

Modalities of the First Female Regional Head in North Maluku in the 2020 Sula Islands Regional Election

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine the modalities of Fifian Adeningsi Mus as a candidate in the 2020 Sula Islands regional election. Using qualitative methods and a case study approach, this study employed content analysis techniques on 174 news items from seven local media outlets that reported most intensively on Fifian's participation in the Sula Islands regional election during the reporting period from August 28, 2020, to February 28, 2021. The results, based on NVivo 12 plus analysis, indicate that social modality is the most dominant modality narrated by local media in North Maluku, compared to economic, political, cultural, and symbolic modalities. This article contributes to explaining the election of women as regional heads (especially for regions that have never had female regional heads before), supported by the accumulation of previously built modalities. However, the main contribution to women's election comes from dynastic politics. Therefore, the presence of women in strategic positions can be encouraged through a competitive selection process and a focus on the capacity and capabilities of candidates, so that the election of women as regional heads does not rely solely on the family name (political dynasty).

Keywords: Modality; Female Contestants; Regional Elections; Sula Islands

INTRODUCTION

Direct elections provide excellent opportunities for various elements of society, including women, to participate in shaping and determining the direction of local democracy (Dewi & Fuady, 2016). This includes being

actively involved in running for regional head (Qodarsasi & Dewi, 2019). Regional elections are expected to serve as a political mechanism, showcasing the representation of women in political positions at the local level (Marwah, 2016).

Until now, women's political awareness and "literacy" are still low, and their work in politics is still minimal (Destemi & Hartati, 2020). Even if women are involved in politics and then elected, it is not uncommon for them to be used as pawns and confined in a patriarchal frame (Zahra, 2020). In Indonesia, women's awareness of participation in politics started with the Conscious Wives Movement, which was established in 1927 (Parwati & Istiningdiah, 2020). As a sign that women's political awareness began to grow, the First Women's Congress was held in Yogyakarta in 1928 (Fatmawati, 2019). In the 1955 election, women also had the right to vote and be elected (Saputra et al., 2020).

Furthermore, in regional election contests, candidates who are likely to win are those who can accumulate resources. The greater the modalities accumulated, the greater the chance of being elected regional head (Putri & Qodir, 2017; Zainal & Khaldum, 2017; Muksin et al., 2019). Modality itself is a provision of the self, which Bourdieu defines as a source of power and a form of power that is owned and used. In his classification, Bourdieu divides capital into four types: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Rasyid & Qodir, 2021). Furthermore, according to Casey (2008) Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih (2018), there is also political capital that Bourdieu has not elaborated on in his works. The definition of political capital in social science is still being sharpened, and publications about it are far fewer than the previous four types of capital (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017).

Pierre Bourdieu (1986), in his writing *The Forms of Capital*, contained in the *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, distinguishes three forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), the definition of capital is

extensive. It includes material things (which can have symbolic value), as well as cultural capital (defined as culturally valued tastes and consumption patterns). Cultural capital encompasses a diverse range of properties, including art, education, and various forms of language (Richardson, 1986). In his research on the victory of the female regent (Indah Putri Indriani) in North Luwu Regency in the 2015 regional elections, Baharuddin & Purwaningsih (2017) revealed that the main capital that must be possessed by candidates who want to participate in the contest in the direct regional elections is social capital, cultural capital, political capital, and economic capital. The candidate pair for regional head has a great chance of being elected if they have accumulated more than one capital. The greater the number of capitals the candidate pair can accumulate, the greater the chance of being elected as regional head. This can also be seen when Fifian Adeningsi Mus ran for Regent in the 2020 Sula Islands Regency regional elections.

Table 1: List of Women Candidates for Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head in North Maluku

Elections	Profile of Women Candidates for Regional Head / Deputy Regional Head				
	Name	Political Parties Bearers & Supporters	Department of Loning	Region	Status
2005	Nita Budhi Susanti	PDK (National Democratic Party)	Mayor	Ternate City	Not selected
2010	Vaya Amelia Armaiyn	Demokrat, PBB, Gerindra, PKPB, PIS, PPRN Party, PNBKI, PPD, PDP, PIB, Barnas, PKDI, PPNU, PKNU, Vanguard Party, Kedaulatan Party, PDK, PNI Marhaenisme, Patriot Party, PDS and PKP	Vice Mayor	Ternate City	Not selected
	Hastuti Kakiet	-	Vice Regent	East Halmahera	Not selected
2015	Nuraini R. Konofo	Independent	Vice Regent	North Halmahera	Not selected
2017	Muttiara T. Yasin	PDI-P and PBB	Regent	Central Halmahera	Not selected
	Yulce Makasarat	PKS, PAN, and PPP	Vice Regent	Morotai Island	Not selected
2020	Merlisa Marsaoly	PDIP, PKS, PAN, PBB, Berkarya, and PSI	Mayor	Ternate City	Not selected

