pilkada) requires economic support, which is often obtained through political parties. Political parties are one of the main channels for individuals seeking political office, where strong financial support from political parties can increase the attractiveness of candidates and facilitate active participation in the political process. As an important resource, economic capital gives candidates an edge regarding mobilization, campaigning, and influence over voters, which can encourage higher levels of voter participation in local elections.

Economic capital, in the context of Pilkada, refers to the financial resources owned by candidates or candidates for regional heads, which are very important in supporting the campaign process and voter mobilization. In the Indonesian political system, political parties have a key role in mobilizing candidates' economic support through campaign donations and other resources related to campaign operations.

Candidates' economic capital can strengthen their position in political competition by providing access to various channels to communicate political messages through mass media and social media. With sufficient funds, candidates can run more effective campaigns, expand their audience, and increase their influence with voters. This economic capital also strengthens candidates' presence in wider areas,

introducing them to the public and facilitating voters' becoming more familiar with their vision and mission.

Economic capital is also a driving factor that allows candidates to utilize existing social and political networks, including support from political parties or individuals with a particular interest in the elections. The existence of strong financial support facilitates the mobilization of the masses of voters, which can have a direct impact on increasing their participation in elections. Thus, economic capital serves as a tool to strengthen candidates' positions in political competition and plays an important role in mobilizing voters and increasing community political participation in Pilkada. As a resource that can facilitate various aspects of political campaigns, economic capital is one factor determining the level of voter participation. Candidates with stronger economic support can gain more attention from voters, encouraging them to engage more actively in the political process and participate in electing regional head candidates.

Cultural Capital-Level of Voter Participation Hypothesis

Hypothesis 3 in this study is accepted, meaning that cultural capital affects voter participation. Cultural capital here includes the knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and cultural values in society, particularly the Bugis-Makassar culture in Bone Regency. One of the main elements of cultural capital is the "purity of blood" associated with noble family status. This research found that communities support candidates from noble families due to deep cultural values related to honor and social status. This cultural capital strengthens the relationship between candidates and voters and increases voter turnout as people feel more connected to culturally respected candidates.

Cultural capital relates to symbols of social status and how candidates interact with the community. Candidates who can understand and appreciate local culture and communicate in a way that aligns with local traditions and values will be more accepted and trusted by voters. Cultural capital plays an important role in increasing voter turnout, as it can build a strong emotional connection between candidates and voters, strengthening political loyalty and increasing participation in local elections.

Social Capital-Level of Voter Participation Hypothesis

Hypothesis 4 in this study is accepted, meaning that social capital affects voter participation. In the context of Regional Head Elections (Pilkada), social capital includes the network of relationships and social

trust between candidates, political parties, and the community. The existence of strong social networks and ties between communities and formal institutions (such as political parties and the government) can increase voter turnout, as the existing trust encourages individuals to be more actively involved in the political process. This social capital also plays a role in facilitating collaboration between community groups to support certain candidates or political parties, which in turn can increase voter mobilization. Thus, the stronger the social capital candidates possess, the more likely they are to encourage higher voter turnout in local elections.

Social Capital Social capital encompasses the social relationships, networks, and norms that exist in society, which are important in determining social standing and driving political behavior, including participation in elections. Social capital can be formed through social trust, ties, and networks owned by individuals or groups. High trust between voters and candidates or voters and other political institutions will increase voter participation. This is because voters feel their votes will be valued and heard, and contribute to a better change. In addition, such trust creates an atmosphere conducive to active participation in the political process.

Strong social networks also play an important role in increasing voter turnout. Candidates with extensive social networks, whether through family, friends, communities, or community organizations, can garner support and mobilize voters more easily. These networks not only expand the voter base but also create more efficient information channels, increasing voters' awareness of the election process and encouraging them to participate.

Social capital also includes the social norms that prevail in society. If the community has norms encouraging political participation, such as the obligation to vote or contribute to determining leaders, voter turnout is likely higher. Candidates who build close relationships with the community and demonstrate a commitment to these social values will find it easier to gain support and increase voter turnout. Social capital can also serve as a link between individuals and political institutions. Participation in social networks and community organizations can strengthen ties between voters and political institutions and give voters a sense of empowerment. When voters feel they have access and connections to political institutions, they are more likely to be actively involved in the electoral process, including voting for candidates they support.

Conclusion

This research highlights the victory of noble families in the 2018 Bone Regency elections, showing that political, economic, cultural, and social capital play a significant role in increasing voter participation. The candidates' strong political capital, backed by political parties, was central to their success. Economic capital plays an important role in funding campaigns and mobilizing voters. Meanwhile, cultural and social capital strengthen candidates' relationships with the community, increasing voter trust and engagement. The results reveal that community trust in noble families and local traditions remains dominant in Bone Regency's regional politics. Candidates from noble families utilize their status and social networks to gain widespread support, contributing to high voter turnout in local elections.

This study has several limitations, namely the small sample size (100 respondents), which limits the ability to generalize the findings to the entire population of Bone Regency. Therefore, future research should use a larger sample and more varied data collection methods to obtain more representative results. The main contribution of this study is a deeper understanding of the political dominance of noble families in the modern democratic era, especially in the context of Pilkada in Bone Regency. Future research should expand the sample and the period to provide a more comprehensive picture of the influence of dynastic politics in this region.

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