

Political Capital of Minangkabau Nomads in the 2019 Legislative Election in Indonesia

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Abstract : This research examined the political capital owned by Minangkabau nomads from the Legislative Candidates for the Indonesian Parliament in the 2019 Legislative Election. Minangkabau is one of the institutionalized ethnic groups with migration tradition that is identical to the matrilineal kinship system in Indonesia. Migration is a valuable asset used by this ethnic group to support Parliament legislative contestations, in the 2019 Legislative Election. This is a qualitative descriptive research with data collection through interviews and documentation. The results showed that FadliZon and Jon Erizalare two Minangkabau nomads who managed their political campaign adequately to win the 2019 Legislative Election with significant votes in their respective constituencies. Furthermore, party support, ownership of political positions in the form of capacity and experience as incumbents, enabled them to achieve victory.

Keywords: Political capital, Minangkabau nomads, legislative candidates, elections

1. INTRODUCTION

The general election is an important aspect of realizing ideal governance in this modern era (Ismail et al., 2020). The diverse ethnicities, religions, cultures, and intergroup in various parts of the world, including Indonesia, face collaboration and competition in determining the right to vote in an electoral arena on a local, national, and even international scale. This research examines the

dynamics involved in organizing the 2019 Legislative Election in Minangkabau. It is one of the major ethnic group in Indonesia that inhabit the central part of Sumatra Island, most of which is now West Sumatra Province. Although the Minangkabau people constitute only 3% of the entire population, they are the fourth major ethnic group after the Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese (Naim, 2013).

The participation of this tribe in the Indonesian political system is an interesting phenomenon that can be traced back to the colonial era, specifically in the early 20th century (Chaniago, 2010). Its manifestation is represented by the existence of several intellectuals who are involved in the national movement arena based on political and cultural struggles. Irrespective of the fact that figures canvassing for Western and Islamic education have diverse ideologies in the political field, they still respect each other. For example, Hatta, Tan Malaka, Sutan Sjahrir, Agus Salim, Yamin, Natsir, and Chaerul Saleh have different political views, they have a common goal, namely independent Indonesia, an ideal that transcends the boundaries of their original cultural image (Iskandar, 2020).

The 1998 reform era, which altered political governance in the country, did not affect the role played by Minangkabau. After the reformation, Minangkabau political figures gain trust in public spaces. They were appointed to various ministries and institutions in the executive jurisdiction. In addition, they always occupied the executive posts were always occupied in the reform cabinet, the development unity cabinet, the United Indonesia cabinet I, the United Indonesia cabinet II, the working cabinet, and the Advanced Indonesia cabinet during the Habibie, Gusdur-Megawati, SBY-JK, SBY-Budiono, Jokowi-JK and Jokowi-Maruf era, respectively. In the 2019 Legislative Election, Minangkabau political figures gained trust in and outside their home regions in West Sumatra Province. They were also elected as legislative members representing their electoral districts in their respective overseas.

Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal of the Gerindra and National Mandate Parties are two nomads from Minangkabau who were elected due to the significant votes obtained in the 2019 Legislative Election. Fadli Zon acquired 230,524 votes and was listed among the top 10 candidates with the most votes in Indonesia (Kompas, 2019). As a national figure, Fadli Zon had previously contested in the West Sumatra Region in the 2009 Legislative Election but was unsuccessful (JawaPos, 2017). Meanwhile, Jon Erizal managed to get 78,338 votes and was listed as a member of the parliament in Riau Province with the highest score, defeating other legislative candidates, including Andi Rahman, who had 32,511 votes and incidentally served as Governor of Riau (Go Riau, 2019).