	Fifian Adeningsi Mus	Golkar, PDI-P, PPP, PBB, and Hanura	Regent	Sula Islands	Selected
2024	Fifian Adeningsi Mus	Golkar, Gerindra, PDIP, PKB, PKS, Hanura, PBB, PPP, Gelora and Ummat	Regent	Sula Islands	Selected
	Sherly Tjoanda	Nasdem, PKB, Demokrat, PAN, PPP, Gelora, PSI and Party of Buruh.	Governor	North Maluku Province	Selected

Source: Processed by researchers from various sources (2025)

In the history of local elections in North Maluku, which have been held 38 times since 2005, eight women have made their mark in the history of local democracy performance. Among the eight characters, only Fifian Adeningsi Mus was later elected as regent in the 2020 simultaneous regional election contest. Together with her deputy, Saleh Marasabessy, they were officially inaugurated by the Governor of North Maluku, Abdul Gani Kasuba, on June 4, 2021 (Ibrahim, 2021), following the rejection of a lawsuit by Hendrata Thes-Umar Umabaihi by the Constitutional Court (Tude, 2021). Fifian defeated two incumbent candidates, Hendrata Thes and Zulfahri Abdullah, who were the regent and deputy regent of the Sula Islands for the 2015-2020 period (Tude, 2021).

The author's initial conclusion, Fifian's election as the first regional head (regent) in North Maluku Province (Sula Islands) and what distinguishes her from the seven other female regional head candidates in 38 regional elections, is the deep-rooted political dynasty network of the Mus family in the Sula Islands and Taliabu, which has been going on since the first direct regional elections were held in 2005 (Muksin et al., 2019; Wance & Djae, 2019; Fokatea & Mas'udi, 2020). This strong political dynasty network then has a direct impact on Fifian, which can be legitimized as a modality for attracting sympathy and votes. This can also be seen when people say they miss the leadership of Ahmad Hidayat Mus (AHM), the older brother of Fifian Adeningsi Mus. This family bond can then be leveraged as a means to garner sympathy and votes.

Previous studies that align with the problems in this study have been

widely conducted. The results of Jaweng's (2014) research suggest that the strength of familial ties is one of the factors that has not been explored in the context of women's leadership during the space of structural transformation. Instead, it further strengthens patriarchal culture. This can be seen in a study of Apriani's (2019), that shows that of the 51 post-reform female regional heads and deputy regional heads, some are regional heads/deputy regional heads who were elected thanks to familial ties. The strong kinship politics is also behind Eka Wiryastuti's victory in the Tabanan regional election in 2010, even though it stands amid traditional and political dualism in Bali, as the results of research by Dewi et al. (2016). In contrast, Fitriyah's (2018) research concluded that this practice is a form of affirmation not provided by regulation. Meanwhile, a study on the victory of a woman who later became the first female regional head was also conducted by Indah Putri Indriani, who was able to convert modalities into success in the North Luwu Regency regional election, as well as research by Kartika et al. (2018), which concluded that Tjhai Chui Mie was able to manage her modalities to become the first female mayor of Chinese descent in Indonesia.

Unlike previous studies, this study has some novelty. In addition to the locus of research and new phenomena in North Maluku, another novelty is the composition of modalities, as well as data processing software (NVivo 12 plus), as quoted by Robertson (2008) in Rahmat et al. (2022), allowing authors to record each concept, essential ideas contained in the work, and critical quotes to be included in discussions.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs a qualitative case study approach. Qualitative research emphasizes the in-depth understanding of a problem (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015). Meanwhile, the case study approach is a research strategy in which researchers carefully investigate a program, event, activity, process, or group of individuals (Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019). The data collection techniques

used are documentation, namely journal documents, online news media distribution, document data from the General Elections Commission (KPU), compositions of the carrying political party, and decisions of the Constitutional Court (MK). In analyzing the data, the researcher used a content analysis technique pioneered by Harold Laswell (Arafat, 2018). The author employed the content analysis technique by recording symbols or messages that were systematically arranged, then interpreting the previously marked (coded) messages. After selecting the media, the researcher utilized the NCapture feature within NVivo 12 Plus software to capture news related to the research topic. After NCapture, the collected data were then analyzed in NVivo 12 Plus software in stages through data coding (reading text and content that has similarities with other data, identifying interrelated items, searching for meaning, words, and related contexts), and subsequently interpreted (Saputra et al., 2020). The news media selected in this study are as follows.

Table 2. Details of Online News Source Names to be Analyzed

News Media Name	Information	Links	News time range	Total
Cerminmalut.com	Local Media	https://cerminmalut.com/	28/8/2020 - 28/2/2021	31
Haliyora. id	Local Media	https://haliyora.id/	28/8/2020 - 28/2/2021	25
Halmaherapost.com	Local Media	https://halmaherapost.com/	28/8/2020 - 28/2/2021	27
Indotimur.com	Local Media	http://indotimur.com/	28/8/2020 - 28/2/2021	8
Kieraha.com	Local Media	https://kieraha.com/	28/8/2020 - 28/2/2021	28
Nusantaratimur.com	Local Media	http://www.nusantaratimur.com/	28/8/2020 - 28/2/2021	8
Tandaseru.com	Local Media	http://www.tandaseru.com/	28/8/2020 - 28/2/2021	47
Total				174

Source: Processed by author's (2025)

The author selects local media related to research problems based on considerations, as mainstream media on a national scale often lack sufficient

coverage of research problems. The media chosen by the author are those that most often report on the participation of Fifian Adeningsi Mus as a candidate for regional head of the Sula Islands Regency.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Descriptive Corpus Stats: By Outlet and Modality Shares

In contesting regional elections, modalities in the form of economic, social, political, cultural, and symbolic capital are the types of capital that candidates must possess. They are the most vital for influencing voters. The greater the number of modalities accumulated, the greater the chance of winning the regional election contest (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017).

