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## PDIP POLITICAL DYNASTY PHENOMENON AHEAD OF THE 2024 ELECTION

Devina Indah Harini<sup>1</sup>

Government Science Study Program Universitas Komputer Indonesia

Correspondence author Email: [devinaindah89@gmail.com](mailto:devinaindah89@gmail.com)

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### Abstract

This study's main objective is to examine the issue of identity politics and political dynasties in Indonesia, with Solo serving as a case study of these issues in relation to the simultaneous general elections for the head of state and president in 2024. Political dynasties that surround power conflicts at the local to national levels are closely related to the functioning of political parties and the rules governing local elections. Political dynasties continue to create powerful networks of influence to dominate political parties and put an end to democracy. In order to have concurrent head of state or presidential elections in 2024, this study tries to explain the phenomena of identity politics and political dynasties. This study employs a descriptive research design and a qualitative methodology. Data were gathered from literature reviews by examining other studies that were conducted on the same subject as well as news articles in the media regarding the subject of identity politics and political dynasties. According to the study's findings, identity politics and political dynasties still exist in Solo and have a high likelihood of resurfacing during the 2024 presidential election. Additionally, issues with hate speech, anti-black campaigns, and hoaxes have also surfaced using various models, particularly through social media and billboards.

**Keywords:** *simultaneous presidential elections; Identity politics, dynastic politics, 2024 presidential election campaign*

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## 1. Introduction

Political dynasties have long been present in democracies and raise concerns of unequal distribution of political power that may reflect imperfections in democratic representation in politics called power begets power. This recalls Mosca's concern that every class displays a tendency to become hereditary, even when political positions are open to all, the position of the ruling family will be endowed with various advantages (Snyder, et al, 2009:115).

In an ideal democracy, people should have greater opportunities to be involved in the political process. This means that there is room for participation for the entire community to participate in contesting for political positions from regional to national levels in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. In reality, people are still hindered by their social status

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or rights as a result of the political dynasty phenomenon. If democracy means political power or government run from the people, by the people and for the people, then this political dynasty has created political pragmatism by encouraging relatives of regional heads to become public officials.

The presence of political dynasties that cover the struggle for power at the regional to national level has made the substance of democracy itself difficult to realize. The growth of political dynasties, especially in the regions, is inseparable from the role of political parties and regulations on Pilkada. Oligarchy within political parties has caused the candidacy and nomination mechanisms to not work properly. So far, there is a tendency to nominate candidates by political parties based on the wishes of the party elite, not through a democratic mechanism by considering the ability and integrity of candidates. Simultaneously, political dynasties continue to build strong networks of power in order to maintain their power within the party body both at the regional and central levels. So it can be ascertained that political dynasties are able to control and kill democracy in political parties. In the context of the community itself, there are also signals of efforts to maintain the status quo in their regions by encouraging family circles or people close to the regional head to replace the defense.

The occurrence of political dynasties due to weak regulations to reduce political dynasties is also the cause of the spread of political dynasties in Pilkada. The presence of Law Number 1/2015 on Pilkada actually provides an update in limiting political dynasties by using a conflict of interest prohibition approach. This can be seen in Article 7 point q "Indonesian citizens who can become Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor, Candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent and Candidates for Mayor and Deputy Mayor are those who meet the following requirements (q). In the elucidation of this Law, it is described in detail the parties who are considered to have a conflict of interest with the incumbent, that what is meant by not having a conflict of interest with the incumbent: not having blood relations, marital ties and / or lineage 1 (one) level straight up, down, sideways with the incumbent, unless it has passed a break of 1 (one) term of office.

In the course of this provision was canceled through Constitutional Court Decision Number 34/PUU-XIII/2015, on the grounds of "conflict of interest with the incumbent", using only political and assumptive considerations, as if every candidate who has a blood relationship

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or marital relationship with the incumbent will certainly build a political dynasty that will damage the nation's order, without considering the competence, integrity, and capability as well as meeting the elements of acceptability of the candidate concerned objectively. Blood relationship is an essential and basic divine nature, which according to any religion is universally recognized as a sacred relationship and not as a relationship that prevents from taking part in government, as well as relationships due to marriage. The Constitutional Court's decision has paved the way for political dynasties to contest the Pilkada without having to wait for the next 5 (five) years.