In every electoral process, political capital is an important factor that needs to be possessed by all prospective candidates. According to Haboddin(2017), it is an indispensable source of power for rulers or leaders. This indicates the greater the political capital, the stronger and tougher the leader. This is evident from the support of political parties, community or electoral districts, and the ability to communicate politically in public and socialize with other authorities. By presenting a modern political and democratic model that accommodates societal values, this research aims to discern the relationship between cultural, social, and political factors or capital owned by Minangkabau nomads contesting for the Indonesian parliament and the positive implications of winning the 2019 election.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Capital is an important factor related to the execution of economic, business, social, and political activities. The political theory was initiated and first coined by Bourdieu, and it is inseparable from the human business arena (Jenkins, 2004). Capital acts as a social relation embodied in an exchange system. This term extends to all forms of goods, both material and symbolic, without distinction that presents as rare and worthy of being sought in a particular social formation (Bourdieu, 1986).

Political capital involves using all capital types owned by political actors or institutions to carry out actions that benefit or strengthen their position (Casey, 2008). In another perception, it is a 'metaphor' used to conceptualize the accumulation of resources and power developed through relationships, trust, goodwill, and the influence of politicians or parties and other stakeholders such as constituents. Political capital is also defined as the sum of capital types used to execute political action or the return on investment to the production system. It is a type of currency used to mobilize voters, achieve policy reforms, and other political goals (Stomberg&Szucs, 2007).

The existence of political capital implies support, both from the community and political parties. Based on several theories and concepts, it is the total use of capital types whose acquisition is determined by the ability to mobilize social networks created through cultural mechanisms, such as traditions and customs. It is important to analyze the extent to which political capital has positive implications in electoral contestations.

This research further explains relevant previous literature on the ownership of modalities in each contestation and its effect on victory (Sadar&Purwaningsih, 2019). According to Bourdieu and Casey, it is quite influential on the success of a candidate in electoral contestation (Kartika, 2017). In the social context, political capital triggers minority candidates' electoral success (Wright & Zhu, 2021). It also contains social capital, where the use of networks, in this case, is influential in building voters' trust (Putri, 2018). Furthermore, a combination of political, social, and economic capital is required in political marketing (Solihah et.al., 2018). This research argues that the political

capital of Minangkabau nomads as Indonesian parliamentary candidates is motivated by their social and *merantau* cultural capital. Based on this, they were able to win the 2019 Legislative Election contestation.

2.1. 'Merantau': Migration and Population Mobility as Capital

Merantau is a special type of migration with cultural connotations, which are not easily translated into other languages (Naim, 2013). It is a Malay, Indonesian, and Minangkabau term used in the same manner as the word *rantau* (region). Meanwhile, *rantau* can also be defined as a watershed, usually located near or part of a coastal area. *Merantau* is a verb that simply means to go to *rantau*. According to Naim, the political sociology perspective contains at least six main elements, namely leaving one's hometown; of their own accord; for a long period or not; seeking better life, knowledge, and experience; usually to go home afterward; and socio-cultural institutions.

In this research, *merantau* is when someone migrates outside a particular cultural area of their own accord or when they no longer communicate and interact only with relatives or members of the same tribe but with those from different ethnic groups and cultural backgrounds. For the purposes of this research, it was concluded that migration is more of a common denomination for all types of displacement. However, *merantau*, a type of migration, is limited by at least six earlier mentioned criteria.

Merantau is perceived as the cultural capital of the Minangkabau tribe, and its purpose is to be elected into a *pangkek* (position) by building a career (Navis, 1984). Furthermore, its ownership is inseparable from its identity as an Islamic religiosity tradition that adheres to matrilineal kinship and has a strong migrational culture (Kato, 2005). Mrazek (1996) stated that two Minangkabau cultural typologies are dynamism and anti-parochialism. These further strengthen the personality of the nomads, who are free-spirited, cosmopolitan, and egalitarian.

Merantau is also a form of social capital synonymous with efforts to adapt to a new environment. Indonesian parliamentary candidates from Minangkabau have relatively succeeded in adapting, which is perceived as a valuable capital in gaining public sympathy. This correlates with the victory of the 2019 Legislative Election abroad. Therefore, the nomads in the Indonesian parliamentary legislative election are certainly inseparable from their ability to utilize this capital.