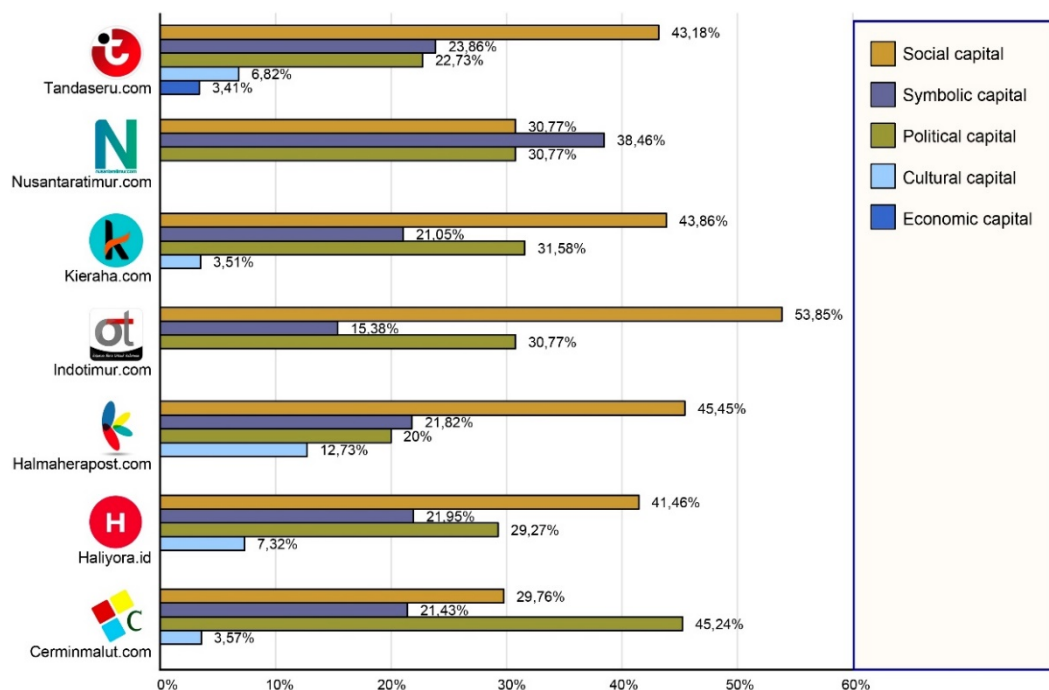


Figure 1: Fifian Adeningsi Mus Modalities in the 2020 Sula Islands Regional Election

Source: Author's processed using NVivo 12 plus (2022)

Based on a *crosstab query* analysis using NVivo 12 software (Figure 1), it was found that social capital was the most prominent type of capital in every news report. The representation of social worth often reported in online news media is related to the enthusiasm of citizens towards Fifian during the

campaign, the social capital left by Ahmad Hidayat Mus (brother of Fifian Adeningsi Mus), and is evident in the recapitulation of the vote count results.

Meanwhile, symbolic capital itself is more frequently mentioned by the Nusantaratimur.com media, where the factors behind symbolic capital include the political dynasty of the Mus family, the Golkar party (which serves as the shelter for the Mus family Muksin et al., 2019), and Fifian political orations that often raise gender issues. As for political capital, frequently mentioned by the media, it is an accumulation of factors, such as support from the political party bearer and the help of the Regent of Taliabu Island, Aliong Mus, who is still a sibling of Fifian. In many media reports, the Chairman of the DPP PDIP, Muhammad Sinen, who was also a mayoral candidate in the Tidore Islands City election, took a considerable amount of time to accompany Fifian and M. Saleh, presumably to garner voter sympathy.

Social Modalities: Mobilization Signal

In the narrative of each media, Fifian's social modality, in the form of interaction with the support of the masses and the people of the Sula Islands in general, seemed more inclined during the campaign period. During the campaign, Fifian's presence at the campaign locations received extraordinary enthusiasm from residents. During a visit to Mangoli, the Fifian-Saleh couple was greeted by thousands of residents who wore flowers, danced and recited with tambourine equipment. While in Sanana, Fifian and Aliong Mus bought up all the street vendors at Pasar Fogi and then distributed them for free to all shopping residents. This then received a positive response from traders who hoped that Fifian could win the regional election contest because of Fifian's blood relationship with Ahmad Hidayat Mus (AHM). According to them, the traces of AHM's government left unforgettable impressions on the people of the Sula Islands. Previously, in Central Mangoli, M. Saleh Marabessy also stated in his political oration that his participation in the regional election contestation was motivated by the struggle of Fifian's brother, AHM, during his two periods of government (2005-2010 and 2011-2015). According to Saleh,

AHM's struggle during the two periods of his administration, where the Sula Islands, which were initially only 40 villages, became 78 villages so that they could absorb Village Funds that entered the Sula Islands larger, the division of sub-districts which initially only amounted to 4 sub-districts into 21 sub-districts, until the expansion of Taliabu Island into a new autonomous region (Sillia, 2020d).