Apart from the Constitutional Court's decision above, it needs to be studied again whether the omission of existing political dynasties is also not a form of violation of human rights in the field of politics (political right) because it does not have enough sources of power that have been co-opted and dominated by incumbents. This condition can be seen from the victory of political dynasties in various Indonesian Pilkada events which are inseparable from their financial strength. The pragmatism of the community is truly utilized by political dynasties through money politics. Here is Choi's view on the phenomenon of money politics in the elections in Indonesia, that "More specifically, both within and outside the shell of formally democratic political institutions, we have observed the emergence of decentralized money politics. Money politics has emerged as a key issue in local politics in post-Soeharto Indonesia". Although Choi is only commenting on local politics, some see money politics as a trend that occurs at the national level. Money politics is one of the impacts of the existence of existing political elites because they have more economic resources. Thus a political dynasty will strengthen its role with the economic resources it has so that the interests of the family interests that have been owned are not transferred to others (Choi, 2007: 320).

The fundamental problem with dynastic politics is the control over resources and also the influence that can weaken the checks and balances for the government. Especially when this kind of dynastic politics has undermined the legislature and the executive. These problems cause the practice of political dynasties to refer to acts of corruption. This kind of problem is caused by this kind of political dynasty exercising control over its political position, be it the DPR / D or regional head, which causes its political position with all its authority to become a tool in accessing existing economic resources. Problems of this kind show the side of political

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dynasty members as an inevitable evidence, more specifically when these political dynasties also exercise control over the bureaucracy in the area. Then political dynasties need a lot of finances to carry out maintenance of party and power networks, youth organizations, religious organizations, and other political nodes.

If you look up, political dynasties are always carried out by big parties. Of course this is not arbitrary. Political dynasty seems to have become a system. According to Idrus Affandi (2019: 79), a political dynasty is fair if after serving two terms for five years, the leader then gives the opportunity to other national cadres to lead. After one or two terms, the leader's wife or child returns to contest the election. If they receive popular support and win the contestation, then the dynasty's politics have a plus point. This means that the leadership of the dynasty is well known and the benefits are felt by the people.

The effect of this political dynasty is indeed very dangerous. And it has become an omission when this is done in Indonesia. All intellectuals, especially political parties, certainly know the complex impact of this. Clear thinking, accurate solutions, to overcome political dynasties are needed, especially substantive thinking. Everything must be reviewed in three dimensions, namely from the parties involved and the parties that have not been involved at all. Of course, two substantively different perspectives will emerge. Both will be very good collaborative solutions for Indonesian politics.

## **2. Method**

This research uses descriptive research methods with a qualitative approach with a case study method. What is meant by a qualitative approach is an approach that intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the research subject holistically, and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, in a special natural context by utilizing various scientific methods. In simple terms, it can be stated that qualitative research is researching informants as research subjects in their daily environment.

The purpose of this research is to examine political dynasties and identity politics in the context of the 2024 simultaneous elections. In this research, description is used to implement the qualitative method approach. To complement the researchers' debate study, this research looks at literature on the phenomenon of identity politics and the issue of political dynasties in the 2024 simultaneous elections from various media and other textual sources. The 2020 Solo

election is one of the locations where significant political dynasties exist, and the data analysis methodology is processed based on facts found through social media, previous research journals, and literature related to the expansion of dynastic politics and identity politics issues in the area.

### **3. Result and Discussion**

Political dynasties that occur in Indonesia, especially in the PDIP political party, have a significant influence and role in the continuity of the General Election in 2024. This can be seen in the position of the party which is indeed very dominating compared to other parties. This political dynasty itself can be felt for a long time, namely in the Pilkada held in Solo in 2020. According to the decision of the Solo KPU number: 77/PL.02.3-Kpt/3372/KPU-Kot/IX/2020, two candidate pairs, namely Gibran Rakabuming Raka Teguh Prakosa and Bagyo Wahyono-FX Supardjo, were elected for the simultaneous regional elections on December 9, 2020. With 30 members in the legislature, the Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa pair won the election through the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), while the Bagyo Wahyono-FX Supardjo pair won through an independent route with the support of environmental groups.

While Bagyo Wahyono-FX Supardjo used video calls, Raka Teguh Prakosa used an online campaign pattern with custom-made tools to be placed in public places. Each candidate pair also used other campaign strategies, one of which was going door-to-door to local residents to personally deliver their vision, mission and work plan in an effort to reduce crowds (Kurniawan, 2020).