2.2. Political Participation and General Election

Political participation is when a person or group actively participates in politics, such as selecting a state leader who directly or indirectly influences government policies (Budiardjo, 2010). McClosky (1975) further stated that it is a voluntary activity through which the citizens take part in

electing rulers to directly or indirectly influence the enactment of public policy. The general election has been globally recognized as a venue for establishing representative democracy and periodic changes in government. According to the theory of minimalist democracy (Schumpeterian), it is an arena that accommodates competition among political actors for power, people's political participation in making choices, and the liberalization of the citizens' civil and political rights (Dahl, 1992).

In its journey, the general election has been institutionalized and is a universal mechanism in the political system of democratic countries. In its implementation, the election mechanism is democratic, assuming it fulfills several parameters, such as general election, rotation of power, open recruitment, and public accountability (Prihatmoko, 2005). Referring to this perspective, it is increasingly obvious that the spirit of democracy demands absolute participation. This has led to constructing a system in which the people directly participated in electing their political choices without representation.

3. METHODS

This research adopted a qualitative approach which is perceived as the best way to understand social behavior. The data were collected and analyzed through oral and written words and human actions. The attitudes, behaviors, and subjective experiences of a person or group of people and meanings associated with these practices were also explored (Mash & Stoker, 2010). Furthermore, a case research approach was used to investigate phenomena in real-life contexts, where the boundaries are not clearly defined, and multiple sources of evidence were employed (Yin, 2006). According to Yin, various sources of evidence, such as documents, archives, recordings, interviews, direct and participatory observations, as well as physical devices, are usually utilized.

Primary data were obtained from interviews using guidelines, moreover these were carried out openly with a list of pre-prepared or unstructured questions aimed to conduct informal investigations to facilitate the discussion of certain problems (Fontana & Frey, 2009). Furthermore, secondary data were acquired from archival documents and scientific journals.

The informants were selected using snowball sampling. First, the initial informants were determined from two Elected Members of the Council who were Minangkabau Candidates of the Indonesian Parliament in the 2019 Legislative Election, namely Fadli Zon-Electoral District V West Java, with Jon Erizal-Electoral District I Riau. Second, their political capital was explored in-depth during the 2019 Legislative Election. These elected nomads are expected to enlighten other informants

according to the desired data. This research was carried out in Region I Riau and Region V West Java.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Minangkabau's political participation in the post-reform era is evident in their socio-political activities during the 2019 Legislative Election. Surprisingly, 15 candidates from this ethnic group, which originated from West Sumatra Province, were elected. Based on a detailed analysis, they belonged to six different parties, namely the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the Greater Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), the Functional Groups Party (Golkar), the National Democratic Party (Nasdem), and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), and were elected in 9 provinces. The distribution of Minangkabau nomads and their vote acquisition is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Vote Acquisition of Minangkabau Nomads for Indonesian Parliamentary Candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election

No.	Name	Party Origin	Electoral District	Number of Votes
1.	Tiffatul Sembiring	PKS	North Sumatra I	127.233
2.	Nasril Bahar	PAN	North Sumatra III	95.557
3.	Jon Erizal	PAN	Riau I	78.848
4.	Chairul Anwar	PKS	Riau I	75.348
5.	Arsyadjuliandi Rahman	Golkar	Riau I	32.511
6.	Nurzahedi Tanjung	Gerindra	Riau II	57.338
7.	Asman Abnur	PAN	Riau Islands	76.021
8.	Aziz Syamsuddin	Golkar	Lampung I	104.042
9.	Rano Karno	PDIP	Banten	274.294
10.	Ahmad Sahroni	Nasdem	Jakarta III	73.938
11.	Fadli Zon	Gerindra	West Java V	230.524
12.	Evita Nursanty	PDIP	Central Java III	130.983
13.	Moreno Soeprapto	Gerindra	East Java V	59.296
14.	Arteria Dahlan	PDIP	East Java VI	108.259
15.	Willy Aditya	Nasdem	East Java XI	190.814