In addition, the Sula Islands PKB Branch Leadership Council (DPC), where the PKB itself supported the incumbent Hendrata Thes-Umar Umabaihi couple, saw some of his party cadres choose to resign and switch their support to Fifian, citing Hendrata's arrogance and unsatisfactory performance during his first term. When the Fifian-Saleh couple campaigned in the Sanana District, the PKB DPC Chairman Burhanudin Buamona was also seen campaigning for Fifian-Saleh. Burhanudin's reason is that, although institutionally, PKB supports Hendrata Thes. Still, the structures within the party, on average, back the Fifian-Saleh pair as regent and deputy regent elected in the 2020 Sula Islands regional election. Hendrata-Zulfahri's former winning team also expressed the same in the 2015 regional election. Raden Umasugi, who switched his support to Fifian-Saleh due to distrust of Hendrata, who, after being elected as regent of the Sula Islands for the 2015-2020 period, did not fulfil his political promises during the campaign period. The accumulation of social modalities developed by Fifian is then represented in the final vote count results.

Table 3: Permanent Voter Data (Voters and Voters) in the 2020 Sula Islands Regional Election

	Voter Data and Exercise of Voting Rights	Man	Woman	Final amount
VOTER DATA	Number of voters in DPT	30,164	30,512	60,676
	Number of voters who moved to vote (DPPH)	164	144	308
	The number of voters not registered in the DPT who exercise their right to vote with an electronic ID card or certificate (DPTb)	1,132	1,331	2,463
	Number of Voters	31,460	31,987	63,447

VOTING RIGHTS USERS	Number of voting rights users in DPT	24.750	25.754	50.504
	Number of voters who moved to vote (DPPH) who exercised their right to vote	151	132	283
	The number of voters not registered in the DPT who exercise their right to vote with an electronic ID card or certificate (DPTb)	1.131	1.330	2.461
	Number of suffrage users	26,032	27,216	53,248

Source: Sula Islands General Election Commission (2020)

Table 4: Recapitulation of the Results of the Vote Count in the 2020 Sula Islands Regency Election

Region (Subdistrict)	Name of Prospective Spouse		
	(01) Hendrata Thes - Umar Umabaihi (Demokrat, PAN, PKB, Gerindra, and Perindo)	(02) Zulfahri Abdullah - Ismail Umasugi (PKS, Nasdem, and Berkarya)	(03) Fifi Anadeningsi Mus - M. Saleh Marasabessy (Golkar, PDIP, PPP, PBB, and Hanura)
East Mangoli	1,132	522	1,279
Sanana	3,687	6,109	5,691
West Sulabesi	1,198	941	1,019
West Mangoli	1,597	940	1,529
Central Sulabesi	1,395	829	1,876
East Sulabesi	956	479	684
South Sulabesi	1,125	575	1,131
Northeast Mangoli	781	836	698
Central Mangoli	1,393	869	2,095
South Mangoli	1,233	424	1,315
North Mangoli	1,837	1,006	1,427
North Sanana	1,357	1,283	1,375
Final Amount	17,691 votes (33.62%)	14,813 votes (28.15%)	20,119 votes (38.23%)
Overall Number of Valid Votes	52.623 (100%)		
Number of Voters	63,447		
Number of Voting Rights Users	53,251		
Number of Valid Votes	52,623		
Number of Invalid Votes	628		
Total Voter Participation	89.93%		

Source: Sula Islands General Election Commission (2020); General Election Commission (2020)

As shown in **Table 4**, the final vote results indicate that Fifian's number of votes significantly outperformed those of the Hendrata-Umar and Zulfahri-Ismail pairs. Although the Hendrata-Umar couple challenged the recapitulation of the vote count results in the Constitutional Court, the Court rejected their lawsuit through Decision Number 90 / PHP. BUP-XIX/2021. Thus, the Fifian-Saleh couple was officially appointed as the elected regents of the Sula Islands for 2021-2024. This victory also recorded the history of the first and youngest female regional head in North Maluku Province.

Political Modalities: Coalition Breadth

PKPU Regulation Number 1 of 2020 has stipulated that the registration of spouses of candidates for regent and candidates for deputy regent, as well as spouses of candidates for mayor and candidates for deputy mayor by political parties by political parties at the district/city level, accompanied by a Decree of the central political party management regarding approval of candidates proposed by provincial political party administrators. Furthermore, each pair of candidates must obtain at least 20% of the total DPRD seats or 25% of the accumulated valid votes in the last DPRD election in the relevant area. Based on these conditions, the Sula Islands KPU also determined three pairs of candidates for the Sula Islands regional election contestation through Decree Number 281/PL.02.2-Pu/03/8205/KPU-Kab/IX/2020.

