

Dismantling Political Dynasties: Transformation of Pancasila Democracy in the Context of Family Power

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Abstract. Dynastic politics is still a dominant phenomenon in Indonesia's political system, showing that political power often belongs to certain families. In this context, Pancasila democracy continues to transform, facing major challenges in maintaining pluralism and justice in the political process. This study aims to investigate the impact of political dynasties on the transformation of Pancasila democracy and explore efforts that can be made to overcome the dominance of family power in politics. This research uses a qualitative approach with content analysis techniques to examine related literature, empirical data, as well as interviews with political and civil society experts who have direct experience with political dynasties. The results showed that political dynasties had a significant impact on Pancasila democracy, reducing people's political participation, reducing pluralism, and causing injustice in the distribution of power. However, the research also revealed several civil society initiatives and policy reforms that might reduce the dominance of political dynasties and strengthen Pancasila democracy. The implication of this research is the need for joint efforts from governments, civil society, and international institutions to address the problem of political dynasties in Indonesia's political system. Policy reforms are needed that support inclusive political participation, reduce wealth gaps and access to political power, and strengthen political oversight and accountability mechanisms to ensure that Pancasila democracy continues to function by its principles.

Keywords: *Political Dynasty; Pancasila Democracy; Power; Dismantling*

INTRODUCTION

Political dynasties have become inevitable in many countries, including Indonesia, and they play a significant role in establishing and maintaining political power (Cuevas-Rodríguez et al., 2023). The presence of political dynasties in Indonesia's diverse political landscape has a distinct impact on its political dynamics and the values of a democracy (Teney, Dochow-Sondershaus, and Lovette 2024). Understanding the influence of political dynasties is crucial for comprehending the democratic transformation of Pancasila, the foundation of Indonesian democracy (Fasching and Lelkes 2023). By exploring the phenomenon of political

dynasties and family power, this study aims to gain a deeper understanding of how they influence the political and democratic system in Indonesia (Weiss, 2023). Focusing on family power within political dynasties provides insights into the existing political dynamics and their impact on democracy in Indonesia (Yusuf and Wibowo 2024).

Political dynasties in Indonesia, such as the family of President Joko Widodo and the consolidation of political power in Banten Province, have become a noticeable phenomenon. However, a lack of research focuses on the relationship between political dynasties and Pancasila democratic values in Indonesia. This study aims to fill this research

gap by providing new insights into political dynasties in the context of family power. The uniqueness of this research lies in its focus on the democratic transformation of Pancasila, contributing to the understanding of political dynasties and democracy in Indonesia (Samosir, Radjiman, and Aninditya 2023).

Political dynasties are a hotly debated issue in many countries, including Indonesia, where one family or small group controls important political positions. The emergence of various political figures with family ties to pre-existing figures has made political dynasties increasingly noticeable. Examples include President Joko Widodo's family and the political power consolidation in Banten Province (Tedla and Mekonen 2023).

The phenomenon of political dynasties has raised concerns about the concentration of power and the need for an open and fair political process. Family or kinship relations between regional heads and other officials can create conflicts of interest and undermine integrity and transparency in government (Fiva and Smith 2018). The prevalence of family relations in different provinces suggests that nepotism may be widespread throughout the country (Jalalzai and Rincker 2018). To address these issues, it is important to enforce laws against violations of government ethics and regulations, increase transparency in the appointment and promotion of government officials, and establish an independent agency to oversee and investigate cases of nepotism

and conflicts of interest (Bjarnegård and Zetterberg 2022) (Camisón-Zornoza et al. 2020). These measures will help create a more transparent, equitable, and accountable environment in local government (Astuti 2023).

This study aimed to explore the democratic transformation of Pancasila in the context of family power represented by the phenomenon of political dynasties. The phenomenon of political dynasties is one of the quite interesting aspects in political analysis in Indonesia, as it has a significant impact on political dynamics, democracy, and the development of the country as a whole (Maulida, Xavier, and Elliot 2023). By understanding the mechanisms and impacts of political dynasties, it is hoped that this study will provide a more critical and holistic insight into the challenges and opportunities in strengthening Indonesia's political and democratic systems (Santika et al. 2023). Through in-depth analysis and robust research methodology, I hope this research can make a meaningful contribution to our understanding of Indonesian political dynamics, as well as provide relevant policy advice to improve transparency, accountability, and more inclusive political participation in the context of political dynasties (Hudjolly and Dewi 2023).