Source: Processed by Researchers from the Indonesian General Elections Commission, 2019

Among the electoral districts in the 2019 Legislative Election, it was recorded that 4 of the 13 seats for the Indonesian Parliamentary Members in Riau for the 2019/2024 period were won by Minangkabau nomads. This simply means that 30.77% of the current legislative members are from this tribe. However, this is even more interesting than the results of the 2010 Population Census, where the number of Minangkabau ethnic groups in this province was approximately 11.26%. This figure exceeds the achievements of Minangkabau nomads in the electoral political arena.

In the democratic process, all citizens have equal opportunities to vote and be voted for, are given considerable freedom to form political organizations, channel their aspirations, and participate in competitions in the placement of elected public positions. At the empirical level, opportunities differ from one person to another because the capital owned by each individual in terms of directly participating in election contestations is different. With a series of assets owned, the electoral participants, in this case, the legislative candidates, are trying their best to win the hearts of voters. It was discovered that the Minangkabau nomads, particularly Fadli Zon of the Gerindra, Electoral District V West Java and Jon Erizal of PAN, Electoral District I Riau, as elected candidates of the 2019 Legislative Election, had accumulated political capital.

4.1. Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal: Two Elite Figures from Minangkabau Nomads

Political capital uses all capital types owned by political actors or concerned institutions to strengthen their positions. Therefore, these resources are used by politicians to gain and promote obedience from other power holders. In this case, political capital aims to obtain and promote the compliance of the voting public as the holder of the highest power in electoral contestation.

The political capital of Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal during the electoral contestation is the support and power possessed by these two figures in winning the 2019 Legislative Election. This is based on the fact that the two are elite Minangkabau figures overseas. Fadli Zon is a Minangkabau intellectual from Payakumbuh, West Sumatra Province, the eldest of three brothers. In practical politics, Fadli Zon first joined the Golkar Party in 1995 and was further appointed as a member of the Indonesian Consultative Assembly (MPR-RI) from the Youth Group Delegation in 1997. Fadli Zon co-founded the Crescent Star Party (PBB) on July 17, 1998, and the dynamics of democracy led him to co-found the Gerindra Party on February 6, 2008. On October 1, 2014, Fadli Zon was elected as a member and Deputy Chair of the parliament in charge of politics, law, and security. As a nomad from Minangkabau, Fadli Zon is currently entrusted with the General Chairperson of the Leadership Council (DPP-IKM). In the past two Indonesian parliamentary legislative elections, held in 2014 and 2019, Fadli Zon emerged as the Gerindra Party candidate for Region V West Java.

Meanwhile, Jon Erizal is a Minangkabau nomad from the Electoral District I Riau from an entirely different place. Jon Erizal is active in various social organizations and was listed as the Cut Mutia Mosque Foundation Chairman, Jakarta. Furthermore, Jon Erizal is also a member of the Central Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI). Similar to Fadli Zon, Jon Erizal's political career in the national political arena is also quite brilliant. This was marked by the mandate as General Treasurer of the Central Executive Board (DPP-PAN) for the 2010 to 2015 period. As a Member of the Indonesian parliament, Jon Erizal has been elected twice in a row (Pileg 2014 and 2019) and is currently entrusted to be one of the DPP PAN Chairs.

Before participating in the 2014 Indonesian Parliament Legislative Election 2013, Jon Erizal ran for Governor of Riau from 2013 to 2018. However, Jon Erizal, paired with Mambang Mit and promoted by PAN and PKS, was stopped in the first round with 318,548 votes or approximately 13.4%. Jon Erizal's ability to compete in the 2013 regional head election became a valuable experience that further strengthened his steps to join the political arena during the Indonesian Parliamentary Election. As a Minangkabau nomad, Jon Erizal is also entrusted with the current position of Deputy Chairman of the Riau Minang Family Association (IKMR).