REGENT AND VICE-REGENT CANDIDATE'S & SUPPORTING POLITICAL PARTY

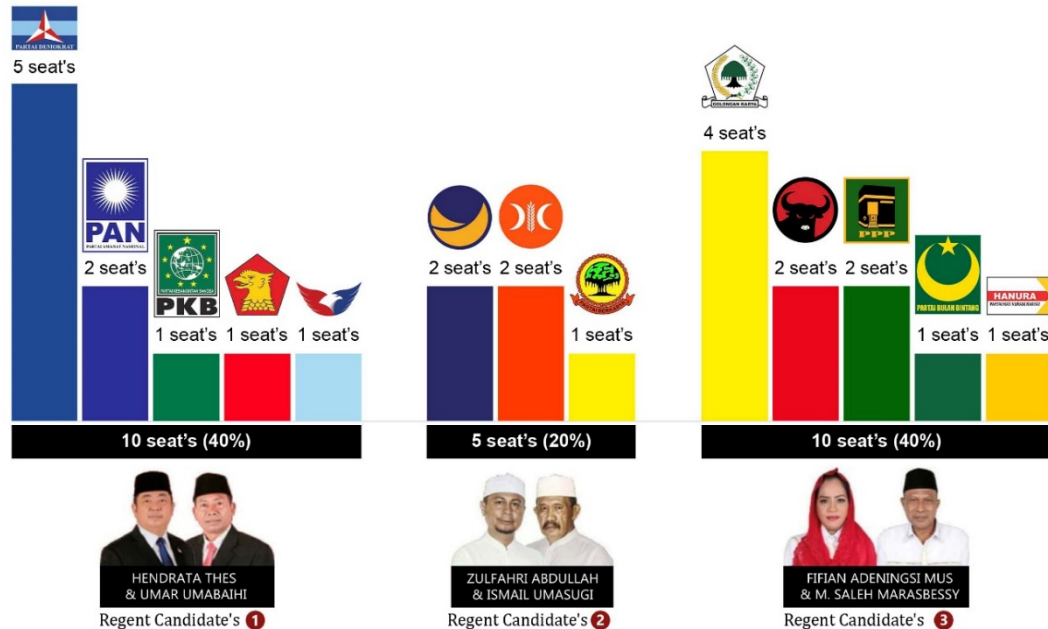


Figure 2: List of Candidate Pairs and Political Parties

Source: Processed by authors from Halmaherapost.com (2020) and Sula Islands Regency BPS (2021)

Fifian herself is noted to have no political track record. Historically, Fifian spent time in the world of bureaucracy. However, Fifian compensated for this by attracting the name of M. Saleh Marasabessy, who, although both are bureaucrats, has political experience in contesting the Sula Islands regional election 2015. Interestingly, although Fifian's status is not as a party cadre, he can attract five carrying parties, with a total number of seats in the DPRD of 10 seats, or 40% of the minimum requirement set at 20% or 25% of the valid votes for political parties that have seats in the DPRD. The accumulated number of seats obtained by Fifian is even with that of the incumbent regent candidate, Hendrata Thes, and exceeds that of the incumbent deputy regent, Zulfahri Abdullah. This also illustrates that Fifian's status as the younger brother of AHM supports the image and influence that would enable Fifian to run for contestation in the Sula Islands regional elections. On the one hand, Fifian also received full support from the Golkar party, which, in the history of politics in the Sula Islands, is often synonymous with the political dynasty of

the Mus family (Muksin et al., 2019; Wance & Djae, 2019).

Furthermore, Fifian also received support from PKB cadres, as the status of PKB itself was that of a political party led by Hendrata Thes-Umar Umabaihi. Burhanudin Buamona, who at the time served as Chairman of the Sula Islands PKB DPC, delivered his political speech by inviting families, sympathizers, and people from Mangoli Island to support the Fifian-Saleh couple in the Sula Islands regional election. Burhanudin's disappointment and shift in support, based on the political promises of Hendrata Thes in the previous period, were never realized. Because of this, Burhanudin also shifted support to the Fifian-Saleh couple. In addition, Fifian also got a chance because of the split of the incumbent partnership. The separation between Hendrata and Zulfahri himself brought benefits to Fifian because the number of voters of the two candidates in the 2015 regional election would also be divided. Thus, the opportunity from Fifian was wide open to win the regional election contestation.

Economic Modalities: Campaign Capacity

Economic capital in regional election contestation can take the form of candidates' wealth, and campaign funds can be allocated for various needs in election contestation, both in terms of technical, tactical, and strategic aspects. As public officials, candidates for regional heads must disclose the origin of their wealth. Related to this, an LHKPN (State Administrator Property Report) has been issued by the KPK, with the intention of providing more detailed information to certain institutions that wish to explore it or the public who are interested.