The lack of deep understanding of how political dynasties affect the practice of democracy, justice, and freedom in Indonesia

is a significant gap in the existing research (Wirasaputra and Satria 2023). While some research touches on this topic, there is still a need for more focused and in-depth research (Frindiyani, Naehu, and Rosidah 2023). Political dynasties often significantly influence Indonesian politics, but their impact on Pancasila democratic values may not yet be fully understood or explored (Suwignyo and Yuliantri 2023). Therefore, more detailed research is needed to fill this knowledge gap and provide new insights into political dynasties in the context of family power (Endang Sutrisno 2023). This research can explore how political dynasties influence policy-making processes, the distribution of power, and the political participation of the general public, enriching the understanding of political dynamics in Indonesia and their impact on Pancasila democratic practices (Ananda 2023).

Dismantling political dynasties and transforming Pancasila democracy in the context of family power has been a topic of interest in academic research. Effendi discusses political dynasties as a negative consequence of regional autonomy, perpetuating family power through genealogical relations (Effendi 2018). Nobre reflects on the influence of political family clans on electoral results, highlighting the culture of favor, political marketing, and economic power (Nobre 2017). Hilyatin, Riyadi, and Basit analyze the transformation of

Islamic values in the Pancasila economic system, emphasizing the importance of implementing Pancasila as a moral imperative for all citizens (Hilyatin, Riyadi, and Basit 2021). De Munck explores the transformation of family law, emphasizing the democratization of the Western family and the role of law in promoting equality and participative governance (Munck 2024). Supratikno discusses the rise of identity politics in Indonesia, resulting in ethnic and religious conflicts, religious fundamentalism, and political maneuvering (Supratikno 2022). These articles provide valuable insights into the challenges and potential solutions for dismantling political dynasties and promoting democratic values in the context of family power.

RESEARCH METHODS

The methodology used in this study involved a comprehensive qualitative approach. The approach included in-depth interviews with key informants who have first-hand knowledge and experience of political dynasties and family power in the context of Pancasila democracy (Santika et al. 2023). These interviews aimed to acquire a deep understanding of the internal and external dynamics that affect the phenomenon under study. Additionally, intensive participant observation was conducted, especially in the context of local and national political events involving members of political dynasties

(Dahurandi and Nase n.d.). These observations provided first-hand insights into political behavior and interactions between members of political dynasties, as well as possible patterns of familial power (Maulida et al. 2023).

Document analysis is an integral part of the methodology used to study the evolution of political dynasties in the democratic context of Pancasila. Official records, financial statements, and various other documents related to the political and business activities of families associated with political dynasties are analyzed to provide historical and institutional context. Thematic analysis is conducted to identify patterns, conflicts, and power dynamics underlying the phenomenon of political dynasties. Triangulation approaches are used to validate findings, and theoretical approaches from disciplines such as political science and sociology are applied to strengthen the analysis. This interdisciplinary approach helps to understand the connection between political dynasties and the democratic transformation of Pancasila (Ngesthi et al. 2023).

RESULT

The findings of the studies have the potential to significantly affect society. On the positive side, the research on low-cost online interventions in Morocco (Ferrali, Grossman, and Larreguy 2023) and the impact of an immigrant integration program in the United States (Barsegyan, Knigge, and Maas 2023)

highlight the importance of increasing civic engagement and political participation. These interventions can lead to a more informed and inclusive society, promoting transparency, accountability, and the realization of rights. However, there are also potential negative effects. The study on educational attainment and political participation in Germany (Shi et al. 2023) suggests that family disadvantages and advantages can be reinforced or compensated for through education, which may perpetuate inequality in political voice. Additionally, the study on the effects of high-profile anticorruption efforts in Argentina and Costa Rica (Paricio-Esteban et al. 2023) shows that such efforts can lead to lower trust in institutions and reduced political engagement. This could undermine the legitimacy of the government and decrease community participation.