4.2. Political Party Support for Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal

The 2019 Legislative Election elected only 575 parliamentary members out of 7,968 candidates in Indonesia. Fadli Zon as a candidate from the Gerindra Party for Electoral District V West Java, competed with 133 others (Bogor Kita, 2019) and received 230,524 votes. Meanwhile, Jon Erizal as a candidate from the PAN for Electoral District I Riau, competed with 125 others. In the final vote set by the General Elections Commission (KPU), Jon Erizal received 78,848 votes (Cakaplah, 2019). With this achievement, Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal were listed as the pair of parliamentary candidates with the most votes in their respective electoral districts. The places contested by Fadli Zon include Bogor Regency, with the availability of 9 seats for parliamentary members. The final vote acquisition of the 2019 Legislative Election in Electoral District V West Java is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Vote Acquisition of Indonesian Parliamentary Candidates for the Electoral District I Riau in the 2019 Legislative Election

No.	Name	Party Origin	Number of Votes
1.	Jon Erizal	PAN	78.848
2.	Achmad	Democrat	77.324

3.	Effendi Sianipar	PDIP	75.828
4.	Chairul Anwar	PKS	75.348
5.	M. Rahul	Gerindra	58.565
6.	Syamsurizal	PPP	42.743
7.	ArsyadjuliandiRachman	Golkar	32.511

Source: Riau Province General Election Commission, 2019

Based on these results, FadliZon was the candidate with the highest number of votes in Electoral District V West Java, far outperforming the other competitors. Furthermore, FadliZon even stated to be among the top 10 legislative candidates with the most votes in Indonesia, showing how much he is desired by the community. Fortunately, other Minangkabau nomad figures had similar experiences. For example, Jon Erizal also obtained the highest vote among other legislative candidates in the Electoral District I Riau, by winning a total of 78,848 votes. Interestingly, with this vote, Jon Erizal was far ahead of the former Governor of Riau, ArsyadjuliandiRachman (Golkar Party). The vote acquisition in the 2019 Legislative Election for Electoral District I Riau is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Vote Acquisition of Indonesian Parliamentary Candidates for the Electoral District V West Java in the 2019 Legislative Election

No.	Name	Party Origin	Number of Votes
1.	FadliZon	Gerindra	230.524
2.	Primus Yustisio	PAN	86.983
3.	AdianNapitupulu	PDIP	80.228
4.	Elly Rachmat Yasin	PPP	71.884
5.	Mulyadi	Gerindra	70.569
6.	Fahmy Alaydrus	PKS	67.677
7.	Ichsan Firdaus	Golkar	64.240
8.	Anton S. Suratto	Demokrat	55.634
9.	TomyKurniawan	PKB	33.988

Source: West Java Province General Election Commission, 2019

The success of FadliZon (Electoral District V West Java) and Jon Erizal (Electoral District I Riau) in gaining significant votes shows the high level of public trust in the two figures to represent the people in the Indonesian legislature. To discuss the political parties' support for FadliZon and Jon

Erizal, it is necessary first to explain the process of nominating the two to participate in the 2019 Legislative Election.

According to the Chairperson of the Gerindra Party General Elections' Winner, its background was centered on Fadli Zon's political expertise and experience, which was recognized and considered to have contributed many national political arena. Furthermore, the Chairman of the DPD PAN Riau, Irwan Nasir, clearly admitted that PAN selected and appointed Jon Erizal as the Number One Candidate in Electoral District I Riau based on his capacity and capability as a Legislative Member in the previous period (2014 to 2019). Jon Erizal occupies an important position on the board, with the political experience from being the Treasurer to becoming the current Chairman of the PAN DPP. Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal occupy important positions in the Indonesian parliamentary apparatus from 2014 to 2019. Fadli Zon was entrusted as the Deputy Chair of the parliament for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs. Meanwhile, Jon Erizal was entrusted as Deputy Chair of Commission XI.