Table 5: The Wealth of Each Candidate Pair in the 2020 Sula Islands Regional Election Contestation

	Name	Total (IDR)
Candidate for Regent	Hendrata Thes (1)	15,518,933,883 IDR
	Zulfahri Abdullah (2)	3,988,569,228 IDR
	Fifian Adeningsi Mus (3)	2,448,232,105 IDR
Candidate for Vice Regent	Umar Umabaihi (1)	410,388,351 IDR

Ismail Umasugi (2)	869,000,000 IDR
M. Saleh Marasabessy (3)	3,682,543,128 IDR

Source: Sillia (2020b)

Based on the contents of the LHKPN announced by the KPK, as quoted by tandaseru.com and shown in the table above, it can be seen that Hendrata Thes tops the list as the wealthiest candidate for the regional head, with a total wealth of 15,518,933,883 IDR. In second place is Zulfahri Abdullah, with a wealth of 3,988,569,228 IDR. Fifian is next, with an absolute wealth of 2,448,232,105 IDR. Meanwhile, the candidate for deputy regent of the Sula Islands with the most significant wealth, occupied by M. Saleh Marasabessy, has a total wealth of 3,682,543,128 IDR. The second place was occupied by Ismail Umasugi, with an absolute wealth of 869,000,000 IDR.

Meanwhile, Umar Umabaihi occupies the third position as the wealthiest candidate for the Sula Islands deputy regent, with a total wealth of IDR 410,388,351 (Sillia, 2020b). Based on the table above, it can be seen that Fifian's economic capital is not very established compared to the other two candidates contesting in the Sula Islands regional election. To initiate this, Fifian took the name of M. Saleh, who already had a political track record and was also listed as the wealthiest deputy regent for the 2020 Sula Islands regional election contestation. Furthermore, in addition to LHKPN, candidate spouses are also required to report the amount of campaign funds to the KPU, namely the Report on Receipt of Campaign Fund Donations (LPSDK).

Table 6: The 2020 Sula Islands Regent and Vice Regent Spouse Campaign Fund Report

Campaign Finance Report	Name of Prospective Spouse		
	Hendratta Thes - Umar Umabaihi	Zulfahri Abdullah - Ismail Umasugi	Fifian Adeningsi Mus - M. Saleh Marasabessy
Spending Limit	7,377,175,000 IDR	7,377,175,000 IDR	7,377,175,000 IDR
LADK Acceptance	500,000 IDR	500,000 IDR	200,000,000 IDR
LADK Expenditure	-	-	-
LPSDK Acceptance	1,124,699,000 IDR	323,800,000 IDR	-
LPPDK Acceptance	2,192,574,000 IDR	394,775,000 IDR	1,452,500,000 IDR

LPPDK	1,681,454,000	217,272,000 IDR	1,200,000,000 IDR
Expenditure	IDR		
Notes: LADK = Campaign Fund Initial Report <i>(Laporan Awal Dana Kampanye)</i>			
LPSDK = Report on Receipt of Campaign Fund Donations <i>(Laporan Penerimaan Sumbangan Dana Kampanye)</i>			
LPPDK = Report on Campaign Fund Receipts and Expenditures <i>(Laporan Penerimaan dan Pengeluaran Dana Kampanye)</i>			

Source: General Elections Commission (2020b)

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the candidate pair with the most significant LPSDK receipt is the Hendrata-Umar pair, with a value of 1,124,699,000 IDR. The details include the candidate's donation of 306,200,000 IDR, the contributions of other parties individually totaling 518,499,000 IDR, and the gifts from private legal entities totaling 300,000,000 IDR. Meanwhile, the receipt of campaign fund donations from Zulfahri-Ismail totaled 323,800,000 IDR, with details showing that candidate donations amounted to 60,000,000 IDR and individual contributions to 263,800,000 IDR—this was in addition to grants from the campaign funds of the Fifian-M candidate couple. Saleh himself had not been submitted to the Sula Islands KPU until a month before the voting time (Sillia, 2020c). This is not even disclosed until the election period is over.

In contrast, in the 2020 regional election, data belonging to the General Elections Commission, as shown in the table above, have not been seen (General Elections Commission, 2020b). However, in the narration of the Sula Islands KPU Chairman Yunengsi Ayuba, the LPSDK of the three candidate pairs has been submitted to the Sula Islands KPU. According to Yuni, if the campaign fund donation is received, the KPU will include the report submitted to the KPU. However, if the contribution is empty, no campaign fund is donated (Sillia, 2020c). Although the data presented by the KPU does not include LPSDK from Fifian, the data suggest the amounts of LPPDK receipts and expenditures, which are 1,452,500,000 IDR and 1,200,000,000 IDR, respectively.

Cultural Modalities: Local Embeddedness via Language and Associations

Individuals acquire cultural capital through a process that is formed and internalized from childhood, primarily through the teachings of their parents and the influence of their family environment. Therefore, cultural capital is shaped by the multidimensional social environment and the education received by the individual, both formal and informal, as well as the family's cultural heritage. Individuals can only understand capital and culture subconsciously, because only then will they function effectively (Baharuddin & Purwaningsih, 2017). Most of Fifian's time is spent on Taliabu Island, which since 2013 has become a new autonomous region.