Exposure to political dynasties can lead to political conflicts and social tensions at both the local and national levels. Inter-clan rivalries within a dynasty can amplify political polarization and create tension between supporters of different political families, which can be detrimental to political stability and community security. It is important to present a balanced approach to discussing the findings to address these issues. This includes highlighting the negative impact of political dynasties while also emphasizing efforts and solutions to improve the political system, such as encouraging political reforms, increasing

public participation, and strengthening mechanisms of control and supervision of political power (Wang, Hoang, and Jordan 2023).

DISCUSSION

Political dynasties in Indonesian politics pose a significant challenge to the democratic dynamics of Pancasila. These dynasties concentrate political power within a single family or network of families, controlling important positions in government at both national and local levels. This domination of family power distorts Pancasila democracy, which aims to ensure justice, participation, and the sovereignty of the people. Research on political dynasties reveals that they hinder the healthy rotation of power and reduce political pluralism by monopolizing access to resources (Asif et al. 2020)(Sembiring et al. 2023). Additionally, political systems dominated by dynasties often exhibit practices of nepotism and clientelism, where family members or close relatives are granted political positions and advantages without considering their qualifications or competencies (Anugrah 2023). These findings illustrate the challenges faced by Pancasila in its democratic transformation due to the influence of family power.

Political dynasties can be interpreted through various frameworks of thought, including oligarchic theory and patron-client theory (Fabre 2023). They can also be seen as

an example of hegemony, where one group maintains dominance over another through control over political and economic institutions (Harting 2023). To overcome the dominance of political dynasties, real measures are needed, such as institutional reforms and the enactment of rules limiting political power concentrated in a single family or family network. By facing these challenges, Pancasila democracy can achieve its potential as a system that represents justice, participation, and the sovereignty of the people comprehensively (Bonotti and Weinstock 2021).

The monarchical system is often seen as incompatible with the aspirations of a democratic nation like Indonesia. It can consolidate power within certain royal families and limit opportunities for broader political participation (Silitonga et al. 2023). This goes against the inclusive and egalitarian values that Indonesia wants to promote (Lewis 2023). Additionally, the monarchical system can lead to the formation of dynasties, which can pose challenges in terms of accountability and transparency in government (Sekaringtias, Verrier, and Cronin 2023).

It is important to understand the cultural and historical context of a nation's journey in order to preserve the principles of justice and meritocracy. The majority of participants in the hearing rejected hereditary political power based on kinship or monarchy, reflecting the desire for greater control over political fate and

a commitment to democratic values (Marbun et al. 2022). Many areas of Indonesia do not have a strong monarchical tradition, making it difficult to consistently apply a monarchical system across the country. This supports the rejection of the monarchical system in the context of an independent Indonesia and strengthens the argument for choosing a republic as a form of state that aligns with the aspirations and values of society (Soemantri et al. 2022).

Political Dynasties in Indonesia

Political dynasties in Indonesia have been a persistent phenomenon, with an increasing number of families exerting control or significant influence in Indonesian politics across generations. The Constitutional Court has legalized the practice of political dynasties, and it is considered constitutional as it does not conflict with the Indonesian Constitution and Human Rights Law (Lado, 2022). The presence of political dynasties has raised concerns about the impact on democracy and governance, as it can threaten the sustainability of the government and undermine the principles of democracy. The proportion of dynastic members in the Indonesian parliament is significant, with one in every four members being dynasts. This proportion has also increased among female lawmakers over the years. The proliferation of political dynasties is influenced by factors such as party affiliation, nomination processes, and internal

party structures (Rusnaedy, Fatma, and Haris 2021). The implementation of local elections has also led to the emergence of single candidates, further complicating the democratic process at the local level .

Political dynasties are significant in various countries, including Brazil, Indonesia, and others. In Indonesia, almost half of the female candidates elected to the national parliament in 2019 were members of political dynasties (Wardani & Subekti, 2021). The practice of dynastic politics is also observed locally, such as in Cileunyi Wetan Village in Bandung Regency, where the village head's family has maintained power for several periods (Prabowo & Hartati, 2019). The impact of political dynasties on local government performance in Indonesia is negative, but good public governance can mitigate this effect (Camisón-Zornoza et al., 2020). Overall, these findings suggest that political dynasties have a significant influence on policy-making and the political process, highlighting the need for regulation and the promotion of good governance to reduce their adverse effects.