As two Minangkabau nomads elected as legislative candidates, the success of Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal in gaining significant votes abroad was fantastic. An academic and former senior bureaucrat from this tribe named Djohermansyah Djohan stated that the implementation of regional autonomy marked the post-reformation era, both in promoting its progress and development. This has also strengthened ethnocentrism, aka 'Putra Asli Daerah (PAD).' This means the people prefer regional heads and legislative candidates from their regions. Meanwhile, supposing a Minangkabau nomad wins the election is certainly an extraordinary achievement.

The success of Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal is due to various factors, such as their abilities to utilize and optimize their political capital. The National Press figure from Minangkabau, Hasril Chaniago, stated that they are nomads, where *merantau* (wandering) is perceived as a different cultural capital. Moreover, the success as elected candidates outside their hometown is inseparable from the ability to utilize various types of capital. The social capital is evident in their adaptability and social networks. With the 'merantau' tradition, every Minangkabau is expected to possess good adaptability features, such as the philosophy of 'where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld, wherever people reside, they tend to follow the norms and life systems of the local community. This social and cultural capital forms the political capital that led to the election of Minangkabau nomads as candidates for the 2019 Legislative Election.

Regarding the appointment and determination of Fadli Zon as the candidate, it is only logical for the Gerindra Party to appoint him to contest in the 2019 Legislative Election because he is a known public and national political figure who is familiar with the nature of the Electoral District V West Java, namely Bogor Regency. Fadli Zon is a Minang nomad born in Jakarta, but he spent most of

his life in Bogor Regency from childhood to adolescence. With the background of these situations and conditions, FadliZon is considered capable of developing interactive communication with community members in Electoral District V West Java.

Similarly, Jon Erizal was nominated and appointed as an Indonesian parliamentary candidate for the Electoral District I Riau. Besides being qualified at the national political level, Jon Erizal is also considered to understand the situation and conditions of the people in the electoral arena. Jon Erizal possesses leadership qualities and a good emotional bond with the people of Bengkalis and the Regency or City in Electoral District I Riau. His family members are large, and he has numerous friends and close associates in Riau. Interestingly, though he was born and raised in Bangkalis, Riau, Jon Erizal comes from Minangkabau, West Sumatra. Currently, he is still carrying out the mandate as Deputy Chair of the Riau Minang Family Association (IKMR). His largest mass base is not only Malay but also Minangkabau and other community groups in Riau Province. This further strengthens the DPW PAN Riau in supporting and recommending Jon Erizal as a candidate for the 2019 Indonesian parliamentary legislature.

In the context of figure-based politics, candidates remain the domain of political parties. According to Paskarina et al. (2019), their considerations in determining the right candidates to support are always associated with their qualities. Based on some of the reasons earlier mentioned, the party leaders had no choice but to appoint and encourage FadliZon and Jon Erizal to participate in the 2019 Legislative Election. They are seen as objective reasons based on their figure leadership, track record, and political experiences, therefore, they are eventually considered to have the capacity to carry out the mandate.

Internal factors of legislative candidates are evident in their contributions and active participation in the political arena. Meanwhile, external factors, in the form of matters that do not relate to political institutions, namely candidate figures, can be perceived from their leadership qualities, electability, credibility, and capacity worthy of being determined in an electoral political contestation. Furthermore, the two candidate figures also had a motivational factor. Jon Erizal admits that Indonesia is vast and rich in natural resources. Riau is one of the numerous areas that need to be properly managed to have more value for the nation and the people's livelihood. Meanwhile, FadliZon's motivation stems from the intention to improve the situation by finding the best solution to all existing problems and support programs that are beneficial to the community. This is a real step in advancing the general welfare, as stated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

The political party's support for FadliZon and Jon Erizal was due to various attributes the two legislative candidates possessed, ranging from internal and external to motivational factors. This shows that the ownership of social capital plays a role in the political support process. In this case,

the aspirations and political support from the community were influenced by the nomination process of FadliZon in Electoral District V West Java and Jon Erizal in Electoral District I Riau. This confirms that social capital refers to the social networks of the actors in relation to other powerful parties. Moreover, it empirically triggers individuals or groups to carry out vertical social mobility (Halliweel, 2001).