The cultural modality obtained by Fifian was also established thanks to AHM's efforts during his two terms as regent of the Sula Islands, where AHM successfully transformed Taliabu Island into a separate district. The fruit of AHM's work is also often ordained by the Fifian-Saleh couple during the campaign period. Fifian's family background is well known by the people of Sula Islands and Taliabu Island. Fifian's brothers, who worked as public officials and jumped into political positions in the Sula Islands, Taliabu Island, and North Maluku province, motivated this. In terms of cultural capital, Fifian's intellectual accumulation is evident in her organizational history. Starting as Chairman of DPD KNPI Sula Islands (2011), then Chairman of DPD KNPI Taliabu Island (2016), Member of Muslimat NU (2018), and Chairman of PKK Working Group Taliabu Island (2019). The history of this organization, coupled with her work history in several services as Head of Service for eight years (2012-2020).

Table 7: History of Education, Organization, and Work Fifian Adeningsi Mus

Education, Organization, and Work		Year
Formal Education	Alhilal Bobong Elementary School	1996
	State Junior High School 1 Taliabu	1999
	State High School 1 West Taliabu	2002
	Ibn Khaldun University Bogor	2007
Organization	Member of HMI Bogor Branch	2003

	Chairman of DPD KNPI Sula Islands	2011
	Chairman of DPD KNPI Taliabu Island	2016
	NU Muslimat Members	2018
	Head of Working Group I PKK Taliabu Island	2019
Job	Head of Department Social Service of Sula Islands	2012
	Head of Department Mining and Energy of Taliabu Island	2014
	Head of Department Education Office of Taliabu Island	2015-2020
	Regent of Sula Islands	2020-2024, 2024-2029

Source: (General Elections Commission, 2020a)

Table 7 above shows that Fifian spent her education from elementary to high school on Taliabu Island. Meanwhile, Fifian took it at Ibn Khaldun University, Bogor, at the lecture level. Apart from being a member of the HMI Bogor Branch student organization, Fifian has also served as the Chairman of DPD KNPI in Sula Islands Regency and Taliabu Island Regency. Furthermore, Fifian was also covered as a member of the NU Muslim Council and Chairman of the PKK Working Group I on Taliabu Island. Meanwhile, in her work history, Fifian spent time as a civil servant before ultimately deciding to participate in the 2020 Sula Islands regional election. In 2012, Fifian was listed as the Head of the Sula Islands Social Service before finally returning to Taliabu Island as Head of the Mining and Energy Office and Head of the Education Office. In other words, Fifian was not covered as a political party by the cadres when he decided to contest in the regional elections.

From a family background, Fifian's modality was supported mainly by the political dynasty of the Mus family. Starting from AHM became the regent of the Sula Islands for two periods (2005-2010 and 2010-2015), which then became the figure of the expansion of Taliabu Island Regency in 2013. Other family members who are also covered in the political dynasty of the Mus family are Aliong Mus, who is the regent of Taliabu Island for two periods (2016-2021 and 2021-2024), Zainal Mus (Regent of Banggai Islands (2017-2022), to Alien Mus who is the Chairman of the North Maluku DPRD (2014-2019) and member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (2019-2024) (Muksin et al., 2019; Wance & Djae, 2019). This accumulation of familism

politics was then converted into Fifian, a cultural modality for Fifian to compete in the Sula Islands regional election 2020.



Figure 3. Map of Ahmad Hidayat Mus Political Dynasty
 Source: Processed by author (2025)

In addition, Fifian also has other cultural modalities that are qualified enough to be used in the contestation of the 2020 Sula Islands regional

elections, including her ability to master regional languages in the Sula Islands. This was seen when Fifian visited the tribes on Mangoli Island on October 20, 2020, namely the Kadai, Mange, Siboyo, Buton, Bugis, Javanese, Sumatran, Madurese, Gorontalo, and the Sula tribe, where Fifian used the Kadai, Siboyo, and Mange languages when campaigning. Fifian also seems to play on the issue of ethnicity, which is evident when he states that the Fifian-M package. Saleh is the complete package because Fifian-M. Saleh combines various tribes in the Sula Islands Regency (Duwila, 2020).

Symbolic Modalities: Dynastic Proximity

Slightly intersecting with cultural capital, symbolic capital is also built based on the dominance of the big name of the family, which is represented through recognition (institutional and non-institutional, manifested in prestige, status, authority, and social honour. In addition, the dominance of the big name in the family, which in this case is the Mus political dynasty, also helped Fifian accumulate the modalities to contest the regional elections.