1. The case of the Kusnadi family dynasty in Bangkalan.

These dynasties involve the same family holding power for an extended period of time, with family members occupying positions of regional head or members of the legislature. The presence of political dynasties is influenced by factors such as the role of

political parties, weak regulation, and poor internal recruitment and candidate selection processes (Rusnaedy et al. 2021). These dynasties often establish solid networks of power and can dominate and limit democracy within political parties [5]. Despite facing corruption cases and controversies, these dynasties can still maintain their political networks and influence, as seen in the case of the Atut dynasty in Banten (Setiawan and Sa'diyah 2021). The presence of political dynasties and the concentration of power within a single family can hinder the circulation of leadership and potentially threaten the democratic transition and consolidation.

2. Certain families in Central Java

Certain families in Central Java, such as in Kendal and Demak districts, have a strong political dominance in winning local elections. This presence of political dynasties in power struggles at the regional level is influenced by the role of political parties and regulations regarding regional head elections (Ananda, 2023). The tendency of political parties to nominate candidates based on the wishes of party elites rather than through democratic mechanisms that consider the abilities and integrity of the candidates contributes to the growth of political dynasties (Agung, 2022).

The weak regulation to trim political dynasties has also contributed to their widespread presence in regional head elections. This practice of dynastic politics is

suspected of weakening checks and balances, leading to corrupt acts committed by the heads of the region and their relatives. Therefore, the examples of regional chiefs involved in dynastic politics in Central Java are a reflection of the challenges faced by democracy in the country. Various social changes have influenced political dynasties in Banyumas in the region. These changes have led to shifting family values, including the value placed on children (Mutahir et al., 2023). The parents in Banyumas primarily view their children as economic assets and invest in their education for quality improvement. There is no differentiation between boys and girls, reflecting the egalitarian attitude of Banyumas culture. The development of political dynasties at the local level can be seen as a form of "Cendanaisasi," where local elite families place their relatives in strategic positions of power to maintain control (Amiruddin Dardiri, Waluyo, and Aquil 2023). This pattern of dynastic politics is a negative consequence of regional autonomy, hijacking democracy and perpetuating family power.

3. Dynastic Politics in Banten

Dynastic politics in Banten is a phenomenon where political power is passed down within a family from generation to generation. It has been observed in the political landscape of Banten, as evidenced by the presence of political dynasties in the region. These dynasties have different outcomes in local leader elections, with some maintaining

dominance while others experiencing defeat (Maftuh 2022). Factors such as boundary control theory, which focuses on how political elites maintain their power, have been used to analyze the success and failure of these dynasties (Ali 2022). Additionally, the adoption of Islamic teachings by the rulers of Banten, including changing their names to Arabic names, has been explored in relation to the perpetuation of their power. The trade relations between Banten and Portugal, particularly during the reign of Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin, have also been studied, highlighting the pragmatic-strategic orientation of Banten's commercial policy (Ali 2022). The spice trade, which played a significant role in Banten's prosperity, influenced the political and economic landscape of the region. Overall, dynastic politics in Banten has been shaped by various factors, including political strategies, religious influences, and economic considerations.

4. Dynastic politics in North Sumatra

Dynastic politics, characterized by the passing down of power within a family, is prevalent in various regions, including Mangaledang Lama Village in Padang Lawas Utara Regency (Ananda 2023). This practice hinders the mobility of people to participate in the General Election for Regional Heads and can lead to corruption and the bolstering of political authority and interests of family members (Agung 2022). The presence of political dynasties is a challenge for

democracy, as it limits the pluralism of actors and makes it difficult to realize the substance of democracy itself. The growth of political dynasties is influenced by political parties and regulations regarding regional elections, where the nomination mechanisms do not work as they should (Sembiring et al. 2023).