Negative aspects, such as the issue of political dynasties, have also surfaced along with the increasingly frequent spread of campaigns using social media. Since Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the son of President Joko Widodo, is running for the Solo regional election, this issue has surfaced again. Social media was full of discussions about political dynasties, which indirectly impacted Gibran's electability. Although there are still many experienced old cadres who can be used as candidates who will run in the simultaneous regional elections, some experts believe that PDIP's proposal of Gibran Rakabuming Raka as a candidate for the mayor of Solo is what first brought the issue of political dynasty to public attention. Due to the controversy surrounding this political dynasty, it was assumed that the president, who is a

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member of PDIP, would intervene in Gibran Rakabuming Raka's candidacy. This suggests that the intervention of political elites in this nomination process is increasingly accepted by the general public. As a result, Solo's political landscape was divided. Many comments and even posts from people trying to advance the issue of political dynasty on the pretext that Gibran Rakabuming Raka stole the opportunity when his father became president made provocative speeches. The departure of Megawati Soekarnoputri, the chairperson of PDIP, to run a direct campaign in support of Gibran and his partners, continued this engagement. A number of hate speeches were also delivered to suggest that the political competition in Solo was comparable to a contest between the strong and the weak.

Differences in terms of economics and background can also be seen in the way the campaign is structured and the overall amount of money spent on it. In addition, the setting candidate was anyone who ran through the independent route. The dynastic political dispute ultimately had little impact on the votes cast for Gibran Rakabuming Raka and his running mate, who still won the Solo City election. Support from political elites at both local and national levels, including the president and PDIP, had a significant impact on the political trajectory of Solo City (Suryawan, 2020). President Jokowi's attempt to continue his dynasty through the Solo mayoral route became a focus of public discontent. The existence of immediate family members of public officials holding crucial positions is not specifically controlled by law. This is in contrast to what happened in Banten province under Ratu Atut, who clearly led a political dynasty. Although the topic of political dynasties was publicized on social media in an attempt to make Gibran and his running mate less electable, the pair still won the election.

Gibran's victory in the Solo mayoral election, regardless of the outcome of the vote, adds to Indonesia's long record of political dynasties. The constant renewal of power by the families of the political elite alone disturbs people's perspectives. The reason is that when Gibran first emerged and sought to engage in politics, it was seen as too ambitious. Gibran's political background was seen as premature because of this. PDIP cadres, including President F. X Suparjo, eventually chose not to run because they were "politically defeated" by the overwhelming political power (Suryawan, 2020). This precedent is equally visible at the local level, where family and kinship support is strong and early leaders in political experience

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emerge in this way. On the one hand, it offers political advantages, but on the other hand, it impacts the general public who also aspire to leadership positions, whether as executives or legislators, at the municipal, state, and federal levels.

What happened in the Solo elections in 2020 is likely to happen again given the power and dominance held by PDIP over the years. Public attention to this political party is also very large considering PDIP is one of the political parties that is very large and very familiar to the community. The chaos that can occur in the 2024 elections has a picture or outline that may be exactly the same as what happened in the 2020 Solo elections so of course there needs to be efforts to prevent and efforts to be able to maximize the potential of leaders who really deserve to be leaders not only because of the great encouragement from parties or political relations.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Political dynasties are formed due to the existence of a diffuse and strong network of power in a region. When these networks support the ruling political dynasty, absolute power is possible. If power is absolute, logically, the possibility of abuse of power is greater. The strengthening of political networks built by political dynasties based on family political closeness leads to the closure of political recruitment for people outside the dynasty. The above phenomenon may be considered normal by some people, but others consider it a distortion or pressure on democracy. Democracy, which basically demands democratic consolidation, requires a supportive democratic environment. The emergence of the political dynasty phenomenon will threaten the democratic transition phase towards democratic consolidation. The consolidation of democracy can be defined as the process of combining several elements of democracy to jointly facilitate political democratization. The elements involved in democratic consolidation are political institutions, including political parties, elites, interest groups and the political community. Another important element in the consolidation of democracy is the existence of a common agreement regarding "political values" that can bring together the various political elements above into a relatively cohesive force during the transition to democracy.

It is clear from the many examples of the application of identity politics and the difficulties of dynastic politics in various regions that the issue of identity and the power of

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political dynasties is still a big challenge that all Indonesians must face. Identity politics has the potential to divide society, which is a difficult truth to accept in the modern world. The topics most often raised with various techniques are those related to kinship with political elites, religious identity, black campaigns, fraud, and hate speech. Even now, every aspect of the nation's political performance is affected by issues of identity politics and political dynasties. A new culture free from identity politics must be created by Indonesian society. This aims to prevent the division of society and promote the principles of Indonesian Unity Pancasila.

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