Table 8: Political Dynasty of the Mus Family

Political Dynasty of the Mus Family	Status	Position	Year
Ahmad Hidayat Mus (AHM)	-	Chairman of the Sula Islands DPRD	2004-2005
		DPD Chairman of the North Maluku Golkar Party	2010-2015
		Regent of Sula Islands	2005-2010, 2010-2015
Nurohmah Ahmad Hidayat Mus	AHM's wife	Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia North Maluku (Golkar Party Faction)	2010-1024
Alien Mus	AHM's sister	Chairman of the North Maluku DPRD	2014-2019
		Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia North Maluku (Golkar Party Faction)	2019-2024
		DPD Chairman of the North Maluku Golkar Party	2016-2020, 2020-2025
Along Mus	AHM's sister	Member of North Maluku DPRD	2009-2014
		Chairman of the Taliabu Islands DPRD	2014-2015
		Regent of Taliabu Island	2016-2021, 2021-2024
		Chairman of DPD II Golkar Party Taliabu Island	2016-2020, 2020-2025

Zainal Mus	AHM's sister	Chairman of the Sula Islands DPRD	2009-2014
		Deputy Speaker of the Taliabu Island DPRD	2015
		Regent of Banggai Islands	2017-2022
Fifian Adeningsi Mus (FAM)	AHM's sister	Regent of Sula Islands	2020-2024, 2024-2029
Agriati Yulin Mus	AHM's sister	Regional House Representatives of North Maluku	2024-2029
Sashabila Mus	AHM's daughter	Candidate for Regent of Taliabu Island	2024-2029
Citra Puspasari Mus	AHM's sister	Candidate for Regent of Taliabu Island	2024-2029
M. Mahafat R. Mus	AHM's son	Regional House Representatives of Ternate City	2024-2029
Source: Muksin et al. (2019); Wance & Djae (2019); (Fokatea & Mas'udi, 2020); Nagara Institute, (2020)			

Table 8 shows that the Mus dynasty began with the election of AHM as Chairman of the DPRD and Regent of the Sula Islands for a two-term term. In 2013, AHM became the figure of the expansion of Taliabu Island Regency, which was formerly part of the Sula Islands Regency. The development of Taliabu Island marked the beginning of Aliong Mus's career, the younger brother of AHM, who won a victory as Regent over Zainal Mus, his brother. Contesting with Fifian in the 2020 regional election, Aliong Mus was re-elected as the regent of Taliabu Island. Meanwhile, Zainal Mus served as Chairman of the Sula DPRD (2009-2014) and Regent of the Banggai Islands (2017-2022).

Meanwhile, Alien Mus (AHM and Fifian's younger brother) also served as Chairman of the DPRD Malut (2014-2019) and Member of the DPR-RI (2019-2024). From the series of positions in the government filled by the Mus family, it can be seen that the Mus political dynasty is powerful in Sula Island and the surrounding areas. The political dynasty of the Mus family, which had been in place for so long, was also transformed in Fifian into a symbolic modality (see Figure 3).

Based on the analysis above, the author can draw a summary of the modalities owned by Fifian Adeningsi Mus in the contestation of the 2020 Sula Islands regional election, as follows:

Table 10. Summary of Fifiian Modalities

Social modalities	a. Social interaction
	b. Community trust
	c. Social capital legacy of AHM
Political modalities	a. Political party support
	b. Party cadre support from incumbent candidates
	c. Breaking of the defender's share
Economic modalities	a. Wealth
	b. Campaign funds
Cultural Modalities	a. Family background
	b. Educational qualifications
	c. Language utilization
Symbolic modalities	Political dynasties of Mus family

Source: Processed using NVivo 12 plus (2022)

Fifiian Adeningsi Mus's position as the elected regent in the Sula Islands district demonstrates her successful accumulation of economic, social, political, cultural, and symbolic capital, which served as a source of her symbolic legitimacy in the 2020 Sula Islands regional election. In addition, other factors, such as M. Saleh's experience participating as a contestant in the 2015 regional election and Saleh's economic capital, contributed to Fifiian's victory in the 2020 Sula Islands regional election. Overall, it is evident that the most prominent type of modality is the social modality. Furthermore, dynastic politics is a dangerous political culture in democracies. Starting from the increasingly complex mechanism of checks and balances, the accumulation of influence, and the regeneration function of political parties that are not in power, which prioritizes candidates with a genealogical background (political dynasties). The last factor can be seen in Fifiian, who has no political track record.

CONCLUSION

The news narrative carried out by the seven local media in North Maluku intensely reported on the social modality of Fifiian Adeningsi Mus compared to

other modalities (political, economic, cultural, and symbolic). During the campaign, Fifian and her deputy, M. Saleh, did not fail to echo the name AHM. This is reinforced by AHM's fanatical followers, who see AHM's authority in Fifian (genealogical). The accumulation of modalities by Fifian Adeningsi Musini subsequently becomes symbolic legitimacy for Fifian. Another factor that prompted the election of Fifian Adeningsi Mus was the split of the incumbent regional head candidates who fought each other in the 2020 regional elections. In addition, the defiance of the Chairman of the PKB DPC and Deputy Chairman II of the PKB DPC of the Sula Islands, who later switched his support personally, helped Fifian win the regional election contestation.

While this study contributes to illustrating how Fifian Adeningsi Adeningsi Mus legitimized the accumulation of modalities in the 2020 Sula Islands Regency Regional Election, it suffers from limitations in the media corpus and relatively limited political coverage on the island. These limitations can be confirmed in further research. Further research could also expand the scope by comparing similar cases on a broader scale, examining opinion polls in conjunction with event studies on coverage, and comparing surveys with Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

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