5. Political dynasties in South Sulawesi

Political dynasties in South Sulawesi have been a prominent feature in the region's political landscape. The patriarchal nature of the political dynasty system in South Sulawesi has disadvantaged female politicians, as seen in the case of Tenri (Dewi 2018). However, some women candidates without political kinship support have managed to secure seats in the parliament by utilizing their social and religious connections with the community (Ilmi et al. 2021). The Kajang indigenous community in South Sulawesi has its own unique political system, where leaders are democratically elected rather than based on blood or hereditary ties. The emergence and maintenance of political dynasties in Southeast Sulawesi have been facilitated by various factors, including the loyalty of supporters, manipulation of public policies, and assimilation processes with politicians from other regions (Nurdin et al. 2017).

The Impact of the Joko Widodo Era Political Dynasty

I will highlight the phenomenon of dynastic politics related to Joko Widodo, the

current President of Indonesia. Dynastic politics refers to the practice of maintaining political power or influence within a family or by familially related persons. In the context of Joko Widodo, there are several aspects that need to be considered:

1. Family and Closest Circle

Placing Joko Widodo's son in positions of power such as mayor, party chairman, and vice president can be seen as contradicting the principles of meritocracy and political justice. Meritocracy is the idea that positions should be awarded based on merit, rather than familial connections or personal relationships. By appointing his son to these positions, it raises questions about whether he was chosen based on his qualifications and abilities, or simply because of his family ties. This undermines the principles of meritocracy and can be seen as favoritism or nepotism. Additionally, political justice involves ensuring fairness and equal opportunities for all individuals in the political system. By giving his son multiple positions of power, it may limit the opportunities for other qualified individuals to hold these positions and participate in the political process (Fealy 2020).

2. Political Influence Through Family Connections

Dynastic politics, characterized by the transfer of political power within families, is a phenomenon observed in both premodern and modern societies. While Joko Widodo is not directly involved in establishing a political

dynasty, there have been criticisms and speculations regarding the influence of his family members in political decision-making processes. Political dynasties are seen as primitive reproductive systems of power that rely on bloodline and lineage, and they tend to hinder the realization of democracy. However, it is important to note that dynastic ties can still be advantageous for politicians' careers, especially in reaching top positions of power in the executive. Democratization and political modernization influence hereditary politicians' behavior, Which can transform particularistic networks into more progressive and programmatic forms of dynasticism (Ananda, 2023).

3. Influence on Political Development

Dynastic political practices in Indonesia have the potential to hinder transparency, accountability, and democratization in the political system. Studies have shown that one in every four members of parliament in Indonesia is a dynasty, and the proportion of female lawmakers has increased over the years (Sukti et al. 2022). The persistence of political dynasties can be seen as a process of dynastic regime recovery, where old-guard elites seek to recapture power and protect their wealth (Tyson and Nawawi, 2022). This can lead to political distortions and hinder the development of a transparent and accountable political system. Additionally, the implementation of the New Developmental State in Indonesian politics has been

characterized as a pragmatic and hybrid approach that may contribute to increasing authoritarianism and vulnerability of village democracy (Pelzl and Poelhekke 2023). These findings suggest that dynastic politics can have negative implications for the political dynamics and development of Indonesia, potentially hindering transparency, accountability, and democratization in the country's political system.

I will summarize the negative impacts of Jokowi-style dynastic political practices by referring to empirical data and relevant literature. Here are some points that might be included in my description:

1. Centralization of Power

Dynastic political practices can indeed lead to a centralization of power within families or close circles, which can hinder the healthy growth of democracy. This concentration of power often results in a lack of accountability and transparency in government decision-making (Asako et al. 2012). Dynastic politicians, who inherit political advantages, tend to bring more distributions to their districts and enjoy higher electoral success. However, their presence can harm the economic performance of the districts despite the larger amount of distributive benefits they bring (Armand et al. 2020). This suggests that dynastic politicians may prioritize their own interests over the overall welfare of the district. Additionally, the lack of cohesiveness among autocratic elites

can prevent them from effectively checking dictators, allowing some dictators to rule tyrannically without retribution (Kaire 2022). These findings highlight the potential negative consequences of dynastic political practices on democracy and governance.