4.3. Ownership of Political Positions for FadliZon and Jon Erizal

The political capital of FadliZon and Jon Erizal in the 2019 Legislative Election can also be seen through their positions while participating in the political arena. It is perceived as a track record and experience that have boosted their political capacity and credibility compared to the other candidates. Regarding FadliZon's political capacity, an informant from one of the youth leaders who joined the FZ volunteer team in Electoral District V West Java stated that he is one of the politicians who has a brilliant political career. FadliZon was previously (2014 to 2019) elected as a member of parliament and entrusted to carry out the mandate as Deputy Chair of the Parliament for Political, Legal, and Human Rights Affairs. He is close to the community and is even known as the 'Speaker of the People'.

The roles played by FadliZon and Jon Erizal in the national political arena are undeniable. Moreover, both have long pioneered and built their political careers. FadliZon started his political career during the 1997 General Election, the last election in the New Era, where he was mandated to become a Member of the MPR-RI representative of youth groups (Zon, 2016). In the 2014 election, FadliZon was then successfully elected as a member of the parliament for the 2014/2019 period, where he participated for the first time after the reform era. In addition, he was also elected as Deputy Chair of Parliament (Pahlevi, 2015).

Jon Erizal also had a brilliant political career. In 2010/2015, he served as General Treasurer of the Central Leadership Council (DPP) of the National Mandate Party (PAN) and is currently entrusted as Chairman of the DPP PAN. Jon Erizal was also elected to the Indonesian parliament for 2014/2019. Relating to the board of directors, he was entrusted as Deputy Chair of Commission XI. In addition to holding political positions, Jon Erizal is a public figure who is highly sensitive and concerned about the community, specifically in the electoral district. He is a parliamentary member of the Electoral District I Riau who often goes to the field to listen to people's aspirations. This is in line with the statement of the Executive Director of Bertuah Institute that Jon Erizal is highly concerned for the community. He often goes to the field to collect, listen, and present aspirations in the board meeting forum.

4.4. Political Actions of FadliZon and Jon Erizal

FadliZon's real political actions in West Java can be seen from his regular interaction and communication with the community, specifically in the political struggle arena of Region V West Java. Furthermore, FadliZon established the Sunda Cultural Village in Mega Mendung, Bogor, and the Creative House in Cimanggis, Depok. FadliZon is a public figure that is highly sensitive and concerned about the community, specifically in the electoral district.

Regarding FadliZon's real actions in Electoral District V West Java, a young West Java figure, Yudha, stated that he regularly visited, interacted, as well as developed friendships with the people in the electoral district. FadliZon was concerned about the fate of community members, specifically those he represents in representative institutions. He listened to their aspirations and then conveyed and fought for them in parliament. Among farmers, FadliZon is the Secretary of the DPP HKTI, Indonesian Farmers Harmony Association. Apart from Electoral District V West Java, he also frequently visited various regions in the country to support the agricultural sector's progress. In various sessions, meetings, and deliberations of the Parliament/MPR, FadliZon often fought for this agricultural sector, thereby ensuring it continues to develop and become a *prima donna* sector and a mainstay in moving the people's economy.

During an election contestation, this action was perceived as social and political capital for candidates. Social capital is any relationship or resource used to determine social position (Halim, 2014). It is also interpreted as a valuable social relation among people. Social capital tends to be perceived when several people from different social strata classes interact. It is the basic capital in candidates' political actions to interact with the public in the electoral district, including in the 2019 Parliamentary Legislative Election.