2. Corruption and Nepotism

Political dynasties, whether in transitional or advanced democratic societies, can be prone to corruption and nepotism. The placement of family members or close associates in positions of power may lead to the exploitation of their positions for personal or group benefit, often at the expense of the public interest (Oliveira and Souza 2022). The practice of political dynasties has been associated with issues such as over-invoicing, feudalism values, patrimonial practices, patronage, and the blocking of competent individuals from participating in political positions. These practices can hinder the sustainability of government, damage the substance of democracy, and lead to the flourishing of corrupt and deceitful practices. Political modernization and the transformation of particularistic networks into more progressive and programmatic forms of dynasticism are potential solutions to mitigate the negative effects of political dynasties (Darmansyah, Syahrani, and Harirah MS 2020).

3. Political Polarization

Dynastic politics can indeed amplify political polarization by creating division

between groups that the dynasty supports and groups that it does not (Mantzaris and Domenikos 2023). This division can hinder constructive dialogue and cross-party cooperation, as it creates a sense of "us versus them" mentality (Vasist, Chatterjee, and Krishnan 2023). This can impede the democratization process by preventing the formation of inclusive and representative political systems (Kubin and von Sikorski 2021). Additionally, dynastic politicians may prioritize their own interests and the interests of their supporters over the broader needs of the society (Andreadis and Stavrakakis 2019). This can lead to policies that benefit a select few, while neglecting the needs of the majority (Asako et al. 2012). Overall, dynastic politics can exacerbate political polarization and hinder the development of a healthy and inclusive democratic system.

4. Economic and Social Inequality

Political dynasties can have negative consequences, including the concentration of wealth and power in specific groups, leading to economic and social disparities. This concentration of resources and opportunities in fewer people can deepen existing inequalities (Dulay 2021). Political dynasties differ in their ideological origins, with pro-democratic dynasties showing stronger support for democracy (Fiva and Smith 2018). The perpetuation of political dynasties is influenced by factors such as incumbency advantage and internal party organizational

networks (Permana 2023). In some cases, weaker constraints on political selection processes can result in the selection of dynastic politicians with lower education levels. Further research is needed to understand the formation and implications of political dynasties, including their impact on economic growth, distributive policy, and gender representation.

5. Decreasing Government Legitimacy

Persistent dynastic political elections, without considering the qualifications or integrity of candidates, can indeed lead to a decline in the legitimacy of the government in the eyes of the public (Asako et al. 2012). This can undermine people's confidence in political institutions and democracy as a whole (Fumarola 2020). The presence of dynastic politicians, who inherit political advantages, can have negative effects on electoral outcomes and policy choices. Despite bringing more distributions to their districts, dynastic legislators harm the economic performance of the districts (James et al., 2019). Additionally, the quality of elections, including perceptions of electoral integrity, can influence voters' behavior and attitudes about accountability (Daron Acemoglu, 2009). Individual characteristics such as partisanship and contextual factors like government clarity of responsibility and pluralism of the media can moderate the link between perceptions of electoral integrity and voting for the incumbent.

CONCLUSION

Political dynasties have been a significant challenge to the democratization process in Indonesia, creating inequalities in political access and hindering the rotation of power and the emergence of competent leaders (Agustino, Hikmawan, and Silas 2023). The concentration of political power within certain families limits the opportunity for others to participate in democratic processes (Putri et al. 2023). This phenomenon has been detrimental to the development of a healthy and inclusive democracy in the country (Anisa Agustin et al. 2022). Additionally, the transformation of Pancasila democracy in Indonesia has been influenced by the relationship between Islam and the nation's civil religion (Liddle, Mujani, and Irvani, 2022). The extent to which Pancasila is upheld as the national civil religion during political transitions is crucial for the resilience of democratization in Indonesia (Holidin 2022). The constructive role of civil society organizations is also essential in supporting resilient democratization and countering political turbulence.

The transformation of Pancasila's democratic values can be seen in the efforts of the community to challenge political dynasties and create a more inclusive and representative political system. The anti-dynastic movement has gained widespread support from the public (Kristianita and Najicha 2022) (Nugraheni et al. 2023). This movement aims to break the

hegemony of political dynasties and promote a more democratic and fair political landscape in Indonesia. By challenging the dominance of certain families in politics, the movement seeks to create opportunities for new voices and perspectives to be heard in the decision-making process (Supratikno 2022). The support for this movement reflects the desire of the public to have a political system that truly represents their interests and ensures equal opportunities for all citizens to participate in the political process (Putri et al. 2023).

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