Jon Erizal also did a similar thing in Electoral District I Riau. The JE Volunteer Team, Wahono, interviewed, clearly admitted that Jon Erizal regularly listened to the people's aspirations. During the Covid-19 pandemic, he tried to meet with the community, especially his constituents in Electoral District I Riau, even online. Before the pandemic, he routinely sought the community's aspirations by meeting in person at least once a month. Jon Erizal also supports various creative economy businesses and fosters NGOs or intellectual groups. This further convinced the community to trust Jon Erizal as a trustworthy parliamentary member.

The existence of public trust and support for FadliZon and Jon Erizal is inseparable from their interactions and political actions in developing a communicative process with the community while still paying attention to their situation and living conditions. Political experience, working in the building and contributing to the public sphere, capacity, and capability in carrying out the mandate, as well as closeness and good communication with the community, correlate and influence the

support of various parties towards FadliZon and Jon Erizal, thereby leading to re-election in the 2019 Legislative Election.

From the ownership of political positions in the form of their works in the political arena presently, FadliZon and Jon Erizal can interact properly, thereby enabling them to better understand the community situation and conditions. Finally, the community also knows and has an emotional attachment, thereby giving full aspiration and trust to the two figures as representatives in their respective electoral districts.

FadliZon and Jon Erizal are well known by the communities in their respective electoral districts. This is because they are close and often interact with various levels of society when carrying out their mandate, duties, and responsibilities. Interaction and closeness with the community were carried out before and during the 2019 Legislative Election and during their activities before and after entering the practical political arena. Based on their political experiences, FadliZon and Jon Erizal have political capital that deserves to be promoted and determined by their respective parties. With an environmental background and situation that is slightly different between FadliZon and Jon Erizal as two of the elected Minangkabau elites, it can be viewed that the political capital of these candidates is obtained from their closeness to the community when interacting socially and politically, which does not happen instantly. For Minangkabau nomad figures, social and political capital stems from the cultural capital of '*merantau*' (migration), which aims to develop themselves through finding '*pangkek*' (position) as a tangible form of participating in the political system.

In carrying out their roles as political figures, FadliZon and Jon Erizal usually relates, interact, and build intensive communication with the community in their respective electoral districts. This is a "political investment" as long as they carry out their mandate in the public sphere before and after entering the political arena. FadliZon and Jon Erizal's political policies and actions created trust in the public. This is in line with Fukuyama (1995), that trust arose due to the same interests or expectations from a bond. Based on these, a network of actors was created, leading to an emotional bond between its members, including its leaders. This condition then becomes the actor's social capital which can be seen in the ownership of social and cultural networks. In this case, the Sunda Cultural Village and the Creative House, which are under the guidance of FadliZon. Moreover, the creative economy business group and NGO assisted by Jon Erizal are able to build strength to gain support and sympathy from the community.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on these discussions, it was concluded that Minangkabau nomads, specifically two of the legislative member candidates elected in the 2019 Election, FadliZon (Gerindra Party Candidate,

Electoral District V West Java) and Jon Erizal (PAN Candidate, Electoral District I Riau) have qualified political capital and were able to manage it properly, thereby winning the 2019 General Election. They are Minangkabau nomads who are considered to have good leadership figures and were able to carry out the mandate, caring, humanists, and are close to the community.

The political capital of Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal is optimal support from political parties. Ownership of such positions in the form of political capacity and experience as incumbents to actions in electoral districts had a positive effect on their victory. Besides, both figures also managed to utilize all social and cultural capital, which led to their successful election in the electoral contestation arena in the 2019 Election outside their home region (West Sumatra Province). 'Merantau' as an institutionalized social tradition causes the Minangkabau community to be motivated to continue to prove themselves by migrating from one place to another in search of a better life, including in the political arena.

Candidates need to be equipped with hard work to build public trust, closeness with the community (norms), and skills in expanding networks to gain victory to win the electoral contest. All of that should be built long before the election contestation. Political experience, work in building and contributing to public spaces, capacity, and capability in carrying out the mandate, as well as closeness and good communication with the community, are correlated with the support of various parties for Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal, and this led to their re-election with a significant number of votes in the 2019 Election.

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